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THE NEW

ANNUAL REGISTER,

OR GENERAL REPOSITORY OF

HISTORY,

POLITICS,

AND

LITERATURE,

For the YEAR 1808.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED,

The HISTORY of KNOWLEDGE, LEARNING, and TASTE, in GREAT BRITAIN, during the Reign of Queen Anne—Part II.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR JOHN STOCKDALE,
PICCADILLY.

By Richard Taylor and Co. Shoe-Lane.

1809.

PREFACE.

In presenting our Annual Volume to the public we feel satisfied that no preface, either for specific detail or studied eulogium, can be necessary. The plan of the work is sufficiently known; but of the general performance we may be permitted to remark, that if favourable acceptance be deemed a just criterion of literary execution, we shall be justified in reviewing our labours with no inconsiderable feelings of satisfaction. Gratitude for favours received, has operated as a stimulus to increased exertions, and we offer the present Volume to the public, in the confidence that it is entitled to, and will experience, similar approbation with those which have preceded it.

We may, perhaps, be excused again adverting to those efforts by which we have been enabled to procure so early a publication of the Volume, and to give it in this respect a superiority over every other work of a similar description;—a superiority which few will estimate lightly, and which those particularly, who are eager to convey to their friends in remote settlements the earliest arranged intelligence of the events transacted on the theatre of Europe in the preceding year, will know how to appreciate.

It is with regret that we find ourselves, in the Historical Department of our Labours, compelled still to detail the atrocities and ravages of war; and that we see year after year pass away, marked by all the crimes of ambition and all the virulence of hostility. To observe and narrate the

progress of science and the arts, of wise legislation, philosophic research and internal improvement, would to us be infinitely more pleasing, than to exhibit that moving picture of guilt and bloodshed, of privation and calamity, to which, through the union of extraordinary talents, ambition, and success in a single individual, the province of historic annals is now almost exclusively confined. During a great part of the preceding year, the patriotic and benevolent were animated by the hope that a barrier was about to be raised against the oppression under which the civilised world has so long groaned. The flame of opposition kindled in Spain, by the succession of frauds and violences which the despot of the Continent employed against its independence, excited an enthusiasm which the wise were unwilling to repress by calculation, and which in the sanguine was connected with the certainty of success. To aid in its accomplishment the blood and treasure of this country have been employed with an almost unsparing hand. But the result, hitherto, it must be acknowledged, has little tended to verify the fond expectations which were excited; and which, it will be seen in another part of the Volume, we cherished with the warmest emotions of our hearts. Still we cannot, we will not, despair: we will not abandon as lost the cause, which is not only the cause of every European nation, but that for which it is the bounden duty of them all to contend with the best energies that they possess. We trust, and, from the papers contained in the present Volume, we know, that the patriots of Spain did not undertake a defence of their rights without counting the costs; —without calculating upon much suffering, and many

severe

ere privations: and that though their armies are for the esent beaten, and, in some cases, dispersed, yet we are ly persuaded they will quickly rally, and that with the ectual support, upon which they may rely from this untry, they will be enabled to stop the ravages of the emy; drive back his numerous hosts, and, at the foot the Pyrenees, exclaim in the language of confidence d exultation, "Hitherto thou mayest come, and no ther."

From the unfortunate and baffling course of external stility, it is often natural and wise to turn our attention, r relief, to circumstances in the situation of Great Britain nich may supply at once consolation and hope; and we nnot reflect without sentiments of pride and satisfaction, at, while nearly all the long-established governments of urope have experienced subversion, the grand institutions ansmitted by our ancestors continue unimpaired; that stice is no where administered in such purity; that order no where connected with such freedom; that the exi-ncies of war in no country ever existed to so great an tent, without considerably greater pressure; and that, hatever minor differences may exist among the inhabi-nts of this island, all are combined with one heart and ne resolve, for the protection of that constitution which at once their birth-right and their glory. The genuine triot, while he watches, and, as far as in him lies, deavours to counteract that natural tendency to decay hich exists in our own, as well as in every other poli-cal establishment, will not fail to display to public notice

notice what his country possesses calculated to exci
veneration, to cherish attachment, and to kindle th
ardent devotion to her cause and service, which is co
nected with all that is generous in purpose, and heroic
achievement.

8th *March*, 1809.

Cancel for 1808.

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THE

THE

HISTORY

OF

KNOWLEDGE, LITERATURE, AND TASTE.

IN GREAT BRITAIN,

DURING THE REIGN OF ANNE.

PART II.

IT has been shown that the reign of Anne was that of genius.—But whilst talents inspired admiration, a respect bordering on veneration was still retained for classical literature.—Of the many eminent examples of erudite learning, who in their respective departments gave dignity to the pulpit or the bar, it will be our part to speak in a succeeding number. For the present it is sufficient to observe, that the accomplishments of a scholar were comprehended in the general pretensions of a polite writer; and that neither elegance nor even purity of composition was conceived to be attainable by such as were not familiar with the poets and orators of antiquity in their native language. To explain the cause of this prejudice, we have only to recur to the system of education which was then established. At the most eminent schools no at-

tention was paid to English composition; even its grammatical principles were casually discovered to the student in the course of his tedious probation through the dead languages. To withhold knowledge, rather than to communicate it, should seem to have been the object of the classical instructor: nor could any plan be conceived more conformable to the Chinese principle of confining letters to a particular class, or better calculated to raise an insuperable barrier between the learned and the vulgar, than the practice which then prevailed of teaching even the elements of Latin and Greek in a language which to the learner was still unknown. This practice, of which the evils have been sufficiently exposed, and which, happily for the present generation, is now exploded, was, however, obviously calculated to inspire reverence for learning, and to confine the respect due to literary reputation, to such as were really entitled to consideration for the solidity or the amplitude of their attainments. The acquisition of a classical language was a labour which could only be achieved by capacity and diligence, by ardour and perseverance; and, as a natural consequence, it followed, that an enterprise of such difficulty and effort was in after-life estimated beyond its real value and importance. In every youth of genius, the flame of ambition was first kindled by the hope of establishing his academical precedence. Addison, Prior, and almost all their celebrated contemporaries, had produced specimens of elegant latinity before they were either esteemed or known for their English compositions. It cannot be doubted that the enthusiasm with which the great masters of antiquity were then studied and imitated, was highly useful in supplying the mind with those genuine principles of criticism which are necessary to discipline genius, and elicit taste:—it is, however, curious to observe, how generally the admiration of ancient literature was associated with a contempt for the living languages, and with an illiberal depreciation of modern authors. So universally was this sentiment adopted by wits, poets, and philosophers,

phers, that it would be difficult to discover a polite writer of the age, who had not occasionally arraigned the defects, or lamented the incompetency, of his vernacular tongue. This querulous strain is easily traced to the persuasion that the English language possessed no stamina of strength or durability;—that it was without those regular rudimental principles which are necessary to secure stability and resist innovation;—that it was an anomalous composition of various elements, subject to perpetual changes and corruptions, and in its character almost as fugitive and fluctuating as the race of men to whom it was appropriate. To the present age, these pathetic complaints appear sufficiently ludicrous. We find Pope, in immortal numbers, deploring the perishable language in which he and Dryden should, in a few revolving years, become obsolete;—the sceptical Bolingbroke assumes the spirit of prophecy to denounce oblivion to his own volumes;—and Swift, after having exercised his keenest ridicule on Utopian speculations, seriously suggests a plan worthy to have found a place in his Floating Island of Laputa, for the institution of an academy to tyrannize over the principles of speech and composition. The influence of such opinions must have contributed to create an exalted idea of scholastic attainments, and to identify the man of learning with the man of genius.

Of the many polite writers of this reign, we discover only the two poets Pope and Gay who had not participated to a certain extent in academical honours and privileges. For the former, however, his sedentary youth, his early associations with veteran writers, and the precocious excellence of his own compositions, had procured a kind of literary dispensation, which entitled him to hold the rank of an acknowledged scholar.

In after-life, this distinction was secured to him by his unrivalled eminence. He was the translator of Homer; and,

without assuming the cumbrous dignity of erudition, enjoyed all the prerogatives of criticism and taste.

To Gay no such privileges were conceded:—raised from obscurity by his genius, he became connected with the learned, and received flattering attentions from the great; but the want of an academical qualification seems to have attached to him during life, and to have constantly subjected him to the consciousness of being inferior to his more dignified confederates.

John Gay was a native of Barnstaple, in Devon, at whose grammar school he had acquired all the learning he possessed.—His fortune being small, he was destined to trade, and sent to London to be apprenticed to a silk-mercer: but he found this situation so irksome, that after a probation of some years he procured his liberation by cancelling the indentures, and surrendered himself without reserve to his literary taste.

His first publication was 'Rural Sports,' a georgical poem, dedicated to Pope, who appears to have been the first object of his enthusiasm and emulation. The intuitive sagacity of genius, however, failed not to discover to him that this was not the track in which he was destined to arrive at eminence:—he perceived that there was a humbler walk, in which, though he might not extort the suffrage of the learned, he should engross the affections of the people.

Gay possessed more feeling than fancy. Whatever he had seen, he could describe; but in his delineations he did not always embellish nature. His imagination was not excursive; his mind supplied no materials for exquisite imagery; but his invention was adequate to whatever was simple, familiar, or domestic. He soared not to the sublime;—like a bee, pursuing the track of spring, he wandered over fields and gardens

dens of delicious verdure, extracting sweetness even from the homely blossom which scatters round the poor man's cottage the freshness and fragrance of nature. In his 'Trivia,' published after the Rural Sports, Gay discloses some of that natural humour which was his peculiar talent; but it was by the publication of his 'Shepherd's Week,' a series of burlesque pastorals, in ridicule of the Georgical poems of Ambrose Phillips, that he produced a composition of unrivalled excellence.

It is remarkable that Gay appears to have always remained in a state of tutelage to his literary associates. The same sweetness and facility of temper, which rendered him so engaging as a companion, attended him to the closet, where even his pen was tributary to friendship. He seldom attempted the execution of any plan of which the outline was not formed by another mind:—a solitary hint was sufficient to his fertile fancy: he commenced his allotted task, and soon produced what surpassed the conceptions, or even the expectations, of his master.

In this manner his Shepherd's Week was, it is well known, undertaken at the fiat of Pope. The design of the 'Beggar's Opera' originated with Swift, who had once observed to Gay, that a Newgate pastoral would be a pretty novelty. With his accustomed promptitude Gay seized the idea; expanded the Newgate pastoral to a ballad opera, and contrived to render it not only the vehicle of music, but of poignant satire, playful wit, and oblique raillery.

He had previously attempted dramatic composition; but, with the exception of his 'What-d'ye-call-it,' a mock-heroic play, he failed in his efforts to please the public. The success which attended his Beggar's Opera was probably owing

as much to the whimsical novelty of the plan, as the intrinsic merit of the piece.

In no other performance was Gay equally fortunate. With the versatility natural to his sanguine character, he had made an essay in tragedy, and produced 'The Captives,' which was received with coldness and neglect.

Although Gay was not formed to become a good dramatic writer, he has in this tragedy exhibited talents which few of his contemporaries possessed: the fable is, perhaps, too intricate, but the characters are sufficiently natural to excite a considerable degree of interest. As a composition, it has the rare though negative merit of not being encumbered with inappropriate images, or disfigured by bombastic sentiment: yet, as the author seldom rises beyond mediocrity, and, even when he pleases most, leaves on the mind an impression that he might have pleased still more, it is little surprising that this play should be obsolete to the stage, and even in the closet almost forgotten.

During this literary progress, the fortunes of Gay had undergone many vicissitudes. In his early days of celebrity he had been patronized by the duchess of Monmouth, in whose family he lived as her secretary; and, afterwards in the same capacity, attended lord Clarendon the ambassador to Hanover. Caressed by the tories, he enjoyed during their administration some gleams of court favour; but on the accession of the House of Hanover he shared the fate of his party, and was thrown at an immeasurable distance from preferment. The produce of his pen was, however, still sufficient to have secured to him the possession of independence, had he not adventured the whole sum in the South Sea speculation, in the progress of which he was suddenly reduced from affluence to poverty.

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Having been patronized by the princess of Wales, afterwards queen Caroline, he had hoped, on the accession of George the Second, to receive some substantial proofs of her munificence. The expectation was fallacious: but he found a retreat in the family of the duke of Queensberry which softened his disappointment. His last popular work was his 'Fables.' Few authors, with equal pretensions to originality, have possessed powers so versatile and so various.

Gay has never failed completely but in comedy. He could not delineate character; he could only produce caricatures. He had a rich vein of natural humour, but he wanted the fancy, taste, and judgment, essential to the dramatic writer. The merit of his songs is attested by their popularity. To please the people appears to have been his first object. He wrote not for critics: in his happiest efforts he had discovered a province peculiarly his own, and which seemed not amenable to their jurisdiction. He has contrived to render verse attractive to the ignorant and the vulgar. His Fables, in which the most artificial composition becomes susceptible of pathos and nature, are familiar to those who have never looked into any other volume: were the press suspended, these would still be preserved in the memory, not only of the instructed but the illiterate; and thus, by tradition alone, might the name and genius of their author be transmitted to posterity.

But the person who in that æra of party constituted the strength of the tories, was Swift; nor is it easy to produce in competition any name that does not shrink into comparative insignificance. Swift was the Leviathan of his age. It would be difficult to analyse a mind of such various aptitudes and comprehensive faculties, and which in early life gave no intimations of future excellence. It has often been disputed, whether Swift was born in England or Ireland; but that he

received his education in the latter country has never been disputed. He was member of Trinity College, Dublin, where he passed through the usual academical gradations, with little pleasure to himself, and no satisfaction to his instructors. This circumstance, which in such a man as Swift could only be attributed to indolence and neglect, is the more remarkable, as he fully participated in that respect for the classics which distinguished his contemporaries, and is said to have attached more value to his inferior Latin conmpositions than to all his English poetry. On his removal from Dublin he became the inmate of sir William Temple, the fine gentleman, the acute politician, and practical philosopher of his age. During his residence at Moor Park, Swift was introduced to king William, who, in compliment to his abilities, offered him the command of a troop of horse: but Swift appears to have had no inclination for a military profession; and on the death of his patron entered the church, and commenced his literary career. At this period his merit was little known, nor did he seem conscious of his own strength.

Like Prior, he had begun by writing ethical odes, which extorted from Dryden the severe denunciation, that he would never be a poet. One of his first acknowledged productions was 'A Discourse on the Contests and Dissensions between the Nobles and Commons of Athens and Rome,' a grave, serious essay, which exhibits strong powers of discrimination and reflection, but is not enlivened by wit or humour. His peculiar talent was soon however exhibited in various fugitive essays and periodical papers, a new species of composition, to which Steele and Addison had given popularity. The 'Tale of a Tub,' though never acknowledged by him, was well known to have been one of his early productions. On the accession of the tories to power, Swift, who was already in habits of intimacy with lord Oxford and their most distinguished leaders, attached himself to their cause, and employed

ployed his pen in support of their administration. For such services he naturally expected an adequate recompense: but, whether the ministers were unable or unwilling to serve him; whether from distrust or weakness in the party whose cause he had espoused, Swift was dismissed to Ireland, with the deanery of St. Patrick's; a situation attended with such painful privations, that, without having incurred disgrace, he was condemned to banishment. The demise of queen Anne terminated Swift's political existence: involved in the ruin of his party, he experienced the common fate, and only escaped persecution by submitting to obscurity. After a residence of some years in Ireland, which had hitherto repaid his contempt with hatred, he acquired great popularity by his spirited resistance to the introduction of Wood's coinage; a measure dictated by mistaken views of policy, and which was justly reprobated by Swift, as militating against the prosperity of that country. On this occasion were published those celebrated letters which procured him the honourable appellation of The Drapier. But neither his popular fame nor his unbounded influence with his compatriots could reconcile him to his estrangement from England: and he ceased not to vent his discontent in sorrows and complaints, till the progress of age and infirmity completely paralysed those mental powers, which had rendered him a bulwark to one party, and an engine of terror to the other; and which procured for him, in his private station, not only the veneration of Ireland, but the esteem of Europe.

Swift was formed for active life. In his political relations he was not, like Addison, valued merely for his pen, but for himself;—for that quickness of perception, that luminous comprehension, which fitted him for the investigation of every subject, and enabled him on every occasion to supply some valuable observations, the result of intuitive sagacity or discriminative experience. As a writer, he is distinguished by the variety of his attributes. He is at once versatile and vigorous:

he combines facility with strength. Though not born to be a poet, he was an exquisite versifier on familiar subjects; and in some of his metrical pieces blends the terseness of Pope with the simplicity of Gay. Of this, 'Baucis and Philemon,' 'Cadenus and Vanessa,' and, the Verses on his own Death, afford sufficient examples. On political subjects he could be grave and argumentative, or humorous and satirical. Whenever he chose to be didactic, he could descend to the most minute strictures on the occurrences of daily life; yet when he had to construct a fable, he launched into the regions of imagination, and created his own visionary world. It is, however, obvious that his genius directed him to satire; his tact was ridicule, his talent irony; in this were concentrated all his acuteness and sagacity, the sprightliness of his fancy, the poignancy of his wit, the solidity of his judgment. In this style the Tale of a Tub is his masterpiece; nor does the whole compass of English literature offer so many happy specimens in this peculiar province of composition, as were furnished by his single pen. The asperity of his sentiments has been often lamented; but it should be remembered that Swift was formed by that age which he was destined to enlighten and improve. He was not, like Addison, a moral teacher: the coldness of his character seemed inaccessible to the charms and insensible to the charities of social life. His great object was intellect; and he became the champion of reason, by maintaining a constant hostility with error and prejudice. His satire was directed to books rather than to men; and addressed not to manners, but opinions. No delusion could escape his vigilance, no absurdity elude his censure. He ridiculed affectation, caricatured arrogance, and exposed credulity. He spared neither the puerile pursuits of the learned, nor the traditional superstitions of the vulgar. He was equally ready to attack the dogmatism of Burnet and the anilities of Boyle: he rebuked the pedantry of Bentley, and chastised the conjectural vanity of Whiston. The benevolent may revolt from that mind,

mind, of which the supreme delight appears to have been the detection or the exposition of human infirmities, but a sense of justice should impel them to acknowledge the obligations of English literature to his powerful pen: even the philosophical will not withhold praise from this adversary of philosophers, who, in dispelling those errors which obscured the judgment, accelerated the progress of real science, and contributed to the diffusion of truth.

The history of polite literature necessarily includes that of the drama. The progress of society is often more distinctly marked by the character of its amusements than by the language of those whose avowed object it is to impart instruction. At the æra of the Revolution a most important change is perceptible in public taste. The licentious plays of Beaumont and Fletcher, which, almost to the total exclusion of Shakespeare, had previously occupied the stage, were exploded; and in tragedy at least, decency and propriety of language were expected. The first reformer of the theatre was John Sheffield duke of Buckingham, who was himself accustomed to poetical composition, celebrated as a man of genius by his companions, and considered as a man of wit by his readers. His 'Essay on Poetry,' which was written under the superintendance, or, as has been suspected, with the assistance of Dryden, contains many good precepts, and exhibits with spirit and propriety the principles of taste. But his more popular work was 'The Rehearsal,' a mock-heroic play, comprising a series of parodies on the extravagant parts of Dryden, Davenant, and Howard, which are exquisitely ludicrous. The duke of Buckingham had exposed the follies of the stage; it was reserved for the famous Collier to reprove its vices. Towards the close of king William's reign, he published 'An Essay on the Immorality of the Stage;' and his arguments being combated by Congreve and other successful dramatists, he found himself involved in

in a serious controversy, which engaged the attention of the public: succeeding writers became more cautious, as their audience grew more refined.

It is well known that, during the prevalence of that depraved taste, which preferred Beaumont and Fletcher to Shakespeare, Otway and Southern, who approach the nearest to that great master in the power of moving the passions, were not duly appreciated and respected. Neither of these poets possessed that compass of thought, which enabled Shakespeare to penetrate to the recesses of nature: they produced not original character; they only conceived situations of powerful interest; they attempted not to unfold, nor to exhibit the progress of the passions from infancy to maturity; they waited for the critical moment of development, which they seized with the felicity of the artist, rather than with the energy of the poet. Still their merit was unquestionably great. It would not be easy to find scenes of equal pathos with those of 'Venice Preserved,' 'Oroonoko' and 'Isabella.' Southern was the professed admirer of Otway, whom he has perhaps unconsciously imitated in his Oroonoko. On the representation of his first play, 'The Unhappy Marriage,' Dryden carelessly observed, that he was much such another poet as Otway. It would have been a presumptuous exercise of private judgment, to have preferred Venice Preserved to Antony and Cleopatra; the literary merit of such a poet as Dryden being estimated far beyond the dramatic spirit of such a simple writer as Otway.

In the subsequent reign of Anne these plays were treated with more respect; yet they were not always preferred to the faultless 'Cato' of Addison, the insipid translation of 'Andromache' by Ambrose Phillips, or the classical 'Phædra' of Smith. It was not till the theatre became a popular amusement; till it was frequented by men and citizens, who aspired not to the appellation of critics or philosophers, that Otway and

and Southern, or even Shakespeare, received their just meed of applause. At this period, it was the object of Addison, both by precept and example, to subject the English poet to those rules of criticism which had been prescribed by Aristotle, and embraced by Corneille and Racine. In his own Cato he has scrupulously observed the three unities, and his authority prevailed on other writers to adopt his principles; but their limitations were repugnant to English taste. The same good sense which had exploded the Gallican ornament of rhyme, rejected the unities, though sanctioned by the name of Aristotle, and recommended by the pen of Addison. Of those who followed in this track of singularity, the most eminent was Edward Smith, a man for whom the reputation of a most accomplished scholar seems to have procured that high consideration which is alone due to transcendent genius. Smith was a native of Worcestershire, but received his education under Dr. Busby; and on his removal from Westminster was admitted to Christ-church, Oxford, where he soon established his literary character by his Latin ode 'On the Death of Dr. Pococke,' the celebrated orientalist, which put him on a level with the first classical writers of the age.

After some years, during which his talents extorted deference, whilst the irregularity of his conduct provoked reproach, he was formally expelled. On leaving Oxford he repaired to London, where he coalesced with the whigs, but owing to his own negligence participated not in their munificence: his tragedy of Phædra was long extravagantly praised by scholars, but proved very unacceptable to the people; and now that the spirit of party has ceased, and the spirit of criticism is expanded, is generally allowed to be as little pleasing to the closet as the stage.

Mr. Smith afterwards began a tragedy on the subject of Lady Jane Grey, but lived not to finish it. The design was afterwards executed by Nicholas Rowe, who was indisputably the

the best dramatic poet of his own age; and, if the moral tendency of his work be admitted as a claim to excellence, ought to be included among the best which any age has produced. He was educated at Westminster, and was one of Dr. Busby's pupils. At sixteen, he was entered a student at the Middle Temple, but was seduced by his love of poetry from his professional pursuits; and having at five-and-twenty produced a successful tragedy, ('The Ambitious Stepmother,') he renounced law, and devoted himself to literature. The performance of 'Tamerlane' augmented his reputation, and was long his most popular production. 'The Fair Penitent' is now generally esteemed his masterpiece; but his 'Jane Shore' is, perhaps, the play which creates in the audience the strongest interest. His last tragedy was 'Lady Jane Grey,' in which he was not equally fortunate. He published a respectable edition of Shakespeare, and a spirited translation of Lucan.

As a tragic writer, Rowe is entitled to take precedence of every writer in the 18th century: he discarded the triple unities, for the laws of truth, propriety, and nature. In his juvenile essays, it would not be difficult to expose bombastic passages; but in the productions of his riper mind he seldom deviates from the simple language of feeling; his characters are all individual beings: they are not the dramatic automata, who perform the machinery of the scene, and who, when the curtain drops, are immediately forgotten; they are such as not only appear to participate in the common feelings of humanity, but to leave with the audience an impression of their positive existence.

It is a remark exemplified by experience, that those poets who have possessed the greatest ascendant over the passions have seldom been at the pains to construct their own plots. To this rule, however, Rowe is an exception: his fable is commonly the fabric of his own invention; and, by a singular felicity, he is at once original and judicious. The outline of

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The Fair Penitent is indeed found in Beaumont and Fletcher: but it is the outline only which Rowe has borrowed; the harmony of the figures, the light and shadow of the scene, are from his own pencil. In Jane Shore he has conceived situations which irresistibly create solicitude and sympathy. In the structure of his verse he is equally happy; it is neither turgid nor prosaic; it flows without the precision of metre, yet is sufficiently harmonious to gratify and delight the ear.

Whoever compares the constrained numbers of Smith, or the monotonous melody of Fenton, with the easy yet spirited language of Rowe, cannot but become sensible to his superior merit. But the most substantial proof of Rowe's eminence, is, the ascendant which his plays continue to possess with the public. No writer has ever succeeded better in rendering the stage subservient to a moral aim. In Jane Shore, he has disclosed the gradations between folly and guilt; he has shown that vanity is the minister of vice, and that frailty leads to the most atrocious crimes: such a writer merits both the respect and gratitude of society. After contemplating Rowe, it is not pleasing to examine the pretensions of other tragic writers. Aaron Hill, an indefatigable maker of tragedies, translated the 'Zaïre' of Voltaire. Hughes, a respectable critic and exemplary man, produced 'The Siege of Damascus.' Fenton, well known as the coadjutor of Pope in translating the Odyssey, acquired celebrity by his 'Mariamne.' All these writers supported the interests of virtue; they inculcated the duties of morality, and observed chaste decorous language.

But although the interposition of Collier had effected this reform in tragedy, the writers of comedy were still coarse and licentious. Of these Farquhar and Vanburgh were the principal delinquents. The former, who was a native of Ireland, had received his education at Londonderry. He came to England in pursuit

pursuit of fortune; and, under the pressure of indigence, employed his talents in writing for the stage. Like Congreve, he arrived at early maturity :—his two volumes of plays were produced in a few years. He died before he completed his thirtieth year. Of his plays, his 'Inconstant' is the best, although his 'Beaux Stratagem' has been the more popular performance. He is rather the caricaturist of men than the painter of nature. He was a keen observer of life, but no adept in the human character. He has less wit than Congreve, but pleases more from the unconstrained gaiety of his dialogue. It is creditable to his talents, that some of his comedies still keep the stage; and, with all their delinquencies of indelicacy and profligate morals, continue to receive applause. But this circumstance reflects little honour on modern refinement; the spirit of Collier should again be invoked, to chase such offensive scenes from the presence of an enlightened, polished, and elegant society.

Biograph. Brit.—Lives of the Poets.—Life of Swift.—Musæ Anglicanæ.—Collier.—Roscius Anglicanus.

THE

BRITISH AND FOREIGN

HISTORY

For the Year 1808.

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CHAPTER I.

Cursory View of the State of Affairs on the Continent—Account of his Majesty's Speech—Debates on the King's Speech in the House of Lords—Proceedings on the same Subject in the Commons—Notice to bring in a Bill to prevent granting Places in Reversion—Report on the Address, and His Majesty's Answer—Mr. Sheridan's Notice on the State of Ireland—Discussion on the Bill to prevent granting Places in Reversion: its progress and final rejection in the House of Lords—Orders of Council—Thanks to the Officers commanding the Baltic Expedition—Committee of Supply—Speaker's Address to the Officers commanding in the Baltic; and their Reply—Mr. Ponsonby's Motion on the Copenhagen Expedition—The Duke of Norfolk's Motion on the same.

THE political history of the year 1808 cannot but be interesting to those who take any concern in the events of the world, and in the various changes and revolutions to which the nations of the earth are subject. Hitherto the aspect of affairs on the continent has been favourable to that order of things for which we have been struggling for a series of years. The emperor of France has received such checks both in Portugal and Spain as he could not have anticipated: hoping unquestionably long ere this to have quietly placed on the thrones of Spain and Portugal branches of his own family, or creatures adapted to execute his purposes, he must have felt no small share of disappointment in being forced to receive his brother as a fugitive from the kingdom over which he had intended him to reign. His armies have, almost for the first time, been beaten and captured, in a measure, by raw and undisciplined troops, who have been excited to resistance and victory by a patriotism, which, if not

founded on the most perfect principles, and guided by the purest dictates o general liberty, deserves, at least, the plaudits of those who feel for the dignity of independent states.

In the hands of an overruling Providence, we doubt not that the lust of dominion, which actuates every motion of Bonaparte, will eventually be advantageous to the world. His very thirst after power, and the method which he has taken to render himself absolute over almost the whole continent of Europe, may, and we hope will, be the means of limiting his government, and of exciting in the different kingdoms and states over which he holds a temporary reign, those discussions that shall eventually be favourable to the best interests of man. Should Spain succeed in thwarting his views, and driving back his mercenaries beyond the mountains, the apparently natural boundaries of the two countries, it will be a lesson of the highest importance to other countries who have been ranked higher in the scale of intellect than Spain. It cannot, however, be expected that the Spaniards and Portuguese should effect their deliverance without a struggle; and it is hoped that they may calculate upon much evil as necessary to the establishment of their rights, as we do not, and they must not, imagine that their enemy will easily be baffled in his projects. They cannot suppose he will give up plans that he has once adopted, without sacrificing much treasure, and immolating at the shrine of his ambition thousands and thousands of his subjects. He, who never knew the ties of parental affection, will, to execute his purposes, deprive, without compassion or remorse, myriads of helpless infants of their parents, the guides and the protectors of their lives.

We pretend not to anticipate the events of the remaining months of the year, but we hope, we ardently implore the great Ruler of the universe, that he may prosper the cause of those who are contending for their dearest rights, that he would bless the efforts that are making against the oppressions of the present ruler of France; and happy indeed shall we be, if the latter pages of this department of our volume be written in the language of exultation for successes obtained by our allies, and by our own armies who have gone forth in their support. As Englishmen, we have cause sufficient for humility, and just indignation at the convention made in Portugal; but we are quite sure that the abhorrence with which that is held by the whole country, without, we verily believe, a single dissentient voice, will for ever prevent a like stain from being impressed on the character of our military commanders. We would not, indeed, be hasty in censuring any man; we at present (October) are ignorant of the causes which led to the act, and therefore it would be unjust to assume any thing further than the hope that those who are guilty in the business may meet with punishment. The truth will scarcely be elicited till it be drawn forth in parliamentary discussion: those who have already for several weeks kept back the facts upon which the business is to be justified or condemned, will, no doubt, preserve the same *dignified* silence, as it has been termed, till the nation has, by its petitions and its representatives, demanded a full and

and explicit solution of all its difficulties, and a fair exposition of the motives which led to the very extraordinary terms granted to a vanquished enemy.

In a succeeding chapter we shall take a view of the state of the world at the commencement of the present year, and shall now proceed to a sketch of the debates in parliament, at least to those in which the reader will be most interested, and which are particularly connected with the political history of the year.

It was not till the 21st of January that the session of parliament was opened by commission, and his majesty's speech was read by the lord chancellor. This speech will be found at the commencement of the public papers: the greater part of it consisted in a recapitulation of the events that had occurred since the prorogation. It states that his majesty had been apprised of the enemy's intention, after the treaty of Tilsit, to force the neutral powers into cooperation against this country, and to employ the whole naval force of Europe for that purpose, and particularly the fleets of Portugal and Denmark. On this ground it justifies the proceedings relative to those countries. It mentions that the enemy's attempts to excite hostilities between his majesty and his late allies have been too successful with respect to Russia, Austria, and Prussia; and that the ministers from those powers have demanded and received their passports. It laments that his majesty has not been able to terminate the war with Turkey; but applauds the firmness of the king of Sweden in adhering to his alliance with this country. The speech then adverts to the rejection of the treaty of amity and commerce by the United States of America; and on this subject it affirms, that "for an unauthorised act of force committed against an American ship of war, his majesty did not hesitate to offer immediate and spontaneous reparation." It speaks of the pretensions made by the American government inconsistent with the maritime rights of Great Britain, which his majesty is determined never to admit: it nevertheless expresses a hope that the subsisting difficulties of discussion may be removed. It then alludes to the measure of retaliation which had been resorted to in consequence of the French decree of blockade, and which would require parliamentary aid for their full operation. To the house of commons the speech states such an increase in the produce of the permanent and temporary revenues, as lead to the hope that it may be possible to raise the supplies for the year without any material addition to the public burthens. It concludes with asserting, that the sole object of the war is the attainment of a secure and honourable peace, but which can only be negotiated upon a footing of perfect equality. "The eyes of Europe," says the speech, "and of the world are fixed upon the British parliament. If, as his majesty confidently trusts, you display, in this crisis of the fate of the country, the characteristic spirit of the British nation, and face unappalled the unnatural combination which is gathered around us; his majesty bids us to assure you of his firm persuasion, that, under the blessing of divine Providence, the struggle will prove ultimately successful and glorious to Great Britain."

As soon as the speaker and the house of commons had withdrawn, and the speech was read according to the usual forms,

The earl of Galloway rose to move an address of thanks to his majesty. He took an extensive and able review of all the topics alluded to in the speech, and, having gone over every material point, he concluded by saying, "But, my lords, our chief concern is with France, with whom some individuals would make a peace. I have taken the liberty, my lords, to write down some of her sentiments upon this subject, as described in what we may call her official paper, and wherein she informs you, conformably to her practice since the earliest periods of her revolution, of the conduct she means to pursue, and from which she has never varied but from necessity alone. She proclaims, my lords, 'that she will not only not lay down her arms, but will augment her force, until she has conquered the liberties of the seas, the first right of all nations.' In recommending to us an armed truce, which she calls a peace, she says, 'It shall endure until she chooses to proclaim anew the principles of her armed neutrality, when she permits you to proclaim your principles of maritime law.' Now, my lords, is this that which you are willing to accept as your peace? Have we already forgotten the peace of Amiens? Do we wish to see her seamen all restored, and the pendants of her ships going up, when ours will necessarily be coming down? Never will I believe that the good sense of this country will entertain the idea of peace until moderation marks the conduct of this enemy, for his professions are not worthy of reflection. I am glad to see a great commercial city think like me, and I hope her opinions and example will be imitated by others. My lords, although the arms of Europe may appear on the side of France, I cannot believe their hearts are against this country. If we remain firm and unappalled, as recommended by his majesty, and exemplified by himself, some balance may yet be preserved in Europe; if we yield, no man can see the consequences. Having now, my lords, though in a very inadequate manner, animadverted upon the prominent features of the speech, I shall conclude my address to your lordships in what may be termed a trite and common manner; but it is neither, on that account, the less appropriate nor required. I allude, my lords, to my hopes that I may receive the unanimous concurrence of your lordships to the address I am about to propose. Parliament was never assembled, my lords, at a period when the example of unanimity would be so beneficial; I therefore solicit it: to mark to the enemy, that we are unanimous in our opposition to him; to manifest to the people of this country that we are unanimous when their first and most essential interests are concerned; and to show to his majesty that undiminished respect and attachment, so much his due: to do our duty, my lords, in imitation of him, who, through a long, arduous, but a glorious reign, has so conspicuously done his." His lordship concluded by moving an address to his majesty, which, as usual, re-echoed the sentiments of the speech.

Lord Kenyon seconded the address. He touched on the topics of the speech, as had been done by the noble mover; but he dwelt chiefly on that passage which related to the emigration of the court of Portugal to the Brazils, which he considered as a measure likely

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to produce the most beneficial effects to this country. He also adverted to our dispute with America, and applauded the spirit with which ministers conducted themselves in not surrendering the naval rights of the country to the claims of those people; and he concluded by hoping that the house, by unanimously voting the address, would show to the common enemy that they could hope nothing from a disunion in our domestic opinions.

The question on the address being put,

The duke of Norfolk rose, and said, that he completely agreed with the noble lord who had moved the address, in thinking that there never was a more momentous period in the history of this country, nor one where it was more desirable that the most perfect unanimity should be preserved. Satisfied, however, as he was, of this, he was sorry that it would be impossible for him to give his unqualified assent to the address as it stood. There was one paragraph in it which he regretted it should have been deemed necessary to introduce. It was that which regarded Denmark. The speech declared, that it was with the deepest reluctance that his majesty had found himself compelled to resort to the extremity of force against this power, but that he had the greatest satisfaction in congratulating their lordships upon the successful execution of this painful but necessary service. The noble lord who moved the address had introduced a paragraph joining in these congratulations, expressive, however, of the painful sensations which accompanied the adoption of the measures alluded to, and his conviction of the necessity of recurring to such measures. Now, from looking in the most careful manner to the speech, his grace did not perceive that it was in the contemplation of his majesty's servants to afford to the house any such information on the subject as should enable them to say, that they saw reason for concurring in the necessity of the measure. Without the production of a single paper, his grace thought it was going too far to expect of him, or of that house, that they should not only declare their conviction of the necessity of employing the fleets and armies of this country in seizing on the fleet of a friendly power, while laid up within the walls of their city, but should even congratulate government on the success of a measure so subversive of the established laws of nations. He was aware it would be said, that policy required that every species of discretion should be observed in exposing matters of such delicacy. The principle of this, or the propriety of acting up to it, in most instances, he was far from disputing; but he thought it was carrying the doctrine rather too far, to desire of that house to express their opinion of the necessity of a measure of so extreme a nature, without the most distant tittle of evidence to justify it. His grace concluded with moving that that clause be omitted.

Viscount Sidmouth concurred most sincerely with the noble lord who had moved the address, and with the noble duke who had just sat down, as to the very great importance of unanimity, and he found himself entitled to blame the conduct of ministers, who, by their mode of proceeding, had put it out of the power of the house to give a proof of their unanimity on the present occasion. When his lordship considered the mode, however,

in which subjects calculated to create disunion were introduced; when he looked particularly to that clause of the speech which had been observed on by the noble duke, he found it impossible for him not to give his support to the amendment proposed. The speech referred to the fact of his majesty having been apprised of the intention of the enemy to combine the powers of the continent "in one general confederacy, to be directed, either to the entire subjugation of this kingdom, or to the imposing upon his majesty an insecure and inglorious peace." That for this purpose states formerly neutral were to be forced into hostility, and compelled "to bring to bear against the different parts of his majesty's dominions the whole of the naval force of Europe, and specifically the fleets of Portugal and Denmark." If this were really the case, it would be a complete justification of the conduct of this country, not only in the eyes of ourselves, but of the whole world. For the moment a nation meditates hostility against you, that is to be regarded as a declaration of war. No persons can be bound to lie by till it be convenient for their enemies to attack them. But then, to give effect to this justification, some proof of the truth and existence of it must be adduced. It is not sufficient to say, We know we were correct; it is essential to the character of a country acting in this manner, not for its vindication merely in the eyes of foreign nations, but even to the maintenance of its respect at home, to show some one or other of the proofs on which it founds its justification. Where, he would ask, were the demonstrations of hostility manifested on the part of Denmark towards this country? Where were her armies? In Holstein. Where was her fleet? Lying in ordinary. Her armies, so far from being in hostile movement against us, were, to the number of 25,000 men, encamped in Holstein, guarding against the inroads of the French. Had they been in Zealand, we might not so easily have been able to congratulate ourselves on the victory we obtained. Her navy, so far from meditating hostilities against us, was surprised, the greater part of it in a state of complete disrepair. It was said, however, that the French would have seized on Holstein, and might from thence easily have passed over to Zealand. This, his lordship understood, was by no means so easy as was imagined. Such a frost seldom occurred as to give a complete passage from the one place to the other; and even when it did so happen, the people of Zealand might break the ice nearest to their own side. Supposing, however, that the French might thus have got possession of the Danish navy, still it remained to be inquired what use they could make of it? For, in viewing a question of this kind, where we vindicated an outrage on our part, on the ground that we were apprehensive of a danger accruing thence to us, it became us to show that the injury we dreaded was imminent, and which we could only have averted from ourselves by the outrage we committed against our neighbour, which was comparatively of trifling import. On this principle, he would ask, what had we to dread from the addition to the French force of sixteen sail of the line, composed of such ships as those of Denmark? Even before the battle of Trafalgar, we could have had nothing to dread from such an accession of

strength

strength to our enemy, far less now. Previously to that glorious victory, when the greater part of our enemies' effective force was destroyed, at a time when all the northern powers were our declared enemies, did Britain shrink from the contest, or insinuate that she entertained such fears for her existence, as our recent attack on the defenceless Danes seems to betray? Surely not. We then bravely met the storm, and prevailed, as we should have done on the present occasion had we confined ourselves to our usual mode of honourable warfare. We were told, however, that these hostile dispositions on the part of the northern powers, had begun to show themselves ever since the peace of Tilsit. He would ask, then, why we had allowed a Russian fleet since that time to pass through the Mediterranean, and three sail of the line belonging to that power to go unmolested at the very time the Danish fleet was seized on. Would it not have been more magnanimous to attack the powerful than the weak? It was known that the minds of the inhabitants of St. Petersburgh were favourable to this country. By presenting itself at a proper season before that capital, our fleet might have gained possession of it, and thus Sweden would have been saved, and Denmark, who was as much our friend as Russia was our ally, would have been spared. This mode of warfare his lordship particularly objected to, as going to overturn the law of nations. It would have been more becoming in Great Britain to oppose our honour and good faith to our enemies' mode of warfare.

The earl of Aberdeen defended the expedition to Copenhagen; and maintained that self-protection was a leading principle of the law of nations. There wanted no greater proof of the inability of the Danish government to resist the power of France, and the determination of the latter power to compel it to join in hostilities against this country; than their joining the northern confederacy in 1801, and alleging as a reason for it, their inability to resist the power of Russia. It was in vain, therefore, to urge, that Denmark might have resisted the power of France, and thus draw an inference against the expedition, as it was evident she could not; added to which, she had repeatedly evinced hostility against this country.

Lord Grenville agreed in the terms of the king's speech, that we were "in the crisis of the fate of the country; and that the eyes of the world were fixed upon the British parliament;" for upon their wisdom depended the existence of the British empire, which had stood a thousand years, and of the British constitution, the pride and boast of human wisdom; both had ripened and grown together, and could only be maintained and preserved by the prudence of parliament. The points alluded to in the speech were those on which parliament were called upon to decide before any information was submitted to them that could guide their decision. Of these points, the seizure of the Danish fleet, and the bombardment of Copenhagen, were far the most prominent. On the justice and necessity of that measure it was difficult for him to pronounce, because he was ignorant of the grounds upon which it was to be justified. He had first to complain, that the assertions in the declaration and those contained in the speech of this day, were wholly at variance. Even that declaration

was not laid before the house. The declaration supposed the existence of secret articles entered into at Tilsit, by virtue of which a general confederacy was to be formed against this country. These articles are the acts of hostility that are set up as a justification of our conduct towards Denmark: Where are those secret articles? The enemy denies their existence, and calls on us to prove it. What does the speech say;—we see nothing in it of those secret articles and arrangements—it speaks only of information of the designs of the enemy to raise a confederacy against us. Was Denmark a party to the secret articles we complain of? Why not attack Russia on the same grounds? But the house has only the assertions of ministers that such were the sentiments of Denmark. It is not enough to prove that France meditated such hostile intentions against us; it should likewise be proved, that she had the means of executing her designs. It is said, Denmark had not the means of resisting France; and France once in possession of Holstein, must soon be in possession of Zealand; and therefore of Copenhagen, and of the Danish fleet. But is not Zealand an island? Is that island not secured by two branches of the sea, one of six miles broad, the other of sixteen miles? The channel that divides England from France is only five miles broader. God forbid it should therefore be said, that because the French were in possession of Calais, they would soon have possession of England. In heart and conscience we cannot justify the measure on the grounds laid before us. It were to be wished that a better case were made out: and if it can, let it be submitted to parliament. The noble lord disapproved of the rejection of the mediation of Russia. He never would admit the doctrine, that in order to be a proper mediator, the mediating power must be perfectly impartial. The language of the speech on the subject of peace was also inconsistent. In one place the speech said his majesty was ready to negotiate on safe and honourable terms; and immediately after, that peace could only be negotiated upon a footing of perfect equality. Never could he wish that England should proceed to negotiate but on the footing of equality: but this perfect equality might be too nicely weighed—and in the present state of Europe, the door should not be shut against peace upon honourable terms. The noble lord next adverted to our dispute with America, and the orders in council restricting the trade of neutrals. He contended that the latter would involve us in a war with America: that France had assured America she would never put her decrees in force against American ships; and by that declaration we are placed in the light in which France would have stood, if the late orders in council had not been issued. France has not the means of putting in force her own decrees; it is England that has now lent her the aid of the British navy to give them full effect, and thereby to annoy and distress British commerce. As to Portugal, what have we done? we are excluded from the two most important ports in Europe: and the change is, that the Brazils are now governed by the prince regent of Portugal instead of being governed by his viceroy. Does that advantage compensate the great losses which we otherwise sustain by the fate that has fallen upon Portugal,

and

and which we had taken no means to prevent? His lordship concluded by blaming ministers for not having done something to promote unanimity in Ireland, and expressing himself in terms of dissatisfaction at the whole of their conduct.

Lord Hawkesbury defended the attack on Copenhagen. They could not state their authority from obvious motives; but they had information that justified their proceedings. He stated the heads of information. First, they learned that there were secret engagements at the treaty of Tilsit; that the view of the parties was to confederate all the powers of Europe, and particularly to engage or seize on the fleets of Denmark and Portugal to annoy this country. They heard this from their public ministers then abroad. They heard it from their faithful ally, Portugal. They also received information of the hostile intentions of Denmark from a quarter to which they had often been indebted for the first knowledge of the designs of Bonaparte—from, or rather through, the disaffected in Ireland! They learned that Ireland was to be attacked from two points—Lisbon and Copenhagen; and they never found the information of these persons, however they came by it, false. And, finally, they had a confidential communication, that in the council of the highest authorities in Copenhagen the matter was discussed, whether, on an option that they should join either England or France, an option which they understood was to be put to them, they resolved to join France. Having learnt this, ministers would have been traitors if they had not secured the fleet. He then went over the other topics of lord Grenville's speech—Portugal, America, the orders in council, and the state of Ireland. On the two last he declined saying much. The one would come regularly before them on a future day, and the less that was said of the other the better.

Lord Buckinghamshire explained the measure of our sending a force to Madeira, in 1800, which had been alluded to by lord Hawesbury, as similar in principle to that of seizing the Danish fleet.

The earl of Lauderdale, in a most argumentative speech, urged the constitutional necessity of a bill of indemnity for the orders of council.

Lord Mulgrave said, that neither at the time of rejecting the Russian mediation, nor at this moment, had government any copy of the secret articles of the treaty of Tilsit. They were in possession of secret projects—but could only assert, not adduce proof of their nature.

The amendment, and another amendment by lord Grenville, declaratory of the opinion of the house, that it would neither be respectful to his majesty, nor becoming the dignity of the house, to give opinion as to the propriety of rejecting the Russian mediation, till the papers relative to that question were before the house—were both negatived without a division.

The address was then agreed to, and ordered to be presented.

In the house of commons, The speaker informed the house, that he had been in the house of peers, and had heard his majesty's speech by the lords commissioners read, of which he had procured a copy: which, according to usual custom, being read,

Lord Hamilton (son of the marquis Abercorn) rose, and in a maiden speech moved an address of thanks. He began by advert-

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ing to the nature of the struggle in which we were embarked; and to the nature and spirit of the foe with whom we had to contend. We were not, he said, only opposed as man to man, or as nation to nation, against one of the most gigantic powers that ever existed in the world, but to a power which, in addition to its own strength, had succeeded in absorbing into itself almost every other European state. The situation of the country was, therefore, most critical; it required the most vigorous exertion, it demanded the most liberal sacrifices. Faint-heartedness would be our destruction. There was no midway for us between success and ruin. Under such circumstances, the contemplation of the resources and spirit of the country was a subject of consolation and pride; and however the protraction of the war, with the inevitable burthens, and the partial obstruction to commerce which that protraction occasioned, were to be lamented, we had only to look around us, to be thankful for the contrast which we presented to neighbouring nations; to be thankful for the liberty, for the happiness, for the pre-eminence which we enjoyed; to be thankful that, instead of our means having been impaired by our difficulties, they had, on the contrary, increased with them, and had been cemented by the very circumstances which were projected for their destruction. Great Britain at the present moment exhibited the astonishing spectacle of a country, which, at the end of fifteen years war with a most powerful antagonist, had gained every thing, and lost nothing. Every where we had inflicted blows on our enemy, no where had we received a blow from him. Our commerce had flourished; our wealth had increased; our possessions had multiplied. Our navy, always formidable, had swept every hostile fleet from the face of the ocean. War, the curse of every other nation, had to Britain been a comparative blessing. Indeed, such was the extraordinary state of Europe, that he apprehended very much that war was the only mode by which the advantages which we had acquired could be maintained. Peace, under the present circumstances, while it would be as expensive to us as war, would be ten times as dangerous. Successfully, however, as we had resisted the machinations and the violence of our foe, still the house was not less bound to take care that those ministers, whose duty it was to direct the resources and the energies of the country, were fulfilling that duty; that they were competent to the discharge of the function with which they were invested; and that they deserved a continuation of the confidence of the country. This would be best ascertained by a retrospect of their acts; and those acts were so fully described in his majesty's most gracious speech, that it appeared to him needless to recapitulate them. Having, however, briefly adverted to them, he said, of the many important subjects of consideration suggested by his majesty's speech, none were more important than the principles adopted, and the steps taken, by our government, to frustrate the enemy's designs against our commerce. It was the broad principle of retaliation and self-defence. The conduct of France had annihilated every thing in the world like neutrality. There existed but two powers, the enemy's and our own: fortunately these powers were too

unequal

unequal to alarm us for the consequences, even should America be added to the number of our foes, an event which could in no wise be attributed to misconduct or precipitation on the part of his majesty's government. In a moment of phrensy, France had issued edicts levelled at our commerce. Had the object of these measures been obtained, had they even partially crippled our means, the consideration that a temporary distress to ourselves was utter ruin to our opponents, must have induced us to persevere in the contest with tranquillity and firmness; but the very reverse was the fact. So far from our means having diminished, although the different branches of our commerce might vary in extent, the aggregate of it exceeded that of the most prosperous period of our history; so much so indeed, that his majesty, in his most gracious speech, expressed his confidence, that no material increase to the burthens of his people would be necessary. He trusted, that we might look forward with as much hope and satisfaction as we could look back with content and gratitude. There was one subject from the contemplation of which, in every point of view, unalloyed pleasure must be derived; it was the rescue from the power of France, of one of the oldest and most faithful of our allies, transferred from a country weak and indefensible, to one secure and powerful; an occurrence which afforded a field for brilliant anticipations on our part. He concluded by moving that an humble address be presented to his majesty, &c.

The noble lord here delivered in the address, which was read at the table by the clerk, and was, as usual, in terms correspondent to those of the speech.

Mr. C. Ellis seconded the motion. Seldom had so many important events been crowded together in such a short space of time, as that which had intervened since the close of the last session. Here the honourable gentleman went over the various subjects to which his majesty's speech referred; and coming to America, he said, the relative situation of this country and America might afford ample room for remark, but the subject was of such a delicate nature, that he would abstain from enlarging upon it. The magnanimity of his majesty in offering reparation for injury, was most praiseworthy. He trusted that the Americans would see that it was not their true policy to unite themselves to France. The exception made in their favour in the British orders of council would, he hoped, be felt by them; an exception of the propriety of which he somewhat doubted, disposed as he was to bestow on those orders his general and decided approbation. The project of excluding us from the continent was now trying; the trial would require on our part great constancy, great exertions, and great sacrifices. Of the result, there could be no apprehension. They had enjoyed the satisfaction of hearing from the throne, of the stability of the resources, and the flourishing state of the commerce of the country. In the moral character of our government and of our people, in the wisdom and energy of the one, in the bravery and unanimity of the other, we possessed complete assurance of success in the contest in which we were engaged. If he dwelt more on the necessity of war, than on the

the more popular topic of the possibility of peace, it was not because he estimated too lightly the blessings of peace, but because he dreaded the effects of hasty and premature peace. We had ample means of carrying on war. In our navy we had not only the most efficient defence, but a greater power of active hostility than perhaps we were yet ourselves aware of. By exerting our naval force in every possible direction, we might show the enemy that a predominant navy gives a power scarcely inferior to that of a conquering army; we might control the haughty mind of the ruler of France, and inspire him with that respect for this country, which alone would ensure permanent tranquillity.

Viscount Milton regretted to find that ministers were not apparently disposed to peace. Peace he should ever think most desirable, and he could have wished, that ministers had expressed their willingness to enter into a negotiation on suitable conditions; at the same time he did not approve of any idle clamours for peace, before the terms of a negotiation should be ascertained. The attack on Copenhagen he considered as *primâ facie* unjustifiable; but, at the same time, did not deny, that there might be circumstances (as yet unrevealed) that might ultimately justify it.

Mr. Ponsonby said, that his majesty's speech embraced such a variety of topics, that it was not easy to express one's sentiments upon it. Its principal object he understood to be the elucidation of our relations of peace and war with other powers; and before he could declare an opinion upon the conduct on which these relations depended, he must be in possession of the correspondence which had taken place between our own government and the governments of foreign nations. If he was to express an opinion in general terms, it would be, that it was unquestionably desirable that we should make as many friends and as few enemies as we could, and that the blessings of peace should be as much extended, and the calamities of war as much circumscribed, as possible. This, however, was merely an abstract opinion, and the extension of hostilities in present circumstances it might have been impossible to prevent. He thought that ministers were not only perfectly justifiable, but were bound in duty to assume an attitude of dignity, worthy at the same time of the character and resources of the country; but if they acted upon any other principle than was authorised either by our honour or our interests, they did wrong. England ought not to stoop to France; for if she once bowed her neck, she never would raise it again; but whether a prolongation of the war with France, or the commencement of hostilities with other powers, was the only alternative left us, he was not possessed of information sufficient to enable him to form an opinion. Ministers might be perfectly right, in which case they were entitled to praise, or they might be entirely wrong, and in this case he certainly would express his disapprobation.

One of the principal objects of the speech evidently was to obtain the unqualified approbation of the house to their conduct towards Denmark, without producing a single document to justify it. They promised to lay before parliament copies

copies of their correspondence with the courts of St. Petersburg, Berlin, and Vienna; but they thought it altogether unnecessary to communicate a single particle of information upon a measure which, beyond all others, involved the national character. It had been, Mr. Ponsonby asserted, the great boast of this country throughout the whole progress of the war, that we had exercised an exemplary forbearance, notwithstanding all the unprincipled aggressions of France, and the numerous instances on her part of contempt of the independence and rights of other nations. Our good faith had often been contrasted, with a sort of triumph, with the treachery of our enemy; and this good faith had, deservedly perhaps, been considered as one of our surest bulwarks of defence. We now lay under, not barely the suspicion, but a formal accusation of having forfeited this character; and how was parliament to judge how far this accusation was true or false, without being in possession of all the documents connected with the transaction which has furnished our enemies with matter of reproach? He hoped the reproach was ill-founded. He could conceive circumstances in which ministers might be perfectly justifiable; in which they might be right in acting as they did; nay, in which they would have been altogether unjustifiable in acting otherwise. But as ministers themselves, if he could judge from the speech, seemed to have no idea of giving any papers of their own accord, he should certainly consider it as his duty to move for them, in order that it might be made apparent whether their conduct was justifiable or unjustifiable, politic or unwise. He then entered at large into the situation of the country with regard to Petersburgh, Vienna, and Berlin. Here too, it was possible that he might be wrong; but all that he wished was, that the house should not give any pledge till they were in possession of the information necessary to regulate their judgment. The house, he asserted, was equally destitute of information upon the question relative to America and neutral nations, and till this information was granted, he had no wish to anticipate their opinion. He should only observe generally, that he should be willing and ready at all times to support any measures which might be found necessary for the assertion of our honour, or the maintenance of our interest. There was another subject of much importance which might have been introduced into the speech, but respecting which it was wholly silent, namely, the present state of Ireland. On this subject not one word was said, though there was certainly none to which it was more the duty of ministers to call the attention of parliament. He hoped, however, that it was their intention to supply this omission, in the course of this session of parliament. He was fully sensible of the importance which every measure of a public nature derived from coming directly from the servants of the crown; and he hoped that much time would not elapse before they came forward with some propositions calculated to quiet those apprehensions which were at this moment, he was afraid, equally general and well founded. Having said these few words, he professed to have no intention of taking the sense of the house upon the address. Upon questions where they were wholly

without

without information, it would be absurd to call upon it to express an opinion. He hoped that ministers had conducted themselves with propriety; but if they had not, he was well assured that the country would not submit to the obloquy of a disgraceful transaction.

Mr. Milnes said, he could without difficulty concur in the address, because he had no hesitation in giving his entire approbation to the conduct of his majesty's government. If ministers had, since the termination of the last session of parliament, performed so many essential services to the nation; if they had crowded, as had been well and ably stated by his honourable friend (if he would allow him to call him so), into so short a space of time, a greater number of important events than had ever in the compass of a similar period been accomplished, and certainly than had been effected by the administration which preceded them in office; he could not possibly feel any difficulty in supporting the address which expressed approbation of their measures. He looked upon it to be no inconsiderable test of the unobjectionable nature of the address, that neither the sagacity of the honourable member who had just sat down, nor of the noble lord who preceded him, could select any one point to which they could seriously object. It was the first duty of ministers to act upon the necessity, and it was equally their duty to use their discretion in judging of that necessity; and if in acting upon it they were to err at all, it was much better that they should err upon the side of public security. Their conduct might be made the subject of factious accusations, but in such a case they would defend themselves from the charge, by providing for the safety of the factious in common with the other members of the community. He should not then enter into an argument to show that governments were justified in acting on probabilities, because that doctrine was consonant with the law of nations, if any public law had survived the subjugation of the powers of the continent, or if there was now any rule for the conduct of nations to be found in Europe but the Napoleon code. Mr. Milnes then went into the various questions respecting Russia, Portugal, and Denmark. These were the various topics which arose out of the address; they with him bespoke individually the prudence and activity of ministers, and presented in the aggregate a prospect the most satisfactory. What might be the issue of these our endeavours, whether peace or war, he could not say: if war, we had the hope of similar success; if peace, the consciousness that we have earned it. That peace, of which they had that night heard so much, he would entrust to the hands of ministers. They would on the one hand perceive and estimate, what the sincerest lover of peace must admit to be discouraging, that peace in its most flattering aspect would be little more than a suspension of hostilities, and that no formal act of government could root out rancour and stifle jealousy; and if therefore we did sheath the sword, that our hand must never quit the hilt: and above all, feeling that Bonaparte would in his terms wish to question our maritime supremacy, a patrimony entailed upon us, and therefore not matter of negotiation, they would judge how far a peace was promising under such appearances. He repeated it,

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that were Bonaparte to abdicate his throne, and depose all his minion princes; were he to restore to France her legal government, and to Europe the balance of power; they would not in his mind be equivalents for the sacrifice of our command at sea, or justify ministers in dishonouring this unattainted title by which we style ourselves Englishmen. On the other hand, he trusted that ministers were fully awake to the exigencies; that they require no speeches or petitions to tell them that privations must be numerous, and the pressure deplorably severe.

Mr. Whitbread intended, at a moment so critical and important, to submit a few observations to the house: but even if he had no such intention, he should have found himself called upon to advert to some things that had fallen from the honourable gentleman who had just sat down. If there was no other justification of the attack upon Denmark than what had been given this evening, he had no hesitation in declaring it base and treacherous; and in prognosticating, that it would prove as prejudicial to us in its political consequences as it had been unjust in its origin and cruel in its mode of execution. The honourable gentleman had attempted to justify the deed, on the score of necessity; and, in doing so, had argued, that the more concealed was the enmity of Denmark, the more necessary it was for us to follow it up. But by the same mode of reasoning, would not any individual in private life be justified in assassinating another, whom, for some cause or other, he suspected of entertaining a sentiment of concealed hatred? When the honourable gentleman who seconded the address, in talking of our resources, numbered among them our morality as a nation, he was surprised that he did not blush. Are we really, Mr. Whitbread asked, come to this pass, that it is announced in a public declaration, given in the name of the king, that we who have been always bowing at the altar of the living God, acknowledging his superintending providence, and professing obedience to his laws, have been always in the wrong; and that Bonaparte, that worshipper of Baal, has been always in the right? The honourable gentleman, too, had talked of the glorious results of the contest, while, with the same breath, they were told, that after fifteen years war, we had arrived at a state in which we could exert our naval force so as to surprise the enemy! And how was this illustrated? We had, in the course of the last summer, taken sixteen hulks (for this was the only name by which he could call them) from Denmark, so many tons of hemp, and a quantity, he knew not how many, of spars, masts, &c. And what, he asked, had we paid for these, merely politically speaking? We had given the whole maritime population of Denmark to France; we had given to France the hearts of all her people. Mr. Whitbread declared that he would rather have seen the fleet of Denmark in forced hostility against us, manned by her sailors, acting under compulsion, than he would, after what has happened, see them moored in our own ports. In addition to the inveterate animosity of Denmark, to which this act had given rise, had it not also been the means of cutting off our communication with the continent, as well as of throwing Denmark into the arms of France? But we were told, that it would be dangerous to grant the information desired. To whom,

he asked, would it be dangerous? To ministers? It might or it might not be so, for he verily believed they had none to give. As to the fact itself, we have assertion against assertion: the assertion of the crown prince of Denmark on the one hand, and an assertion which ministers had put into the mouth of their sovereign on the other: and for his own part, he had no hesitation in saying, that he gave credit to the former in preference to the latter. From the subject of the expedition to Copenhagen, the honourable member passed to the emigration of the court of Lisbon, from which ministers had the countenance to claim great merit. That this had turned out fortunately he was ready to admit, but that they had any thing to do with it he utterly and entirely denied. In the speech they would make the world believe that they were not likely to be tricked and bamboozled by the prince regent of Portugal, as they would have been by the crown prince of Denmark had it not been for their vigorous and energetic measures. No, no; every thing at Lisbon was sincerity, openness, and good faith. They and their agent lord Strangford brought about the whole by dexterity and address. But in the midst of all this boasting, did they forget that the prince regent had published a proclamation in the first place, telling all the English to get out of the way as fast as they could, and, in the next place, announcing his determination to join the continental confederacy against this country? In the mean time, however, Bonaparte's injudicious, cruel, and wicked proclamation (they might call it by what epithets they would) appeared, and in the absence of lord Strangford the prince regent changed his mind. At length lord Strangford returned: finding, very unexpectedly, that the court had embarked, he assured it of the forgiveness of his sovereign, and fortunately the fleet set sail to the Brazils. This was the plain matter of fact. As to the commercial prospect which this event was represented as opening to us, all he would say was, that the gentlemen on the other side, who had drawn such a lively picture of what might be expected from it, were very young, and might live to see their prophecies realized, but for himself, he had no such hope. He could neither, therefore, approve of thanking ministers for getting off the court of Portugal to the Brazils, nor for their expedition to Denmark, in which, in his opinion, they had a great deal of demerit; and if he thought that he could be supposed as approving of that part of the address which related to these subjects, he would move that the two paragraphs should be left out. But there was another part of the address, which, instead of being matter of congratulation, was to him the subject of the greatest possible pain. It was easy to perceive that its great object was to impress the public with the idea that this was not the time to make peace. It had been his constant object, from the beginning of the contest, to bring about this event, and he had no hesitation in now giving it as his opinion that negotiation had not always failed because France was in the wrong, and the powers with which she negotiated in the right. He was far from wishing to yield, as it was called, to France. But he wished that ministers should yield to the dictates of prudence; and above all, that they should yield their asperities:

ties: and while they complain of the acrimonious expressions of France against us, they should forbear provoking them. Of the orders in council he should only say, that they would be productive of much distress to a great body of the people. In consequence of this distress, they must lay their account with hearing complaints; and these complaints, instead of being repressed, he was of opinion, ought to be encouraged; because, if they were stifled, they would vent themselves perhaps in a way less constitutional than by petition to the legislature. These complaints would be louder and more frequent, if it was understood that ministers were resolved upon war. He was not sure that peace could be obtained, but at any rate negotiation ought to be tried. He wished rather that the country should perish, than that it should submit to ignominious terms; but he deprecated all attempts to show our capacity to carry on endless war. If we must die, said Mr. Whitbread, let us die manfully and with glory; but do not let us be told that death is impossible. He concluded by pressing the state of Ireland on the attention of ministers.

Mr. secretary Canning expressed some surprise that the honourable gentleman opposite (Mr. Ponsonby) should have required time to marshal his arguments, with a view to convince any small portion of persons who might be persuaded to agree with him in his opinions upon the matter of the address. By what had fallen from the honourable gentleman, he seemed to expect voluminous documents respecting treaties with those courts; but on a reference to the words of the speech, he would find that they referred only to official notes which passed between his majesty's ministers and the Russian and Austrian ministers. If the honourable gentleman should think that his majesty's ministers were justified in not accepting the mediation offered, until they could ascertain whether the power offering it was in a situation to mediate impartially, and the notes to be produced should prove that fact, he hoped for his approbation of their conduct, in not consenting to treat till they should know upon what basis, a question that had occupied three months in the late negotiation. As to Austria, she has never assigned any cause for her hostility to this country, and this fact would appear from the documents to be produced. With respect to the motion of which the honourable gentleman had given notice, for papers relating to the expedition to Copenhagen, it was very possible he might move for some information which might safely be produced. But if he should, for the purpose of removing, as he represented it, the foulest stain that ever attached to the annals of any nation, move for the secret information upon which that expedition was undertaken, as far as his judgment went, he believed he would never have ocular conviction. The honourable gentleman was at a loss to imagine why this secret intelligence was not published. But he would assure that honourable gentleman, that as the fact now stood, and as it would be made out in argument, ministers would trust to it for their justification, and never expose the source of their secret intelligence. If this subject was again to be brought into discussion, he begged then to state that he would prove the measure not to have been unprecedented; and

though their conduct might be held up in a few speeches in that house to the execration of the country, they would run that risk and incur that penalty rather than suffer the secret to be torn from their bosoms. But was this the moment when such a publication was to be called for? Was it possible, at a time when there was no capital on the continent where the power of Bonaparte could not drag the offender against him to execution; when there was no British accredited agent in any country of Europe; was it possible that such a time should be fixed on for divulging the sources of secret intelligence? Was this country to say to the agents, who served it from fidelity, or from less worthy motives, "You shall serve us but once, and your life shall be the forfeit?"—He should contend, as his honourable friends had done, that the arrangements at Tilsit, and the measures which ensued, without any document, fully justified the measures of government. He should be glad to know what motives could be ascribed to his majesty's ministers for acting as they had done, if not from the conviction of the necessity of the case. With respect to the late proceedings at Lisbon, it was necessary for the country to know, that the court of Lisbon always made an unreserved communication to his majesty's representatives and servants, of the full extent of the demands of France, as well as of the extent to which it was itself disposed to comply with those demands, rather than proceed to the last extremity; and of the point beyond which it would refuse compliance, let the refusal be accompanied with what risk it may. These communications were accompanied with an assurance, that in no case should the persons of British subjects, or their property, be injured or violated. Under these circumstances, his majesty's government thought it right to allow some latitude for obtaining by negotiation, and particularly by showing the vigorous determination of Britain in distant prospect, the forbearance of France. Even though some doubt may have been entertained of the stability of the good faith of Portugal, it seemed better to run all risks, and the issue justified the determination. With respect to sending an army to defend Portugal, we had the assurance of a most able officer that no army Britain could send would be adequate to that object. And the presence of such an army was deprecated by the prince regent, as tending to precipitate his ruin. A secret treaty signed in October last, bound the Portuguese government to admit an English garrison to the Portuguese forts or harbours, and to protect the persons and properties of English subjects. This treaty was faithfully executed on the part of Portugal.

It was remarkable, that while the application of force at Copenhagen was condemned by the gentlemen opposite, the non-application of it at Lisbon was censured no less severely; but so it would have been if the force had been applied at Lisbon, and negotiation at Copenhagen. Censure would have still followed the force and the negotiation. Copenhagen would have been lost by foolish confidence, and Portugal outraged by unprincipled and impolitic violence. With respect to the points of mediation and peace, he had no objection to discuss those also at the present moment. Though there was reason, after the treaty of Tilsit, for this country to enter-

entertain a more hostile policy towards Russia; every thing that friendship and conciliation could dictate was done to the last moment, when the hostile declaration came with as much surprise upon Petersburg as it did upon London. So it was also with respect to Austria. No complaint, no remonstrance, no discussion had preceded the recal of the ambassador of that power; not even so much as a notice; so it was also with respect to the recal of the Prussian ambassador: and here he felt himself called upon to contradict an insinuation in the Moniteur, which charged baron Jacobi with giving to the court of London the secret information respecting the proceeding of the French government in Prussia, when the fact was, that this information came from a British minister. With respect to the late supposed negotiation for peace, no tangible overture had been made by the French or the Austrian government. Prince Stahremberg, with that generosity of character for which he was so distinguished, had made an offer of his personal services to institute and establish a pacific intercourse. But that was not a mode of negotiation which could be satisfactory to a country like this. With respect to the remaining independent state of Sweden, it was our duty to invigorate, inspire, and support it, rather than to excite doubt and despondency. He should say more on this subject in a few days, when he should probably have to bring down a message from his majesty, calling on the house to make provision for subsidiary engagements which were about to be concluded with the king of Sweden, and which would be communicated to the house of course. With regard to the differences with America, it had been thought right frankly and voluntarily to disavow the unauthorised act of hostility towards the Chesapeak. The provocation the officer who had committed that act had received, went far to excuse him; but the right of searching ships of war had never been acted upon long, or to any extent, and in later times it had not been acted upon at all. It was, therefore, thought right to abandon this unfounded pretension unequivocally; but, in doing so, his majesty's ministers were determined not to concede a point of what the strict and established right of Britain, and the usage of nations, justified, and required the British government to support. With respect to the late orders of council, retaliating the restrictions of the French government upon our commerce, he maintained our right to go as far as France; and make France feel, in the effects of her own injustice, that we could hope to bring her to more reasonable conduct. The vigour of the British navy, when put forth with a determination which the moderate spirit of the government had hitherto restrained, would prove equal to cope with the power that France had established on land. It would appear, that if France combined all the powers of the continent to oppress us, the effect was but to increase our strength and energy, and to make us triumph under oppression.

Lord Henry Petty said, whatever merits, as to style, the speech ascribed to his majesty might possess, it wanted the more vulgar but more important merit of a full statement of facts. It was a singular instance, to be in a state of war with a power against which there were no documents to prove

a hostile act. The only reason stated for refusing information was, that those who had communicated the intelligence would be thereby injured. He contended, that the principles of right and wrong were to be considered in politics as well as in philosophy, and on these they must reason generally till a particular case was made out. It became those, he said, who checked petitions for peace, to take care that no opportunity of negotiation should be let slip, merely on points of form. We ought to examine with jealousy into the subsidiary connexion with Sweden. He agreed in the propriety of keeping the affair of the Chesapeak distinct from other points, and in the necessity of maintaining our essential rights; but we ought to guard against unnecessary irritation, and to be aware of being led away by the name of vigour, so as to inflict a severe blow on our own commerce. He concluded by expressing his regret, that there should be so little in the speech respecting the temporary policy as to Denmark, and nothing at all as to the permanent policy respecting Ireland.

Mr. Bathurst spoke on the same side. So also did Mr. Windham; who concluded by saying, that he would rather Bonaparte had now possession of the Danish fleet by the means which he must have resorted to in the seizure of it, than that England should have got it in the way in which she did. The ships would be rotten when the effervescence of national feeling would live in the remembrance of national injury.

The chancellor of the exchequer followed Mr. Windham, and insisted that it was a sufficient answer to the demand for documents and secret communications, to tell that house that no man of honour would betray the source of the intelligence ministers had received. But, independently of this, he contended that there was upon the face of the measure sufficient to justify it to every candid mind. He should rest it on this test: he called upon every gentleman in that house to put his hand to his breast and say, whether he did not believe that Bonaparte's design was to direct the force of a maritime confederacy against this country, and to make the naval force of Denmark more immediately instrumental in effecting that great object. The right honourable gentleman had said, the captured ships would rot; certainly they would be rotten some time or other; but not in the ensuing spring; not at a period when they might be employed in conveying French troops to Ireland; not when they were to be employed in excluding us from the Baltic, and furthering the designs of the enemy. The right honourable gentleman then briefly alluded to the other topics, especially that relating to the order of council; and said that he should, he trusted, on a future occasion, when the papers were laid before the house, be enabled to satisfy gentlemen that in no one instance had his majesty's present government been indifferent to the interest of the empire.

Mr. Sheridan reprobated the miserable, pettifogging subterfuge to which the learned and right honourable gentleman had recourse. If ministers had the substance, why not give that substance? Precise legal evidence was not to be expected in that case. If it appeared that there was a collusion between the Danes and the French, and the former were unable to defend themselves, then, in justice to ourselves,

fiat

fiat justitia, ruat cœlum, might be a very excellent maxim; but, it would be a monstrous proposition if we were to say, *fiat stultitia, ruat patria*; if for any folly or absurdity of ministers we were to say that we ought to suffer the honour and character of the nation to be destroyed. But then it was said, towards the close of the debate, that Ireland was in danger of being invaded, and that there was a party there ready to join the invaders. If so, if you will not make peace with Bonaparte, why not make peace with Ireland? Why not reconcile them to this country, instead of investing them with two arbitrary acts of parliament? The right honourable gentleman concluded with giving notice, that he should bring forward that question in the course of the session.

Colonel Montague Matthew expressed in strong terms his mistrust of a set of ministers, that had come into office with an avowed hostility against five millions of his majesty's subjects in Ireland, and said, that he hoped in God he should not see them in their situations this day six months.

The question was then carried without a division, and the house adjourned.

On the 21st, after several notices had been given by different members, particularly, one by Mr. Bankes for leave to bring in a bill to prevent the granting of offices in reversion;

Lord Hamilton brought up the report of the address; which occasioned another animated debate, and was then agreed to. It was ordered to be presented by such members as were of the privy council. On the following Monday, to which the house adjourned, lord Stopford reported, at the bar, that the address had been presented, and that his majesty had been pleased to return the following most gracious answer:

"Gentlemen,

"I return you my cordial thanks for this dutiful and loyal address. Your assurances of support in this most difficult and extraordinary crisis have given me great satisfaction; and I receive them as a fresh proof of your loyal determination to support, in every emergency, the rights and dignity of my crown, and maintain inviolate the security and happiness of my people."

Mr. Sheridan then gave notice of an intended motion on the state of Ireland, viz. for the appointment of a committee to inquire into the nature and grounds of the existing grievances. After this, and notices respecting other motions relating to foreign licenses, by Mr. Horner, and to Russian papers by Mr. Ponsonby,

Mr. Bankes made his promised motion on places in reversion, to which he did not expect any opposition, as a bill of the same kind had actually passed the house last session, and was only prevented from going to the lords by the prorogation of parliament. He begged therefore that the proceeding of the 10th of August, 1807, relative to reversionary grants, be now read: it was read accordingly, when Mr. Bankes observed, that he thought it merely necessary to remind the house of the fact to which they no doubt would consider themselves as now pledged; the house then thought the bill which he now should move for, to be of so important a nature, that they judged it necessary to present a petition to the crown, to which his majesty had been pleased to return a most

gracious answer. He trusted that the house would not now see any reason to depart from that line of conduct which it had then so creditably adopted: it was now perhaps merely necessary for him to put the house in possession of the fact, as it stood recorded on their journals, and exhort them to persevere; but as there had been fears entertained of the measure being fraught with tendencies injurious to the prerogative, he felt it his duty to assure the house that the conviction on his mind was rather of an opposite nature; he was sure that it went rather to strengthen than intrench upon the prerogative of the crown; it might, no doubt, temporarily suspend the exercise, or rather the abuse, of the prerogative, but that very suspense would ultimately tend to strengthen it. Besides, according to the present system, offices were too often disposed of in a manner that did not much tend to the encouragement of ability and desert. Independently of those two reasons, he had a third, which served to confirm the two former: this was the manner in which the proceedings of the commissioners of inquiry had been cramped and incommoded by the grants of reversions. He would not trouble the house with any further observations, but move, that leave be given to bring in a bill to prevent the grant of offices and reversions during life, or with benefit of survivorship.

Mr. W. Dundas was not present when this question was last before the house; had he been present, it should then, as now, have had his decided opposition, and for this single reason, that he thought it an unjustifiable intrenchment on the prerogative. It might suspend for a long series of years, an hitherto undisputed exercise of the prerogative.

Mr. Whitbread said, that the right honourable gentleman had stated as the ground of his objection the single reason, that he thought it would be an infringement on the prerogative of the crown; this he did not make out, and even if he had, it would have been no valid objection. But, however, it was but grateful in that right honourable gentleman, as he had been considerably indebted to reversions himself, and if he (Mr. Whitbread) was not mistaken, was now in expectation of one; the zeal of the right honourable gentleman against this mode of reform may, therefore, be easily accounted for. He contended that the grant of reversions had given rise to great and general abuse. The right honourable gentleman, the chancellor of the exchequer, for instance, had been an infant when he got the grant of a place in reversion, now held by his noble relative, lord Arden, who had obtained it in the same way: there were many other instances in that house, and surely this called for legislative interference. The post granted in reversion to the chancellor of the exchequer was a most lucrative one, but yet required no other talent to fill it, than that of knowing how to count the money it produced so gratuitously. He trusted, that if there was to be a dissentient, he would be a solitary one.

Sir John Newport begged leave to state an instance that had come within his knowledge, of the injurious consequences of the system of granting reversions. The department of the customs, in the office of collector of the port of Dublin, had called for reformation; and

and the changes and improvements that were thought necessary have been delayed in consequence of a reversionary grant, nor can they be carried into effect till the said grant actually takes place.

Mr. Horner vindicated the aspersions which had been thrown upon the memory of Mr. Burke, one of the proudest ornaments of this or any other country, by the inconsiderate observations of the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Dundas). He (Mr. Horner) denied that the latter part of Mr. Burke's life went in any way to invalidate or contradict the sincerity of his earlier efforts. Those who were honoured with that great man's friendship, or those who were acquainted with his very last work, knew that he took his chief honour and credit in the pursuit of such measures as tended to every species of œconomical reform; they knew that to the latest hour of his splendid career, he was as zealous and as sincere an enemy to rapine and public malversation as in the most vigorous period of his memorable life. As to the proposed bill, he approved of it most heartily, as one by which the work of œconomical reform was begun; nor could he be brought to think it as infringing at all upon the royal prerogative.

The question was then put and carried, with the single negative of Mr. William Dundas. Mr. Bankes then brought in the bill, which was read a first time, ordered to be read a second time on Wednesday, and to be printed.

The bill went through its several stages with an almost perfect unanimity: but on the first of February, when Mr. Bankes moved that the bill do pass,

Sir Samuel Romilly expressed his regret that the bill had reached this stage, without the house knowing what was the opinion of his majesty's ministers, as to its merits. He supposed they were not hostile to it, because they had not opposed it; but it was of no small importance for the house to know, whether it had their support or not. He remembered that on a former occasion, when a bill similar to the present had been brought into parliament, a right honourable gentleman had said, that in his opinion it was a matter of very great indifference, whether it passed or not: that on one hand it was no invasion of the king's prerogative, and that on the other, little practical good could result from it. He was of a different opinion from the right honourable gentleman, for he thought, that if no practical good could be derived from it, the bill ought not to pass; but he was convinced that much good would result from it, and therefore it had his hearty support. It was advantageous both to the crown and the subject, and if it trenched upon the royal prerogative, it was desirable that this prerogative should no longer exist. It had likewise a tendency to facilitate the object for which the finance committee had been appointed, and in this view he considered its operation as most useful.

The chancellor of the exchequer protested against the doctrine which his learned friend seemed disposed to lay down in his speech, of his (Mr. Percival's) being obliged, as a member of parliament, to support any measure otherwise than by his vote. The fact was, that a bill, similar to the present, recommended from a most respectable quarter, was brought into parliament, from which some gentlemen, for whose opinion

opinion he had the highest deference, expected very advantageous results. Though he had not the same expectations with those gentlemen from the measure itself, he did not oppose it, because he conceived it to be perfectly harmless. The bill, however, to the surprise of many, was disappointed of its effects in another place, and the circumstance of the house of commons having approved of the bill last year, was in his opinion a sufficient motive for advancing it now to the same stage at which it was formerly stopped; and this he avowed to be the ground on which it had now obtained the support of his vote.

The bill was passed, and ordered to be carried to the lords.

Here it was received with coolness; and on the second reading, March 1st, it was opposed by lord Arden, the lord chancellor, lord Redesdale, and the duke of Montrose. It was, however, after a violent struggle, suffered, by a majority of 8, to go into a committee. Upon a second division, the numbers were equal, and the bill was sent into a committee; but in the next stage of the business it was thrown out by a majority of 80.

Jan. 26.—In the house of commons, the chancellor of the exchequer, and in the house of lords, lord Hawkesbury, presented the orders of council, which in both places produced a conversation of some length. It was contended in the upper house, that whatever proceedings were founded on these orders must originate in the other house, and that it would be the proper time for ministers to explain themselves, when a bill came up in regular course.

In the commons, the chancellor of the exchequer professed his intention of submitting some propositions on the subject on a future day, he thought in a committee of ways and means, when he should explain the views he had respecting them. He was aware that some collateral measures had arisen out of these orders, such as granting licenses for the importation of certain articles, otherwise contrary to law, which would make it necessary for ministers to apply for an act of indemnity.

Dr. Lawrence declared his opinion, that upon the face of the orders there were things contrary both to the law of nations and the municipal law of this country.

Lord Henry Petty on the following day said, he thought it was of importance that the house should be in possession of the acts for which ministers were to receive indemnity, before they came to view the acts of council merely as a financial resource. On the question of indemnity, whenever it should be brought forward, it would be necessary to inquire, 1st, Whether ministers were placed in such an absolute state of necessity as called on them to commit a violation of the existing law: 2dly, Whether the extent to which they claimed indemnity was adequate to the indemnifying them in all the respects in which they had violated the law of the land.

The chancellor of the exchequer said, he certainly did also admit that there were particular instances in which ministers had interfered, in which their interference was not justifiable on any distinct principle of law. But he had at the same time positively stated that these instances had no reference whatever to the orders of council. He begged of the noble lord to refrain from forming any opinion on these particular

particular instances, till he knew in what they consisted. He should give the noble lord a specimen of what he alluded to. When the Portuguese found it necessary to bring away whatever they could, they were obliged to employ neutral shipping in doing so. By the law as it stood, no articles the produce of Portugal could be brought into this country, but in Portuguese or British bottoms. It was necessary, therefore, that something should be done in such a situation. An application being made to the treasury, an order was issued to permit the landing of Portuguese produce from neutral vessels. This was a violation of the law; but it was such a violation of it as the house, he was confident, would not scruple to say, ministers ought to be indemnified against. This was one of the acts to which he had alluded, when he admitted that ministers would require indemnity for some licenses which they had granted. These, however, had nothing to do with the acts of council; and even where they did apply, he saw no necessity for giving any notice relative to them, till they came regularly before the house.

Jan. 28.—In both houses of parliament votes of thanks were moved to the officers employed in the Baltic expedition. We shall content ourselves with a summary account of what passed in the upper house.

Lord Hawkesbury said, the motion he should have the honour of submitting to their lordships' consideration had no relation to the policy of the attack upon Copenhagen; it merely related to the execution of the service upon which the expedition was sent; and were that expedition as unjust and unnecessary, as he thought it just and necessary, or as impolitic and unwise, as he thought it politic and wise, still he would contend that this would be no ground of opposition to a vote of thanks to those who had so ably and skilfully executed the services which that expedition required. In this case he would put out of consideration the policy of the expedition, and confine himself to the manner in which its purpose had been carried into effect. The object of that expedition was undoubtedly of great magnitude and importance; that object was attained by the skill and ability of the officers employed. The circumstances attending it were shortly these: In April last, a large force was ordered to be prepared for the general purposes of the war, a part of which was subsequently sent to cooperate with the troops in Swedish Pomerania. When his majesty's government afterwards received intelligence of the circumstances attending the treaty of Tilsit, it was deemed advisable to send a large force to Copenhagen for the purpose of securing the Danish fleet, and preventing it from being used against this country. This force was got ready, and sailed with the utmost promptitude, with a minister on board to negotiate with the Danish court, and thereby prevent, if possible, the painful necessity of resorting to arms. A junction was to be formed with the troops of Pomerania, the commander of which was to take the command of the whole. This necessarily took up much time, notwithstanding which the fleet was off Copenhagen on the 8th of August. The attempts to induce the Danes peaceably to deliver up their fleet having failed, the disembarkation of the troops commenced on the 16th. This necessarily took more time, and was not completed till

till the 22d or 23d. It was effected without opposition; but when disembarked, our troops had to contend with between 30 and 40,000 men in arms, besides the peasantry. Even then another attempt was made to prevent an appeal to arms; but this also having failed, approaches were made against Copenhagen. The command of the army in the field was given to an honourable friend of his, major-general sir Arthur Wellesley, who upon that occasion displayed all that energy, zeal, and ability, which so conspicuously marked his conduct upon every occasion.

On the 1st of September the bombardment commenced, and on the 7th a capitulation was signed: thus, in a period of fourteen or fifteen days the whole object of the expedition was completed. It was under these circumstances that he called upon the house for a vote of thanks. He was perfectly ready to admit that so exalted an honour as the thanks of parliament, that an honour which depended for its value upon opinion, ought not to be made too common, but ought to be reserved for great occasions. He contended, however, that if in this case the magnitude and importance of the object attained were considered, and the skill and ability displayed in the means by which it was attained, it must be deemed one of those instances which highly deserve the thanks of that house, nor did he see on what ground it could be opposed. His lordship concluded by moving the thanks of the house to lieutenant-general lord viscount Cathcart, K. T., for the prompt and decisive measures adopted by him in the attack upon Copenhagen, &c.

Lord Holland said he never rose to execute a more painful duty than that which he felt to be now imposed upon him. He trusted, he was indeed certain, that no one would impute to him any feelings of personal hostility towards the noble commanders employed in the expedition to Copenhagen; for with one he had no acquaintance whatever, and with the other a very slight acquaintance, for whom, however, from what he did know of him, he had a high respect. He was actuated by public principles alone in the opposition which he felt himself compelled to give to this motion. The noble secretary of state had urged the magnitude and importance of the object attained, as a reason for voting the thanks of the house; yet upon former occasions, when objects of equal magnitude and importance were attained, that alone was not thought a sufficient ground for the thanks of parliament. Thus, although lord Hood was thanked by parliament for the taking of Bastia; yet when he obtained possession of Toulon and the French fleet in that harbour, an object of at least equal magnitude and importance with the obtaining possession of the Danish fleet, the thanks of parliament were not voted to that noble lord for that exploit; and thus a clear distinction was drawn between those achievements in which difficulties and dangers were overcome by valour and skill, and those in which, although the object attained might be of magnitude and importance, yet there was no opportunity for the exercise of skill and science. It was in this point of view that he objected to a vote of thanks in the present instance, because there was no opportunity for the display of skill and valour; had there been so, there could be no doubt that these qualities would have been eminently displayed.

displayed. Had it been proposed only to thank the army, he might, although in some measure objecting to it on the grounds before stated, have been induced to give it no opposition; but when it was proposed also to thank the navy employed in this expedition, he felt himself compelled to oppose it, because there was no opportunity for the display of military naval skill. He could not sufficiently impress upon the house the great importance of not rendering the high and peculiar honour of the thanks of parliament too common; in order to preserve its value it ought to be reserved for great occasions, for brilliant exploits and splendid victories, as in the Roman republic triumphs were never granted but for the most splendid achievements.

The earl of Moira thought that, in this instance, the house had only to consider, whether the service, for which a vote of thanks had been moved, had been executed with ability and skill. It was not for officers sent upon an expedition to judge of its policy; their only duty was to execute the service intrusted to them: and if they did it with skill, science and ability, they were fairly entitled to thanks. His noble friend, lord Cathcart, had done every thing that skill, and science, and energy, could suggest; and the required service having been ably and skilfully executed, he thought, setting aside all considerations of the policy of the measure, that was all that could be required in this instance.

Lord Auckland observed, that there was no information before the house to show the policy or propriety of attacking an unsuspecting and defenceless people; but with respect to the execution of the service, he was clearly of opinion, that it had displayed great ability, energy and skill.

Lord Mulgrave contended that the manner in which the service was executed amply deserved the thanks of parliament. With respect to thanks not being voted to lord Hood, for obtaining possession of Toulon and the French fleet in that harbour, there was in that instance no opportunity for the display of naval or military skill, the town having been delivered up to that noble lord whilst he was blockading the port, by one of the contending factions in that place, which had obtained the ascendancy. He could not admit that valour alone was a ground for voting the thanks of parliament; were that the case, not a week would pass over his head, in the situation which he had the honour to hold, but he would have to call for the thanks of parliament for exploits of the greatest bravery. It was, he contended, the eminent display of skill and science, combined with the magnitude and importance of the object, that more peculiarly deserved that high honour. In the attack upon Copenhagen, skill and science had eminently been displayed in the dispositions made for the attainment of the desired object. The noble lord (Holland) seemed to think it possible that he might have been induced to consent to a vote of thanks to the army, but objected to one to the navy. He could not, however, see upon what ground any such distinction could be made. The most skilful dispositions were made by lord Gambier in the distribution of the fleet under his command; that part of it intrusted to rear-admiral Keates was extended for 200 miles, and had for its object to cut off the communication between Zealand and the continent.

By this means the Danish army in Holstein was prevented from passing into Zealand, which had they been enabled to do, the great object of the expedition might have been of doubtful attainment: at all events it must have been rendered a service of difficulty and danger.

Earl Grey supported the argument of his noble friend (lord Holland), and could not admit that the magnitude and importance of the object attained were a sufficient ground for voting the thanks of parliament. Let it be supposed, that at the time hostilities commenced with Russia, a Russian fleet, larger than the Danish fleet, had been accidentally in a British port, and that in consequence of orders sent down to the port admiral, he had stationed ships so as to prevent that fleet from escaping; Would it have been attempted to be contended that the magnitude and importance of the object attained would have been a sufficient reason for moving the thanks of parliament for such a service? The magnitude and importance of the object attained were not therefore a sufficient ground for such a vote. He admitted, that it ought to be a service of some magnitude for which the thanks of parliament were moved; but, in order to entitle it to such an honour, there ought also to be difficulties and dangers to overcome, which required the exertions of skill, and science, and ability. It was upon this principle that he objected to the vote now proposed; because, however the possession of the Danish fleet might be considered an object of magnitude and importance, yet there were no sufficient opportunities for the exertion of skill and science, particularly of military naval skill: there were no difficulties or dangers to overcome. Besides, why were parliament now to be called upon for a vote of thanks for this service, when it was stated in his majesty's speech that it had been thought expedient to send so large a force for the attainment of this object, as should render all opposition useless and unavailing? He regretted that so painful a duty as that of opposing a vote of this description should fall to his lot, but upon the principles he had already urged, he felt himself compelled to give his negative to the motion.

The motion was then put and carried; and ordered to be communicated to lord viscount Cathcart, on his taking his seat in the house.

Motions also for votes of thanks to the other officers were, after some conversation, all put and carried without a division. But in the commons, after a warm debate, the house divided,

For the motion	100
Against it	19
Majority	81

Jan. 29.—The house of commons having gone into a committee to consider further of the supply granted to his majesty, Mr. Ward moved the following resolutions, which were severally put and agreed to:

1st. A vote of 130,000 seamen, including 1400 royal marines, for the year 1808.

2d. That a sum not exceeding 3,126,500*l.* be granted to his majesty for wages, for the above seamen, for 13 months, at the rate of 1*l.* 17*s.* per man per month.

3d. A sum not exceeding 3,211,000*l.* for victualling, at 1*l.* 18*s.* per man per month.

4th. 5,007,000*l.* for wear and tear, at 3*l.* per man per month.

Mr. Tierney here rose to ask, whether

whether it was the intention of his majesty's government to regulate the estimate now required in proportion to the accession gained by the Danish fleet.

Mr. Ward said, that the present estimate was made out without reference to any such consideration.

Mr. Huskisson said, that the present estimates were made out according to the best judgment of the persons whose duty it had been to prepare them, and that that judgment had not been influenced by the consideration of the capture of the Danish fleet.

Mr. Tierney then asked, if he was to understand from gentlemen that there would be no allowance made for these stores or ships; and that though they were public property, yet no advantage was to result to the public from them in lessening the estimates.

The chancellor of the exchequer said, that certainly government would feel it their duty, after a valuation had been set upon the fleet and stores, and they had been sold at that valuation, first of all to recompense the exertions of those who were most active in carrying that service into effect.

Mr. Ward took occasion to observe, that the estimate for wear and tear was for the current year 250,000*l.* less than it had been the preceding, in consequence of the ordnance department being indebted to the navy for wear and tear to that amount. He lastly moved 521,000*l.* for ordnance for sea service, at the rate of 7*s.* per man per month. This estimate, he took occasion to observe, was necessarily increased 2*s.* per man this year, as the former allowance of 5*s.* per man had been found insufficient. The report was then brought up, and ordered to be distributed on Monday next.

Feb. 1.—In the house of lords the lord chancellor communicated the thanks of the house severally to lord viscount Cathcart and lord Gambier, each noble lord standing in his place, whilst the thanks were delivered. The lord chancellor added, in each instance, that the high honour of the thanks of that house had been well merited by the services rendered by these noble lords to their country.

Lord viscount Cathcart and lord Gambier severally addressed the house, expressing their thanks for the high honour conferred upon them, and speaking in the warmest terms of approbation of the ability, skill, discipline, and valour displayed by the army and navy employed in the expedition to Copenhagen.

On the same occasion in the house of commons, the speaker acquainted the house, that he had received a letter from admiral lord Gambier, in answer to his letter, communicating to that noble admiral the thanks of that house. The speaker then read the letter, in which, after acknowledging the receipt of that from the speaker, of January 29, conveying the thanks of the house, the noble admiral begged leave to assure him, that this signal mark of approbation of the house had made upon his mind a deep and lasting impression, and that his sense of it was so strong, that he was at a loss how to express himself in terms adequate to so eminent a distinction.

The speaker then proceeded to signify the vote of the thanks of the house to those gallant officers who are members of the house, and to whom, when attending in

their places, an address from the chair is the only regular channel for communicating the resolutions of the house.

The following is nearly the form of the address delivered from the chair on this occasion, the several officers standing up in their places during the delivery.

"Major-general Finch, major-general Grosvenor, major-general sir Arthur Wellesley,

"This house, contemplating the important services performed by his majesty's army on the expedition to the island of Zealand, and highly applauding the zeal, intrepidity, and skill, displayed by the generals and officers engaged in it, has conferred upon you the high honour of its approbation, by a vote of thanks; a higher honour it is not in the power of this house to bestow. In the distribution of this honour, it is at all times matter of just satisfaction and pride to this house to behold, within its own walls, any of those distinguished officers, whose merits have entitled them to this high and honourable reward. But I should be wanting in these expressions of the feelings of the house, if I forbore to notice, that this house is, on this occasion, crowning with its thanks one gallant officer, well known to the gratitude of this house; who has long trodden the paths of glory; whose genius, skill, and valour, have extended the distant boundaries of the empire; whose sword, the terror of remote enemies, has, in this instance, been drawn to defend the seat of the empire and the throne of his sovereign. I am charged to thank you all, and I do now, in the name of the commons of the united kingdom, thank you, for the zeal, intrepidity, and skill, displayed by you in the operations necessary for conducting the siege of Copenhagen, which led to the surrender of that city and the naval arsenal of Denmark."

The officers then in the house rose and returned thanks: among them was sir Arthur Wellesley, who said he considered himself fortunate in having been employed in a service, which had induced the house to confer upon those engaged in it the eminent honour of its approbation. This honour thus bestowed upon his honourable friends and himself, was an object of high and ardent ambition to every officer of the army and navy; and the principal motive of those acts of valour and heroic courage, which had raised the glory of the British arms, and swelled the reputation of British prowess to its present eminent state. He begged leave to return thanks to the speaker individually, for the terms in which his feelings of private friendship had prompted him to communicate to him personally this distinguished mark of the approbation of the house.

Feb. 3.—Mr. Ponsonby in the house of commons made his motion respecting the Baltic expedition, and on the 8th the duke of Norfolk made a similar motion in the upper house. This subject having caused much discussion out of parliament, as well as in the two houses, we shall give an abstract of what passed in each assembly.

Mr. Ponsonby rose to call the attention of the house to a subject of the highest political consideration to the honour and interests of this empire, and to mankind at large; and in this effort his principal object would be to ascertain how far

ministers

ministers were justified in their proceedings against the court of Denmark. It was a subject that called loudly for the investigation of that house, the more especially as, in the declaration published by his majesty's ministers, they express what they term an avowal of the motives of their proceedings; and in which they say that his majesty owes it to his people to announce, in the most unequivocal manner, the causes which induced him to break with a court, so nearly allied to him as that of Denmark. It was well understood that the disgraceful expedition was not undertaken by the advice of his majesty, but with other views, and perhaps interested motives, which ministers only could explain. It was not the conduct of Denmark which led to it, but anticipation that France would, at some time or other, compel that state to join in the common cause against this country. He allowed, that it was the incessant endeavour of the ruler of France to employ all possible means for the destruction of the British empire; but he insisted that there was no proof that Denmark had fallen in with the views of France, nor any proceedings on her part, within the last twelve months, calculated to arouse the jealousy of England. He next remarked, that if Denmark had really entertained any hostile intentions towards us, it must have been manifest long before the sailing of admiral Gambier, and certainly before his arrival at Copenhagen; and ministers must have had the information of it, and having it, cannot refuse to publish it, by granting the motion, which to that effect he should propose to the house: but he anticipated the rejection of his motion, and for this reason, because he was convinced no information of that kind existed. At the time that admiral Gambier entered the Sound, Denmark dreaded no harm from this country, conscious of not having entered into any engagement with the French emperor; 350 of her ships were in different British ports, with cargoes amounting to two millions of rix-dollars; and when the Danish subjects got alarmed by the rumours spread respecting the destination of the armament, they applied to the Danish court, and received a reply, which at once allayed their fears, namely, that Great Britain had no such intention, as both courts were then on the best possible understanding. Was it to be supposed that Denmark would risk its most valuable colonies, her commerce, her ships, and every thing else dear to its existence, merely to gratify the wish of the French ruler? But at the time the negotiation between the court of Denmark and the emperor of France was supposed to be going forward, the Danish force in Zealand amounted to 35,000 men, and the army in Holstein to 30,000; so that there was a force of at least 65,000 men, exclusive of Swedish and British. The French could not take Zealand while there was such a force to defend it. Nor could France take the Danish fleet without the consent of Denmark: the Belt has not been crossed on the ice by an army for the last 150 years; and it had rarely happened that even individuals had been enabled to cross in that manner.

It was well known that the cold in most of the European states was not now what it had been. The draining of morasses, the cutting of forests, and the general cultivation and improvement of countries,

had made great alterations in the climates; so that not only had no troops passed the Great Belt on the ice during the last 150 years, but during the last 60 years no instance had occurred in which that arm of the sea had been so bound up by frost that a general would have ventured to march an army across it. Neither could Russia force Denmark into a confederacy against us. If we knew that to be her object, why did we suffer the Russian fleet to rove about unmolested; or why did not ministers now produce some proof of it? Russia was reproached with having such design by our ambassador; and yet she was required to give up the secret articles of the treaty of Tilsit; and was also called to account for her conduct at Corfu, Turkey, and in the Mediterranean. All this was done while Russia was offering her mediation to stop the horrors of war. He remarked on the great impolicy of our conduct, after we had made Denmark our mortal enemy, in leaving 65,000 of her troops, unmolested in Holstein and Zealand, in possession of all her strong holds, and of the Crown battery. He said, we dealt our impolitic malice but by half measures; we were shabby in our iniquity, but without the skill to complete it. He warned ministers against believing that nations may be absolved from the rules of morality. France, by interfering between America and the mother-country, had overwhelmed her own government, and sent her royal race into exile. Prussia and Austria had been severally punished for the share they took in the infamous partition of Poland; and so also was Russia, who made the third in that act of spoliation, now the abject suitor of the victor Bonaparte, trembling at his nod, and obsequious to his purposes. He then concluded by moving, "that an humble address be presented to his majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to cause to be laid before the house the substance and dates of the information sent by our minister at Copenhagen relative to the naval force of Denmark,&c."

Mr. Canning then rose.—Whatever, he said, might be the decision of the house, he, for one, should always feel the highest satisfaction in having been accused of his share in the Danish expedition! He was well convinced that ministers had obtained what they deserved, the thanks of their country, for the success of the expedition against Copenhagen, as that enterprise had been, in a great degree, the salvation of the country. He observed, that it never was nor had been imputed to Denmark, that she had to choose whether she would go to war with us. Such a principle had never been maintained; neither would it have been at all necessary. It had been said, that the weakness of Denmark was a sufficient justification of the measure; but that was not the case; neither was it true that we had the hearts of the Danes with us. It was impossible to conceive for one moment, after the defeat of the northern confederacy, that Denmark could ever have been with us. On the contrary, from that period the feelings of Denmark had been hostile to a degree against this country. Here the right hon. gentleman stated the circumstances attending the northern confederacy in 1780, and in 1802. Since the latter the league was to the same effect, only more firmly knitted, and more vigorous, by the strong compulsion of France. In all Bonaparte's capitulations and decrees,

decrees, he has declared his design, and his firm and inveterate determination, to persevere in such a confederacy, by combining the naval force of Europe for the exclusion and depression of our commerce, in which nothing, he said, should prevent Denmark from being an associate. When the first danger menaced the frontiers of Denmark, it was the French troops that occupied Hanover in the year 1803. This cordon of troops was however withdrawn, when the troops of Sweden and England entered Holstein. After the battle of Auerstadt, Denmark was violated by the French, a Danish general taken prisoner and treated with great disrespect, and the Danish forces compelled to retreat from the frontiers of Holstein. After that, prince Murat was sent by Bonaparte to the king of Sweden, entreating that monarch to make common cause with France, and promising him, in that event, Norway, which belonged to Denmark. The king of Sweden instantly communicated this offer to the prince royal of Denmark, and offered him 20,000 troops for the defence of Holstein, which was refused by the prince royal, believing he could only rely on the assurances of France: and he did more—he concealed from England the fact of the French offer respecting Norway. Having stated these and other points, the right hon. gentleman appealed to the house, whether or not it would be wise or prudent in ministers to have relied on the fidelity and independence of Denmark, especially after the warnings she had received. Mr. Canning went at great length into the general policy of the attack at Copenhagen, and ridiculed the notions of morality held by those who condemned it. He concluded by giving the resolution his most decided and hearty negative.

Mr. Windham could not withhold himself from expressing his very great astonishment at the manner in which the right hon. gentleman opposite had alluded to certain transactions of the late administration. It was true, the late ministers had sent a fleet to Lisbon, as the present ministers had sent one to Copenhagen: but there was this difference, that the late ministers, having precisely the same grounds for seizing the fleet of Portugal, had declined to act to that extent upon those grounds that the present ministers had in the case of Copenhagen. The success of the present ministers consisted in doing what was improper to be done at all, and what might as well have been done at any time since the commencement of the war. The right hon. gentleman, therefore, had no reason to exult in a comparison which made against him, and he might address him in the words of the poet,

"Can nothing but thine own reproach
"Serve for a motto for thy coach?"

Mr. W. deprecated the measures adopted by ministers, and accused them of sacrificing the reputation of the country. The ruins they had made at Copenhagen would prove a lasting monument of disgrace. We should be objects of scorn and execration; and it would be the interest of our enemies to cherish the monument we have left! He condemned the Spanish war as a war of plunder; and declared that the only way left for him, in his individual capacity, to act, towards wiping out the stains on the country, was to avow publicly his sincere and pointed condemnation of, and to express his

heartfelt regret, at the measures that night under consideration.

Mr. Milnes, Mr. Foster, lord Palmerstone, and Mr. Morris vindicated the measure. Mr. Bathurst spoke against it. Mr. Lyttleton was in favour of it:—after which Mr. Whitbread, having noticed Mr. Littleton's mode of justifying ministers, said, the right honourable secretary asserted there was not a man in the country who was not satisfied of the expediency of the expedition to Copenhagen. He was sorry to differ with the right honourable gentleman, and he was convinced that the country would feel the falsehood and delusion of the assertion, and the wretched and puerile effort by which it was attempted to justify this violent and unprincipled measure. He could not help saying, that the right honourable secretary and his colleagues were so completely at variance in the manner in which they have endeavoured to justify this act, and so contradictory and inconsistent with themselves, that one was at a loss which of their stories to believe. They were like a set of witnesses who had agreed among themselves to tell the same story, but, when afterwards examined in separate rooms, varied in their evidence. He then took notice of the variance between the statements in the king's speech and those since made by the ministers. His majesty was made to say, that the powers of Europe had combined to form a confederacy against us; but the right honourable gentleman in his speech stated, that Denmark, one of these powers, was in a connivance with France against this country. And our naval and military commanders, who led the late expedition, in their proclamations recommended it to Denmark not to listen to cruel advisers. Without going into the various details of contradictory statements, he would take it as a fact, that Denmark did wish to continue in a state of neutrality; and he desired ministers to give some more information. Let Mr. Garlicke be called to the bar of the house, and say what he knew of the disposition of the Danish court. He surely was in no danger of being seized by Bonaparte. Let the whole of lord Hutchinson's letters be laid before the house. Let lord Granville Leveson Gower state what he knew of the disposition of Russia. A heavy charge was made by Russia against this country, for not affording her any cooperation during the campaign in Poland. Now, was there any foundation for the reproaches of baron Budberg? Every body knew that a force of 10 or 20,000 men, exposed, as they must be, to certain destruction, could never have averted the fatal battle of Friedland. But, if ministers were in possession of the secret articles in the treaty of Tilsit, why did they not produce them? It had been said that a hostile mind existed in Russia against this country; and that she would seize on the Danish navy. "Now," continued Mr. Whitbread, "I ask ministers, whether it was known to them that Russia was hostile to this country previously to the attack on Copenhagen? (Mr. Canning answered across the table, Yes.) I am not," replied Mr. Whitbread, "disposed to doubt that the right hon. gentleman thinks what he says is true; but let that be proved; let witnesses be examined as to the fact. Frequent mention had been made of the inveterate hostility of France; but what else could be expected from France except hostility? The endeavour on the part of France to

to combine all the powers of Europe against us, was no more unjustifiable than the attempt of this country to form combinations against France." It was, however, evident that Russia was hostile to this country after the attack on Copenhagen; and, on that account he contended, it was a meanness in this country to ask a power so hostile to us, to interfere for the purpose of making up the quarrel between us and Denmark. He was ready to admit, the right honourable gentleman had that night advanced strong reasons why an attack should not be made on Cronstadt. With respect to the value of the Danish ships, it was stated, in some accounts, that they were very good ships, because they stood the weather so well in coming home. —But it appeared from admiral Gambier's account, that it was necessary to repair some of them before they were putto sea. From the regularity and preparation in the Danish navy, an inference was drawn, that they were intended to be made use of against us. But it must appear to any person who ever visited Copenhagen, that, for fifty years past, it had been the practice of the Danes, a practice in which they prided themselves, to have their ships laid up in ordinary, in so complete a state of repair, that they could be fitted out in a very short time. But when we took the ships, we took the least efficient part of the Danish navy. We left behind 18,000 seamen, who would be ready to enter into the service of France: and France had ships enough for herself. The English acted like shabby thieves, they took only one half of their booty. Why was not the French property at Copenhagen seized also? The only effect of the expedition was, to arm the people of Denmark against us, and to shut us out from the Baltic trade; while Holland was entirely under the power of France, without the latter being at the expense of sending troops to conquer it. If the act in question was justified by necessity, he was ready to admit, that it was justified in morality, and in the sight of God. But it could not be justified. Ministers wanted to imitate the energies of France. How did they do that? France had slain a giant, and then England must go and kill an innocent helpless child. The question now was, not whether the expedition was justifiable, but whether that house was bound to give credit to the assertions of ministers, and whether it ought not to require more information.

Lord Granville Levison Gower denied positively that the hostility of Russia was caused either by the neglect of England to send her succours, or by the attack on Copenhagen. The real cause of that hostility was the battle of Friedland. The moment the emperor Alexander arrived at Petersburg from Tilsit, after signing the peace with France, the first person he visited was his minister of marine; and the first order he afterwards gave, was to repair the batteries at Cronstadt. He had heard it said, that our attack on Copenhagen was a subject of reprobation among the people of the continent. For his own part, he could affirm, that almost all the people whom he conversed with in Russia approved it; because by that attack, they considered themselves as released from the danger to which they might otherwise be exposed, if the French were to make Sweden the high road for marching into Russia. He thought sufficient explanation

had been given on this subject; and would put it to any man who had ever been in a diplomatic capacity, whether the greatest inconvenience would not be produced by the disclosure of secret intelligence. He knew men who had objected to furnish him with such intelligence, because they did not know but the same might be exposed at some future period.

Lord Castlereagh entered into a long justification of the Copenhagen expedition; and contended, that ministers ought not to be required to disclose the secret information they received. He described the various endeavours by his majesty's government to bring the court of Denmark to an explanation as to its views, but without effect; and drew a conclusion that the crown prince, in the whole of his conduct, had secretly favoured the views of France. He denied that Denmark was competent to defend itself against the power of France. With regard to the assertion that we ought to have remained in Copenhagen, he would inform the house, that government had given that question every discussion; and that the naval and military officers being consulted on the occasion, the result of their opinion was, that it would require a much larger force to keep possession of Zealand than this country could spare, and much greater than was then in Zealand. It was considered improper to call upon Sweden to contribute any troops for that purpose, because she must thereby be exposed to attack on the part of Prussia. It was also asked of the first naval authorities, whether the island could be surrounded by our vessels, so as to prevent an invasion on the part of the French? The report of admiral Keith was, that on the Jutland side there were seven or eight forts, in which troops to the amount of sixty thousand men might be collected; and that if the ninety pendants which were then flying round Zealand were to occupy the Belt, they must be five miles distant from each other; and as some of these might be driven from their stations, the French could, on that occasion, send over their forces, in the small craft, of which there was a sufficient number along the shores of Jutland.

Mr. Lushington said: "In applying the laws of nations to the conduct of great Britain towards Denmark, the gentlemen on the oppoposite side of the house seem desirous of establishing a code of their own, separate from that law of nature, which (according to the best writers) is the very foundation of all the laws of nations. Their sentimental system would embrace all nations but their own. These ingenious disquisitions may be well calculated for the amusement of the school, but they are not fitted for the events of real life, or a state of ferocious war. Sir, the first law of nature, the foundation of the law of nations, is the preservation of man. It is on the knowledge of his nature that the science of his duty must be founded. When his feelings point out to him a mighty danger, and his reason suggests the means of avoiding it, he must despise the sophistical trifler, who tells him it is a moral duty he owes to others, to wait till the danger break upon his foolish head, lest he should hurt the meditated instrument of his destruction. Upon this general principle of the law of nations, I maintain the morality, and certainly the necessity, of the expedition against Copenhagen. I rejoice, sir, in the wisdom of those counsels which

which anticipated and have averted this danger. But I am astonished that any man in this house, or in any other, should doubt the reality of that danger, when he recollects, that in confirmation of all the other evidence I have hinted, the prince of Portugal has been driven from his dominions, because he would not join in that confederacy with France, Russia, and Denmark. With this impression, sir, of the conduct of ministers, I am thankful to them for the great service they have rendered to the state; and they may be assured that this feeling is general throughout the country. Let them proceed in the course they have already pursued, let them face unappalled the unnatural combination which is gathered around us, relying that the spirit of the people of England will keep pace with the energy of the government."

Sir Charles Price regarded the Copenhagen expedition not only as just and necessary, but as wisely planned and gloriously executed.

Mr. Davies Giddy was sorry the information on which ministers had acted could not be laid before the house. However, as that was the case, he thought himself bound to acquiesce in the concealment which the government thought necessary.

Mr. Grenville spoke in favour of the motion, and

Mr. Ponsonby replied.

Upon a division there appeared

For the motion - -	108
Against it - -	253
Majority	145

In the house of lords the duke of Norfolk on the 8th rose, and observed, that the question which he meant to bring forward, was one of the greatest importance, because it involved the deepest interests, the honour and glory of the British empire. But with a view of bringing the subject fairly before their lordships in every possible point of view, he should move that there be laid before the house copies of all proclamations issued by our military and naval commanders while before Copenhagen; also copies of all correspondence which passed between such commanders and the commanders at Copenhagen. It could not escape the observation of ministers, that when the expedition sailed, both the amount of the force, and the object in view, had excited the feelings of the country. It was natural for the people to suppose that such an attack would not have been made without strong reasons; he was sorry, however, to say, that the result proved how unfounded were such expectations; for instead of finding, upon the examination and after the production of such documents as his majesty's advisers chose to lay before the public, that direct hostility had been intended, or fraud practised against this country; on the contrary, it was manifest that the force of Denmark, relying on the good faith of this country, had actually been employed in Holstein to oppose Bonaparte, leaving Zealand naked and exposed to our attacks. Availing ourselves of this state of things, we certainly did, contrary to the conduct of a great and magnanimous nation, availing ourselves of the character which we had supported for honour and for good faith—contradict the opinion entertained by the court of Denmark; and, under the mask of friendship, committed an act which outraged every feeling of spirit and independence. Nay, more, our conduct exhibited an example sub-

versive of all the relations and laws by which civilized nations have been ever governed. He granted, that a possible case might arise for justifying such an act, but then it was incumbent on those who resorted to it, to make out and prove their case. If necessity was to be the plea or justification of ministers, for thus violating every principle, human and divine—if they depended on dire necessity, as their apology for departing from every law and every principle of recognized right, then let them exhibit the proof of such necessity in one way or other. But granting even the necessity of the case is a criterion by which to judge of them, the policy of the measure, both generally and particularly, should be taken into consideration. (Here his grace read extracts from his majesty's declaration, from which he inferred, as contrasted with the position and force of Denmark, that France could not, without the consent of the latter, get possession of Zealand.) His grace then moved for the copies already mentioned, and also for copies of such information as our ambassador at Copenhagen communicated on the disposition of the government of that country towards England. Also a copy of any information which had been received by ministers respecting the secret articles contained in the treaty at Tilsit. These were papers and documents which he felt himself bound to call for, in support of the character, the honour, and integrity of the British empire.

The marquis Wellesley opposed the motion, which he stated to be altogether unnecessary to the information of the house on the subject of the expedition to Copenhagen, as they were now fully competent to give a decisive judgment on the merits of the measure. It had now been so long before the public, that they had had full time and ample opportunity to make themselves masters of every part of the question. There were some things indeed so self-evident as to require no illustration from evidence, and this was one of them, for he wished them to consider it as an act of clear, manifest, imperious necessity, from which ministers could not abstain without a dereliction of their duty. He wished them to consider it in the following point of view:—

1st, That it was clearly the design of the French emperor to draw the court of Denmark into his plan of universal maritime confederacy against England.

2d, That the French emperor had the means of accomplishing this object.

3d, That the accomplishment of this object would have been most disastrous, if not fatal to Great Britain, and that the necessity of self-defence conferred the right of taking measures to secure our safety.

The marquis after enlarging on these different heads, concluded his speech by a recapitulation of his arguments, and said, that in his opinion the design and power of France to compel Denmark to join the neutral league, were manifest. No further proof was necessary to illustrate these facts, and upon these facts he found it the right of Great Britain to secure itself against the danger of such a junction. The importance of the achievement was manifest by the indignation which the emperor of the French had betrayed on the event; it was the greatest disaster he had suffered since the commencement of his reign.

reign. It had disappointed his scheme of subjugating England. It had augmented her maritime power; it had secured the means of universal deliverance from his yoke, for it had frustrated the project of annihilating the intercourse of nations. That interdict was now confined to the miserable countries within his reach, and he would himself speedily find, that it was impossible to withhold from them the benefits of Nature. Such was his view of the importance of this measure of government; but if their lordships should decide otherwise, and say that ministers had no right to act upon precaution, what would be the consequence? That in no future time would any set of ministers feel themselves justified to take measures beforehand, for the prevention of any danger that threatened us, however formidable, if thereby they were to interfere with the rights of neutrals, or of nations not actually engaged in open war against us. He deprecated such a decision as the greatest calamity that could befal the country.

Lord Hutchinson said, he had heard much eloquence to little purpose, and he regretted to see the noble marquis's talents applied in so bad a cause. He had failed in proving that Zealand could not have been effectually defended, even if the French were in possession of Holstein and Jutland. He was of opinion, that, even supposing the French to have been in possession of Holstein and Jutland, that still Zealand might have been defended with effect against the French arms. He had been employed on a very important mission, and he thought it the more necessary to say something respecting that mission, in consequence of partial extracts from his letters having been communicated in another place, by which he had been held out as giving opinions which were never delivered by him. The Russian army in Poland never amounted to more than 70,000 men, with the exception of two detached divisions, amounting to about 30,000. The French troops were estimated at 150,000. From the disasters sustained by the former and after the unfortunate battle of Friedland, the loss of the Russians amounted to 40,000 men, they lost also 1898 officers, and 29 generals! He was then perfectly convinced that Russia must make peace with France. He denied the existence of any necessity to treat the Danes with hostility, or to suspect their want of good faith, and contended, that so far from its being a measure of wisdom and security, it was the very reverse of those positions, and had plunged us unnecessarily into a war with Russia, who, up to the period of the attack on Copenhagen, was firm to her alliance; but from that moment she resolved on hostilities, and would have instantly declared against the outrage, had she not felt that it was her interest to be silent till she got her fleets into ports of safety, two of which, in case of a rupture, were at the mercy of England.

[Here his lordship detailed the conversations he had with the emperor of Russia.]

These conversations, his lordship concluded, were of the greatest importance with respect to the views and sentiments of the Russian government, being held, not with any minister, but with the head of the government, with the emperor of Russia himself, and from them, his lordship observed, he conceived himself justified in drawing the conclusion that the attack on Copenhagen

penhagen had materially changed the relations between this country and Russia. He had seen the most atrocious libels against the emperor of Russia, tending to set up that monarch as a mark of indignation and reproach, and even to raise his own subjects against him. These libels were published in this country, and could not be sufficiently reprobated. The noble lord had treated lightly the opinion expressed in Europe respecting the expedition to Copenhagen, but he was certain that that opinion was highly unfavourable to this country, particularly in the north of Europe, nor did he conceive that that expedition had been justified by the arguments used by the noble lord.

Lord Erskine spoke on the same side, in a speech of considerable length and ability. He said that England had hitherto been considered as the conservators of the laws of nations, but he feared the character of the country for good faith and justice was lost, and that we had humbled and degraded ourselves in the eyes of Europe. Ministers had introduced a new code of ethics, and, by imitating revolutionary France, had incurred the odium of all the civilized nations of Europe. France had made the supposed secret articles of Pilnitz a cause for going to war with this country, and now England made the supposed secret articles of Tilsit a cause for going to war with all the world. He denied the proposition, that we had gained security by seizing the Danish fleet; on the contrary, it was more calculated to produce our destruction, as it had for ever destroyed our honour and faith amongst nations. As to the necessity, that he would deny too, and though he should admit that it might be expedient to pull down our neighbour's house to secure the neighbourhood, when a fire raged in the vicinity, yet it was not expedient to do so when that fire was miles off, or perhaps had not broke out, but was only threatened by an incendiary. In short, the act could not be defended, and he hoped to God "even-handed Justice would not return the poisoned chalice to our own lips." While he was on that part of his subject, he could not help referring to a case in history, the more analogous, as it respected the Danes. In the time of king Ethelred, it was imagined that Sweyn, the king of Denmark, and Otave, king of Norway, meant to make a descent on England; it was therefore suggested, as an expedient to national security, that every Dane in the island should be put to death. The sanguinary measure was approved, and on the day the unsuspecting Danes were celebrating the anniversary of their saint, they were all, men, women, and children, savagely butchered. Sweyn, exasperated at this act of inhumanity and injustice, though he had entertained no such intention before, landed an army in Great Britain, and after a dreadful and bloody retaliation, in which a branch of the royal family was butchered in the presence of its parent, conquered the kingdom, and held possession from the Saxons for 40 years afterwards. But to return to the subject matter in discussion—ministers had seized the Danish fleet, and had taken ten sail of the line into the British service, and yet, as if ashamed of the original transaction, they had changed their names, as gipsies do children when they steal them! His lordship then went into a very elaborate review of the doctrines laid down by writers

ters on the law of nations, to prove that ministers had violated all the established and known principles on that head, and concluded by saying, that the attack on Denmark could neither be justified by state necessity or national security, and that the act would probably stand for ever unparalleled for national bad faith, and unprovoked violence and injustice!

Lord Borringdon spoke in justification of the measure.

Lord Buckinghamshire said, that what we had gained in point of strength, we had lost in national character. He feared this country would have cause to lament the capture of the Danish fleet.

Lord Harrowby justified the measure, and said, if Bonaparte had declared his intention of seizing the Danish fleet, and of turning it against the shores of Great Britain and Ireland, and such declaration had reached the ears of ministers, they would have deserved the execration of their sovereign and the country at large, if they had hesitated for a moment in endeavouring to thwart the enemy in such his intention. In short, the security of the country rendered the measure indispensable, and they were every way justified in what they had done.

Earl Moira rose and said, if he was to consider seriously all the transactions of government relative to the late expedition to the Baltic, he should think that the principles of public faith and national honour had been deserted for the adoption of principles which we had so often reprobated in the French ruler. A noble marquis (Wellesley) had ridiculed the supposition that the army of Denmark was to be stationed in Holstein, to oppose the French troops on their way to attack Copenhagen. But it was evident that the French would not have attacked Zealand, because Denmark would have been thrown into the hands of England. If France had attacked them, the Danes, headed by their prince, would doubtless have fought bravely; and, under the existing circumstances, he would rather have seen the fleet of Denmark in the hands of Bonaparte. If the Danish navy had been seized by the French, the event could not have affected our dearest rights in the manner the attack on Copenhagen had. He wished the noble lords who attempted to justify the expedition had made out a case by the production of documents necessary for their defence; but it was only suspicion which they had advanced in vindication of their conduct. He was confident the voice of the country condemned those who proposed the expedition! It had been said by a noble marquis, that war in all countries entailed misfortunes on the inhabitants; but this expedition entailed worse calamities than any yet described. When the island of Zealand was attacked, parents were seen weeping over their murdered children, mothers in agonizing tortures, and scenes of distress witnessed sufficient to call forth sentiments of horror and commiseration. Those who had planned the expedition should have looked at the miseries likely to follow their orders; they should have felt for the situation of the sufferers. Government had justified their conduct on the ground of security. He should like to hear what excuse a highwayman would make for firing into a coach occupied by women. The robber would probably say, that the guard would not permit them to get out and deliver their

their property! The new doctrine of security and anticipation of danger might be used in support of villany and brutality on any occasion. This act deprived the country of every possibility of a successful termination of the war. Russia, who before the expedition to Copenhagen was an enemy in point of form, was now an enemy in fact: and Sweden was not in a situation as secure as she was before the Danes were attacked.

Lord Hawkesbury never wished more to hear the sentiments of other noble lords upon any question that had been brought before their lordships, before delivering his own, than he did on the present occasion. He found himself called upon, however, to rise in this stage of the debate, not only because the measure now under consideration was one which he had a share in concerting, but because he had been accused of swerving from those great principles of morality and justice which were dearer to him than any interest on earth, and rather than deviate from which he would shed the last drop of his blood. In order to resolve this question satisfactorily, three points were to be considered:—1st, Whether the enemy had the design of seizing upon the Danish fleet, and of converting it into an instrument of attack against this country.—2dly, Whether it was practicable for France to have obtained possession of the Danish fleet:—and, 3dly, Whether, supposing that such a design existed, and the execution of it was practicable, it was an object of sufficient magnitude to induce the government of this country to deviate from the ordinary rules of procedure, in order to frustrate it? Here his lordship made use of similar arguments to those urged by marquis Wellesley, and concluded by declaring it his opinion that the expedition was necessary for the salvation of the country.

Earl Grey observed, that ministers, so far from having saved the country by their expedition to Copenhagen, had deeply injured its honour, and consequently endangered its safety. It had been said by the noble lord who spoke lately, that it was the main object of France to combine against us all the navies of Europe; and that she entertained that design in regard to the fleet of Denmark. He was far from disputing the ambitious designs of France; but, in order to establish the other point, it was necessary to show either that Denmark was unable or unwilling to maintain her neutrality. It was the interest and the duty of this country to lend its aid to the defence of Zealand, and that, together with the force of Sweden, would have rendered the defence effectual. There was no ground for supposing therefore any inability on the part of Denmark to defend her insular territories. It was of importance then to inquire whether she was disposed to avail herself of those means of defence which she might have had, or tamely to submit to France. On this point he could refer to the dispatches of Mr. Garlicke, the British envoy at the court of Denmark, a person of the greatest merit, and held in the highest estimation during his residence at Copenhagen. In these dispatches he had represented the crown prince and his ministers as having a spirit that would reject with disdain every demand on the part of France to surrender their fleet! When on this subject, he must observe, that a dispatch of his own, which he had sent to our envoy at Copenhagen,

had been most foully and unfairly quoted in another place. The sentence which followed the quotation then made, would have shown, had it been produced, that the hypothetical case there stated, was not, in his opinion, likely to happen; and the conviction of ministers that the prince of Denmark would resist the demands of France. It was said, that Ireland was the destined object of attack, and the principal point of danger. With regard to the people of that country, he would say, Unite them, and you will produce an unconquerable people. That, however, was not the policy of ministers; they conjured up to themselves fancied dangers, and overlooked those that were real.

Lord Mulgrave replied to the noble lord. His arguments were chiefly anticipated by the marquis of Wellesley and lord Hawkesbury.

Lord Darnley supported the motion.

Lord Sidmouth supported the motion. He contended, that there was no evidence of a hostile disposition on the part of Denmark; that France had not the means of compelling the surrender of the Danish fleet; and that if she had possessed such means, she would have been restrained by prudential motives from exercising them.

On a division, the numbers were,
Contents 35, proxies 13— 48;
Non-contents 68, proxies 37—105;
Majority for ministers 57.

CHAPTER II.

Orders in Council, Debate on in the House of Commons; another on the same subject in the House of Lords—Debate on the second reading of a Bill on the same—Lord Grenville's Motions—Lord Sidmouth's Appeal to the House on the Danish Navy—Sir F. Burdett's Inquiry on the Droits of the Admiralty—Motion and Debate on the same—Sir Charles Pole's Motion on the same—Mr. Whitbread's Motion for Papers on the Russian and Austrian Mediation—Petition relating to Cold-Bath-Fields Prison—Mr. Dent's Motion relating to Sir Home Popham—Petition for Peace:—Debate on His Majesty's Message respecting Lord Lake's Pension: on Mr. Whitbread's Resolutions on Peace.

ALTHOUGH we despair of being able to give such an abstract of what passed in parliament respecting the "Orders of Council," the effects of which extend not only to the trade of neutrals, but necessarily also to that of our own country, as shall make the subject so clear as we could wish, yet it will be right to lay before our readers so much of the debates as shall put them in possession of the arguments on both sides. The illegality of these orders, and their hostility to the principles of Magna Charta, were assumed and maintained by opposition, while the partisans of the existing administration appealed to the necessity of the case in their justification.

On the 5th of February, in the house of commons, after Mr. Hase had appeared at the bar and presented an account from the commissioners for reducing the national debt, and stating the receipt and

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application of 9,700,000*l.* for that purpose for the last year; together with the sum of 2,400,000*l.* for the next ensuing quarter: Mr. Percival moved, that the orders of his majesty in council, respecting neutral trade, be referred to the committee of ways and means.

Lord H. Petty immediately rose, and observed, that as serious doubts were entertained of the legality of these orders, he considered it as the indispensable duty of ministers to have these doubts removed, by showing to the house, in the first instance, their necessity, and then by applying for an indemnity bill against the unconstitutional exercise of them. He contended, that the orders in council violated the laws of nations and the municipal law of this country; and further objected, that to enforce them was adopting a system of great impolicy.

The chancellor of the exchequer, in reply, insisted, that the late orders in council were founded on the same principle as the order of the 7th of January 1807, and therefore, that it ill became ministers who issued that order to contend, that those which differed from it only by being more efficient, were violations of the laws of nations, and the municipal law of the land. —Their policy, he observed, consisted in the protection they afforded to our commerce, and in the inconvenience and distress which the enemy must experience from their operation. But these laws related to a state of peace not of war, as in both cases their violation was a measure of expediency, and justified by the king's war prerogative. The interests of America, he said, were the interests of this nation, and he trusted and believed that the present orders of council would not interrupt the friendly intercourse between the two countries.

Mr. Windham, Dr. Lawrence, sir Arthur Pigot, and Mr. Eden joined in condemning the orders in council.

The master of the rolls coincided with the chancellor of the exchequer in his view of those measures. —The question was carried without a division.

The house then went into a committee of ways and means, in which the chancellor of the exchequer proposed certain duties on foreign produce exported from England; and he observed, that the resolutions would be printed, and laid before the house.

In the house of peers, lord Auckland had, on the preceding day, given notice of his intention to make a motion respecting these orders in council, in order, as he said, to bring into discussion the different bearings of these orders, as they related to neutral powers, to commerce, manufactures, &c. And on the 15th his lordship rose to make his motion. He considered the subject of high importance, and proposed to discuss it under four heads; namely, the policy, the legality, the violation of the navigation laws, and the laws of nations. In a speech of considerable length, he contended, that the last orders had been issued contrary to the principles of justice, and the good faith which ought to distinguish a powerful maritime nation. The operations of the order issued in 1797 had been severely felt by unoffending neutrals; the order of the 7th of January, 1807, also obtained the reprobation of America; but the subsequent orders had nearly annihilated the commerce of states never hostile to England. He deprecated the system of retaliation adopted by government,

vernment, in consequence of which friendly powers had been severely injured; and he contended, that the orders were contrary to policy and the laws of civilized states. The noble lord concluded his speech with moving, "that the house should resolve itself into a committee on the orders of government laid before the house by command of his majesty, and afford them their early consideration."

Earl Bathurst opposed the arguments of the noble baron, and justified the orders which had been censured. It had been discovered by government, that neutrals, by a circuitous course, frequently rendered essential service to the enemy. The power exercised by France over neutrals being submitted to by them, they not only promoted the commercial views of the enemy, but acquiesced in hostile intentions. The import trade of America amounted annually to 104,000,000 dollars, 7,000,000 of which was gained by France; it was therefore of importance to deprive her of that benefit. The orders of council had effected that object, and government were justified in the adoption of them.

Lord Erskine said, the question for the consideration of their lordships was not whether the orders of council were founded on policy, but whether the government ought to act upon principles of justice; and he considered it a question of as great importance as any ever before the house. The laws of nations, according to all authorities, peremptorily demanded that respect should be observed to neutrals. The order of the 11th Nov. 1797, did not say that government proceeded on the law of retaliation towards neutrals. The order might blockade the enemy's ports; but he would ask the noble lords, whether they could say with honour and candour, that the order extended to neutrals, who had never violated the laws of nations. The moment the emperor of France had contradicted his decree in favour of America, and Mr. Armstrong, the American minister, was informed that the trade of America should not be annoyed, the government of this country laid an embargo on American ships. This act he considered adverse to the established laws of nations. America had committed no act which justified such conduct. The oldest decisions on the subject of neutral capture and detention had said, that neutral property cannot be taken, unless an act was committed by the neutral, offensive, according to the law of nations, to the belligerent. The attack on neutrals was justified upon a principle of retaliation. He would suppose the French had decreed the blockade of the Moon, Venus, Mercury, and other luminous bodies; and England had blockaded the Sun and the satellites of Jupiter. Were the astronomer royal and all the disciples of Copernicus to be thrown into confusion, and the country darkened by the eclipse of the planets? The noble lord quoted the decisions of sir W. Scott, judge of the admiralty court, and other authorities, to prove that neutrals were not subject to detention, seizure, and confiscation, unless they committed acts contrary to the laws of nations. He called upon the noble lord on the woolsack to express his opinion relative to the law of nations applicable to neutrals; and observed, that if the orders of council then in discussion were a sufficient pretence for the general system of blockade, neutrals were without any protection whatever.

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The lord chancellor left the woolsack, and said the law of nations was the law of justice, which existed between individuals in a state of nature. With respect to hostilities, if it appeared that neutrals acquiesced in the views of an enemy, and means were adopted to prevent the injury likely to arise from the designs of the enemy, he did not think, that from Magna Charta to the present time, any contradiction had been offered to the principle on which the orders of council proceeded. The noble lord then defended the policy of the subsequent orders, that we must use the same weapons as France, and contended that they were calculated to promote the benefit and security of the country.

Lord King contended, that it must be proved by his majesty's ministers, that neutrals had submitted to the decrees of the enemy, in order to justify the monstrous conduct which we were pursuing against them. He acknowledged that the decrees of France against our commerce were such as to justify us in measures of retaliation against that power; but surely, before we retaliated on neutrals, it was necessary to show that they had given sufficient provocation. This, however, was not the case, and he called on noble lords on the other side to adduce any one act done by neutrals, which manifested even a disposition to submit to the measures of Bonaparte against this country.

Lord Grenville regretted that party considerations should have such strong influence on the minds of some noble lords, as had appeared in the course of the debate. He was the more surprised at it in the discussion of a subject of such magnitude as that now before their lordships. Such a view of the subject might answer a temporary purpose, as a set-off against facts and incontrovertible statements, but he trusted that there would be an end of such justification as that hitherto pursued, he meant that of instancing the conduct of the late government. Upon that question, however, the present ministers could not defend themselves, for the measures which they had adopted in the way of retaliation, did not violate every principle and recognised forms of the law of nations, as the present ministers had done. Although they had deemed it necessary to resort to a declaration of blockade against the enemy, yet they did not involve innocent and unoffending neutrals in the calamities of war.—Having dwelt for some time on this part of the subject, the noble lord then proceeded to examine the measure before their lordships generally, as one on the revocation, or non-revocation of which, depended (he believed in his soul) the existence of Great Britain. He contemplated with the deepest regret, the motives which seemed to influence some persons in this country on the present subject: they might, it was true, derive a short-lived popularity from their rigour beyond all law, even the law of necessity, as generally understood, but he feared the day was not very distant, when not only the country, but the very authors of the mischief, who were now triumphing, would lament and bitterly deplore their conduct; all he could hope was, that their repentance might not be too late. The noble and learned lord (Eldon) laboured very much on points which were not capable of being contradicted; he had stated propositions with respect to the law of necessity, which

which were clear and self-evident; but the inferences of the noble and learned lord were irrelevant, because they had no application whatever to this question; the noble lord not only failed in making out the necessity, but in showing that there was even a colourable pretext for the orders in council as against neutrals. Their lordships should consider whether the decree of the enemy was executed: now, so far from it, that all the evidence was the other way; for on the application of neutrals to the French government for an explanation, the answer was, that it was not intended against the power so inquiring. This was the answer given to the American ambassador in particular; he was told that not a provision in it should affect the treaty subsisting between both countries. The American ambassador communicated this explanation to the present ministers, who certainly might thus far have regulated their conduct, in conformity to an undeniable fact, namely, that Bonaparte had not executed his decree against America, and that America had shown no intention of acquiescing in that decree, if it were the intention of France to carry it into effect. What then was the line pursued by ministers? They said, in substance, by their order of council, You, Americans, may be satisfied with the explanation of France, but we feel the explanation disgraceful to the United States, and infer from it the submission of America, therefore we will impose on you all the calamities and all the evils of war. If the necessity of the case were the ground to be relied on, why not establish it? Here was a fact which proved that it existed as against neutrals only in the imagination of those who recommended and wrote the orders of council. If the orders were examined, it would be found that the plea of justification which they recited at their very opening was, that the French government had issued unjust decrees against the commerce of England, and that neutrals had not procured a renunciation of them. This was no ground at all, because Bonaparte had not executed them, and therefore his decrees were as waste paper against us; for our object was to see whether they were executed, and then to be informed whether neutrals had submitted to Bonaparte's wishes. We find, however, that ministers have not any foundation for supposing either case; on the contrary, every kind of proof was against them.

The noble lord concluded his speech, with expressing his surprise that ministers should revive the right of imposing a tax on the commerce of America. When that had been attempted in former times, the consequences were disastrous to both countries during the struggle; but on what ground could or ought government to have torn those wounds inflicted on America? Why should it be our policy to rouse her independence; and all this at a moment when we should endeavour to soothe her sufferings and conciliate her attachment? Surely the evil genius of Great Britain could not have suggested a more certain plan for the ruin of the country, than that of compelling the Americans to come into our harbours, and there exacting from them those duties or taxes as our folly might demand from them. This was such an act of insolence, and such a violation of all law, as ought to make the most unprincipled and tyranni-

cal government shrink from its acknowledgment! He conjured their lordships to put an end as soon as possible to this mischief. He feared that the effect which it might produce would not be removed, or even mitigated during the life of any person who witnessed the transaction. It was so atrocious that the Americans could not forget it; and he was of opinion would not easily forgive its injurious tendency.

Lord Hawkesbury said that with respect to the question of retaliation, which was the only one before their lordships, he should say, that it involved the deepest interests of the country; and feeling this to be the case, he was the more anxious to state his view of it generally at present, reserving the detail till some future discussion, which he had no doubt would be afforded by noble lords opposite to him. He thought that the mistaken notions of the noble baron with respect to the violation of the laws of nations, must arise from a want of due consideration. The noble baron acknowledged the right of retaliation against an enemy, but denied it against neutrals: he lamented the necessity of inflicting any of the calamities of war on neutrals, but self-preservation fully justified it He did not anticipate such evils from the operation of our measure on American commerce, as the noble baron apprehended; he, on the contrary, hoped that America would, on a calm view of the whole transaction, feel inclined to give it effect rather than opposition. She must be aware that the enemy provoked us to adopt it by his decrees and various oppressions; and of course, that with respect to America as a neutral, it was an order growing out of necessity, which carried its justification with it! The noble lord closed his speech at two o'clock, with stating, that he should resist the noble baron's motion.

Lord Lauderdale and lord Sidmouth gave their support to the motion. On a division, the numbers were:—For the motion 48, against it 106.

Ministers, finding themselves secure in their majorities on this important question, introduced a bill on the subject into the lower house; on the second reading of which, Feb. 18,

Mr. Eden said that he could not allow this bill to go through another stage without declaring his sentiments upon it. In doing so he should throw out of his consideration the question as to the right of retaliation. That he should leave to other gentlemen better able to discuss the subject, and should confine the few observations he had to offer on the measure in question to its effects, so far only as America was concerned. He would ask, if it could at all be shown either that America had any access to that decree of the French government issued on the 21st of November, 1806, previously to the passing of it; or that she acquiesced in it without reluctance after it was issued? He maintained that there was no evidence to this effect, but the contrary. It appeared too, from the letter of Messrs. Monroe and Pinckney to our government, explanatory of this matter, that the decree was never acted upon; and that the trade of America was in no wise annoyed in consequence of the decree. It did not appear that any answer was given to this letter, but three weeks after followed the orders of council, which went to inflict

flict on America a punishment as severe as if she had been in a state of the most abject submission to the wishes and objects of France. It was a mere mockery to say that any vessels whatever sailing from American ports, at any time whatever, were to be exempted from the operation of this tax. Supposing it to be the wish of the captain or owners, though the ship was originally cleared out for Bourdeaux, that the place of her destination should be changed with the change of circumstances, and that she should proceed to Stockholm; that very change of destination would subject her to the tax. Supposing such a deviation to be voluntary on the part of the American, he was anxious to know what right our government, or that of any other country, could have to impose a penalty on a neutral vessel conducting herself in this manner. He conceived this to be a tax on the neutral trader without any reason, or the most distant shadow of right.

The advocate-general (sir John Nicholl), conceiving that the house had a right to hear his opinion on this question, rose thus early to state his sentiments and the grounds upon which he formed them. These orders of council were preceded and accompanied by circumstances which were material to be considered in forming a judgment upon their legality. The French decree prohibited the trade of neutrals in articles of British produce and manufacture, and had even gone the further length of declaring the British islands in a state of blockade. According to this regulation, a Danish vessel bound from Copenhagen to Tranquebar, and having on board British goods purchased at Lisbon or America, may be seized by a French cruizer, and would be confiscated on being brought into a French port. The French government, falsely assuming that the British government had declared ports under the dominion of France to be in a state of blockade without placing armed ships to exercise and enforce that blockade, and claiming a right of retaliating upon the same principles, declared the British islands in a state of blockade. But the fact was, that in the most extensive blockade published by this country, which extended from the Elbe to Brest, a particular inquiry had been made, whether there was a naval force sufficient to execute that blockade according to the strict terms of public law. The result of that inquiry was, to shew that there was an ample force, and that force was employed accordingly. The retaliation adopted upon the French decree was gradual, moderate, and dignified. It was intended always to avoid injuring neutrals as much as possible. The first measure was the publication of the order of council of January 7th. That measure he had defended and supported at the time. It was largely efficacious: but even then it was felt, that in strict right, we might have gone further, if that measure should be found insufficient to obtain resistance to the French decree. Denmark, Portugal, Lisbon, and America, were at that time the only neutral powers. Had any one of these powers resisted or remonstrated when a decree, similar to that which now provoked our retaliation, was published by the French directory in 1798? It was immediately denounced by the American president, in his speech

to the congress, as a violation of the rights and independence of the United States. Was any step of that nature taken in the present instance? Was any representation made by the court of Lisbon? On the contrary, the port of Lisbon was become a perfect port of entrepot, to protect the vessels carrying on the coasting trade of France, and the countries under the dominion of France. Had Denmark resisted? The contrary was proved by reference to lord Howick's letter to Mr. Rist, in which that noble lord, for whom he professed a high respect, as he did for the late government generally, very properly censured the submission to the original imposition of France, and the remonstrance against the consequent restriction adopted on the part of this country. With respect to America, the note of the French minister of marine, Decres, gave no assurance of exception of American vessels from the operation of the French decree of the 21st of November, 1806. An instance of the capture of an American vessel, under the provisions of the French decree, had since occurred, and that vessel having been recaptured by a British cruizer, a salvage had been awarded upon the recapture. Now that the peace of Tilsit established the influence of France over the continent, the prohibition of British trade would be universally enforced by France; and unless some principle of retaliation were adopted on our part, we should be compelled to submit to such terms of peace as France may be disposed to dictate. But if, by our retaliation, France should be deprived of many of the necessary articles of daily consumption, the French would in the course of a little time be forced to become the violators of the prohibition of their own government. The colonial trade of France, Spain, and Holland, had been hitherto throughout the war carried on by means of American ships. There were French houses established in America to facilitate this trade, and it was from these French houses that a great part of the late groundless outcry against Britain proceeded. The only prior example of the prohibitory mandate of France, was one issued in 1798 by Russia against France as the enemy of all nations; Russia, which was now in alliance with France against Britain, and which complained of the departure of Britain from the law of nations, while it was silent upon the previous outrage of France! It should be recollected, that in all engagements, express or implied, between belligerents and neutrals, there were neutral duties as well as neutral rights; and that belligerents had direct obligations towards themselves, as well as collateral obligations towards their neighbours. If a neutral power allowed its territory to be violated by one belligerent, it was bound to allow an equal latitude to the opposite belligerent. The same principle held at sea; and if America submitted to the intervention of France, the intervention should be permitted on our part. If it was in our power, and if our right permitted us to detain vessels on their way to France, it was equally our right to permit them to proceed on certain conditions, and on this ground the detention and duty bond were perfectly justifiable. If, under these circumstances, America should determine to be hostile, it was a satisfaction to us that our cause was just:

just: we must either submit unconditionally to France, or try to conquer; the result he looked to with confidence, as to this country; and he trusted, that while so interesting and important a trial was pending, no attempt would be made to prejudice it, by exciting a factious clamour for peace, which could be attended with no effect, but producing an unpromising negotiation, and an insecure peace.

Earl Temple wished every measure of the late government to stand on its own merits. The question now before the house was, if the orders of council could be justified. Were we entitled to do immediate injury to neutral states, to meet that which had been collaterally aimed at them by our opponent? He contended that the plea of retaliation did not apply. We ought to retaliate on our enemy, not on neutral states. We were called on, before we took any steps which could affect neutral powers, to see if they had remonstrated against the act of the other belligerent; and again, if that act had been enforced by the power with whom we were at war. The American minister at Paris did immediately remonstrate, holding out the treaty between the two countries, as a reason why the decree should not be enforced. The answer was, that no part of it was meant to militate against that treaty. The president was satisfied with this declaration of the French minister of marine, and in his speech to congress states the explanation which his minister had received. Two several ships belonging to America, captured and carried, the one into a French, the other into a Spanish port, after an attempt made to condemn them in prize courts, were restored, on the explanation of the French minister of marine. So that there was the concurrent testimony of the French minister and the president of the United States, and the actual restoration of the ships which had been seized, in support of these facts; not only that remonstrances had been made, but that the decree had not been enforced. The noble lord contended that we had no right to call on a neutral power to produce evidence of the revocation of any such decree; all we had a right to was, to be satisfied that we stood, so far as such neutral was concerned, on a footing with our opponent. His lordship proceeded to enter into an investigation of the measure, so far as it affected the law of nations, and declared that he conceived it to be a breach of the statute of Edward III. and of Magna Charta.

He objected also to the measure, as it went to raise a tax without the consent of parliament. He then considered its policy, and observed, that the French directory in 1797 had adopted a line of conduct similar to the decree of the 21st of November. On that occasion there were many who applied to Mr. Pitt for a measure of retaliation like what had now been adopted. He answered that he had too much respect for the constitution of the country and the law of nations to do so. Such was his policy. There was now only one neutral by whose means our commerce might be carried on, and why did we assist the views of Bonaparte by closing up this outlet?

By these orders we were distressing our own colonies, by bringing so much produce into competition with theirs, as far as exportation to foreign markets was concerned. We were preventing the Americans from carrying off the surplus of our Indian commodities, and by stopping up their channels of trade rendered them less able to purchase our own manufactures. We already had had enough of taxing American commerce. Bonaparte's policy was to unite against us the minds and prejudices of people. We certainly did not retaliate in this way. It was an imprudent retaliation, for the sake of putting an end to the commerce of France, to destroy our own; since commerce was a great source of strength to us, but of comparatively little benefit to France. He therefore entered his strongest protest against these orders.

Mr. Rose expressed his surprise that, after what had been said on this subject, the legality of these orders should have been questioned. After insisting that they were strictly within the king's prerogative, he replied to an objection founded on the illegality of bringing into this country the produce of enemies' colonies by neutrals, by observing that this was legalised by the 42d of the king. He then contended that the order of the 7th of January adopted the same principle. It went far beyond the rule of 1756; for under that, vessels were not subjected to confiscation, as they were by this order. He denied that there was a material difference between Denmark and America in this case. He adverted to the pains that had been taken to connect this subject with the question of peace or war with America, and asserted that this might be attended with the most mischievous effects. No one could be more anxious to preserve peace with America; her prosperity was the prosperity of Great Britain. But at the same time he could not but state the great advantages which America enjoyed from the consequences of Mr. Jay's treaty. The trade between this country and her was carried on, in a great measure, in her own ships: she supplied almost all the world, except this country, with India goods; and we had given her the privilege of carrying the produce of the enemies' colonies, which was denied her by the rule of 1756: still, however, he deprecated war with America. These orders were not intended as a measure of finance; the duties were imposed in order to distress the enemy. Even all our cruizers could not prevent smuggling: it might easily be conceived then that the French could not possibly prevent our commodities from being smuggled into the continent.

Mr. Hibbert praised the excellent speech which had been made by the honourable and learned gentleman over the way (the advocate-general) in favour of the order of the 7th of January, on the ground of its being of that sort which distressed the enemy much, and did little harm to the neutral. He contended that there was a wise distinction between that and the orders under consideration. The enemy had applied a constructive blockade to us, and we had constructively blockaded the whole world. While we were so eager to hurt France, we ought to take care not

not to hurt ourselves. We ought to take the advice given in the case of the passionate rider and the horse, and "show ourselves the wiser of the two." He could not agree in the principle, that when a neutral was excepted she was still bound to demand a revocation. Had any American ship been condemned in France for having British produce on board? He denied that in these orders there was any particular view to the interests of the West India trade. It would be a far greater benefit to the West India merchants and planters, to have the rule of 1756 enforced with respect to the enemies' colonies. But now the great quantity of goods which would be brought here for exportation would interfere, whatever might be the duty, with the exportation of our own commodities. He therefore condemned the policy of the measure, and observed that, in addition to its other bad effects, it would favour the views of Bonaparte by creating an enthusiasm against us in the people of the continent.

Mr. William Smith said that his honourable and learned friend (the advocate-general) had misapplied the words which he read from Vattel, for the whole of the quotation related to contraband goods. He allowed, however, that there was a great deal in many things which he had said, and on the present occasion there might be good reason to resort to the rule of 1756. But then he said, that it was not expected to be able to compel Bonaparte to rescind his decree; that all that could be done was, to press so heavily upon the people as to force them to smuggle. If that was the case, then the question came to this: whether we should run the risk of provoking the hostility of America, by continuing her embargo, in order to try how much we could smuggle into the continent? Setting aside the question of morality, the fraud, the perjury, &c., &c., if you were determined to smuggle, you ought to consider how you could smuggle most successfully. In this view, the policy of these orders was most extraordinary, for it appeared that ministers expected to smuggle more by having all vessels excluded from France, than they could have done if certain vessels had been freely admitted. He then adverted to the extreme hardship under which our West India colonies must labour by the continuance of the American embargo, which would deprive them of their usual supplies from that quarter. He also particularly called the attention of the house to the fact, that considerable quantities of corn were imported in the country; and where, then, was the policy, when the Baltic ports were shut against us, of running the risk of embroiling ourselves with America, for such a paltry consideration as ministers themselves had stated? There really appeared a short-sightedness in this that approached to that state in which the adage might be applied, "*quos æquus Jupiter vult perdere, prius dementat.*" Then it was said, that we had a right to hurt neutrals when our own safety was concerned. This was true; but then the question was, whether our safety was concerned? This was often taken for granted, without much examination. He knew that it was often hard for neutrals to put up with

the treatment which they usually received at our hands in time of war, and to submit to some things which we defended on the ground of necessity, but which were occasionally resorted to in the wantonness of power. He was glad to hear conciliatory language from the gentlemen on the other side, with regard to America, but he should be much better pleased to see their conduct correspond to their words, and America would no doubt concur with him. It was to be wished, indeed, that a greater number of our ships might be employed in the American trade; but still allowing the advantages which they derived from Mr. Jay's treaty, we were not without reciprocal benefits from the exportation of such a large quantity of our manufactures. He denied that the stagnation of our exports of East India goods, was owing solely to America. They merely carried off the surplus produce. Marquis Cornwallis was applied to once to restrict the Americans in India. That noble person asked whether there were ships belonging to the company sufficient to take the whole of the produce? The answer was, No. Then, said he, why would you hinder them from carrying off that for the benefit of the country which you yourselves cannot take, and so prevent them from buying an additional quantity of our commodities. He concluded by expressing his strong disapprobation of these orders.

Lord H. Petty observed, that it must appear somewhat inconsistent for an English vessel in the first instance to detain an American vessel, to turn her from her course and send her into an English port, under the avowed authority of the king's belligerent prerogative; yet that when the American found himself in a British port, he should discover that the grand figure of the king's prerogative was changed into the appearance of a custom-house-officer. The captain might say, "I thought I was seized in right of the king's prerogative." "Oh, yes, (says the officer) but I will agree to sell you the king's prerogative. I keep the king's shop; and, if you pay me 25 or 30*l.* you may proceed to your original destination." This was so very contrary to the avowed intention of the bill, that it brought to his mind the idea of something foreign to the object of the bill getting into any other parliamentary proceeding. If, for instance, a high treason bill was to be converted into a money bill, by the terms of some clause that had crept into the bill, and had been overlooked by the house; if a man should be arrested for high treason, and were to be afterwards informed that he should not be brought to trial if he were only to pay about the sum of 50*l.*, but might immediately go at large without any further inquiry into his conduct. Would not the government, in such case, be liable to the imputation of fraud? and would not the legislature, in that instance, be exposed to the censure of the country, either as having been guilty of the grossest inattention to the interests of the people, or as having betrayed the most palpable imbecillity in the performance of their public duty? He conjured the house, before they gave their consent to the second reading of the present bill, to consider its tendency in a variety of views; but most particularly as to that most vicious and contemp-

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tible part of it which related to revenue.

Lord Castlereagh contended, that the orders of council were founded in a principle of forbearance towards America; and not likely to injure their commercial interests in any degree, as much as the adoption of the rule of the war in 1756. The statement contained in the answer of lord Howick to Mr. Rist, that the government of this country would not cease to act upon the order of the 7th of January until neutrals should procure the revocation of the French decree, but ill accorded with the sentiments expressed by the noble lord opposite (lord H. Petty). Whatever relaxation of the rigour of its decree the French government might have found it convenient to adopt at home, it was most rigidly enforced in all the French colonies. It was not till after the peace of Tilsit, that France found herself in a condition to execute that decree generally over the continental countries subjected to her control. While she was excluding our produce from all parts of the continent, was this country to summit, without throwing any impediment in the way of her supply of her colonial produce? If the rule of 1756 were to be applied to America, it would deprive her of full one half of her exports. Could the noble lord contend that it was not an advantage to America, that we had not declared the enemies' colonies in a state of blockade? The Americans would have no right to complain of the duties proposed to be laid on, because they were only the carriers, and the duty would fall upon the consumers. As to the effect that might be produced upon the commerce of this country by the state of the continent, he admitted that its exports might for a time be checked; but this could not last long, because no pressure could keep down the vast extent of territory under prohibition, in such a manner, that the interests of individuals would not induce them to procure those articles which may be necessary for them. As to the question relative to our relations with America, he could assure the house that he and his colleagues were extremely anxious to avert the interruption of peace and amity with that country. If the calamity of war should unhappily take place, whenever the conduct of his majesty's ministers shall be brought under consideration, it would be seen that no effort had been spared in order to prevent it. If war should be the consequence, it will appear that no concession or submission could have prevented it; and it might not be unlikely, that the forbearance of this country had been such as to have misled the Americans, both as to themselves and as to this country. The arguments of the noble lord came with a bad grace from those who had held the language contained in lord Howick's answer to Mr. Rist; they should rather now maintain the principles which they then professed, at a time too when the dangers of the country were not so imminent as at present. The consequence of a war would be, the loss to America of her whole export trade, whilst only one-fourth of our exports would be endangered by that event. Our means of shutting American produce in her ports, in consequence of our vast marine, were far more extensive than her internal means of excluding us; and consequently a considerable portion of

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what this country now exports to America would find its way into that country notwithstanding a war. We were not, from the mere apprehension of a war with that country, to shrink from the assertion of those maritime rights which are so essential to our national strength and prosperity. The question now was, whether we were to be conquered by the French or not? Bonaparte had essayed his military warfare against us ineffectually, and he was now trying the success of a commercial warfare. It was an attack upon the public spirit of the country, and he was convinced the nation would not decline the contest. In order to obtain any peace with France, in order to make her live in peace, we must prove to her that she can make no impression upon us. The only prospect of living with that country in civil or political intercourse, is afforded by a perseverance in the war, till by a proud defiance of all her means, we shall convince her of her inability to destroy or weaken ours. So may we enjoy relations of amicable intercourse, not of suspended warfare with her; but that can never be expected, till we shall have established the proof, that no instrument she can employ will avail for the reduction of the power or the resources of this empire.

The gallery was then cleared for a division, when the numbers appeared:

For the second reading	214
Against it	94
Majority	120

While strangers were excluded, another division took place, upon the question that the bill be committed to-morrow:

Ayes	147
Noes	55
Majority	92

On the same day in the house of lords,

Lord Grenville moved, pursuant to notice, for copies and extracts of all information received by government, showing the effect produced by the French decrees, on which the orders of council had been made; also for other papers received from the officers of customs, &c., connected with the orders of council.

Lord Hawkesbury said, that the communication received by government from private individuals, and through the medium of commercial houses, could not be laid before the public without a breach of faith on the part of government.

Earl Grey and lord Erskine supported the motion. The duke of Montrose and lord Eldon opposed it.

The house then divided—Contents (present) 47; non-contents (present) 33. Majority against ministers 14.

Lord Sidmouth addressed the house on the subject of the Danish navy. From the proclamation and summonses of our commanders, their declaration on leaving Zealand, the declaration of war itself, and the admissions of his majesty's ministers, he argued, that the seizure of that navy was justified only on the grounds of inevitable necessity, arising out of the law of self-preservation; and that Denmark, the victim of this unfortunate urgency, was still regarded as a neutral and friendly power. In this view of the subject, every consideration of justice,

justice, and a due sense of the character and honour of the country, required, that the injury inflicted should not extend beyond the limits of the necessity which occasioned it. This was the doctrine laid down by the celebrated Grotius, in the contemplation of such a case. The subsequent declaration of war on the part of Denmark did not destroy the justice of her original claim. It was the natural, the unavoidable result of our own act. The crown prince could not, either in honour or prudence, desist from hostilities. His lordship concluded with proposing a resolution for an address to his majesty, praying, that the ships taken at Copenhagen might be kept in such a state as not to preclude, or put to hazard, the possibility of their being eventually restored on the conclusion of peace.

Lord Boringdon expressed his surprise that, with the deep and vivacious sensibility now exhibited by the noble lord, he had omitted to move a similar resolution respecting the Toulon fleet and the Spanish frigates. The only effect of such a resolution, if acceded to, would be to fetter the hands of ministers when they came to negotiate for peace.

Lord Ellenborough contended, that, admitting the alleged necessity of the seizure, it was incumbent on this country to restore the Danish fleet. He would not, however, coquette with ministers, nor affect a disingenuous candour. The necessity which they set forward, was only that kind of artificial necessity, or convenience, which, in the course of his functions, he had frequent occasion to reprobate and punish at the Old Bailey. It was a transaction which he regarded as having brought indelible disgrace on the country to which he belonged.

Lord Eldon said, that if his noble and learned friend really viewed the matter as he had just stated it, he was for doing justice only by halves. He ought to move for the instant restitution of the Danish fleet. His lordship then entered at some length into the analogy between the seizure of the Danish fleet, and that of the Dutch ships in 1795, the Toulon fleet, and the Spanish frigates, and contended, that being now in a state of war with Denmark, the restitution of her navy must, like every other subject of difference, be left to the discretion of his majesty, in the just exercise of his prerogative, in treating for peace.

Lord Holland contended, that there was no analogy between the cases cited and that which was the subject of the present motion, the former relating to powers with which we were actually at war, or on the point of being at war with. He deprecated the low, virulent, and cowardly abuse in which some of the public journals indulged against crowned heads during the state of hostilities.

Lord Erskine said, the justification alleged was the same as that of a man tried for a highway robbery, pleading in his defence the commission of a similar crime by another.

Lord Mulgrave conceived that the object of the motion, if carried, would convey a direct charge on the present administration, which was not justified by their conduct, particularly in respect to Denmark.

Lord Grenville was decidedly of opinion that the greatest service would result to this country from the restoration of the Danish fleet, even under existing circumstances,

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if that power could be thus conciliated. What danger could arise from this act of justice and retribution, to a nation whose independence we had so grossly violated? What! did noble lords fear that the power of France would be materially reduced by this subtraction, as it was considered, of the Danish navy? Nothing, in his mind, could be more ridiculous than the notion, that by taking sixteen or eighteen ships from the Danes, we had established our own security, and completed the ruin of their navy. On the whole, he must declare himself in support of the present motion, because it demonstrated to Europe that the people of this country were perfectly alive to a sense of honour, and of that proud national feeling which always distinguished them.

Lord Hawkesbury admitted that if Denmark had only resisted an attack made on the Danish navy, there might be ground for the observations which their lordships had just heard; but when it was known that there was not only a hostile mind, but that it had been manifested by an avowal of a determination to cooperate with the enemy, what then was the country to do, but to resort to every means for its security and protection?

After several other members had spoken, and a short recapitulation and reply from lord Sidmouth, their lordships divided:—For the motion 30, Proxies 20—51. Against it 61, Proxies 44—105. Majority 54.

Sir Francis Burdett in the house of commons, on the 9th of February, observed that it was stated in some of the newspapers that certain large sums, said to arise from the sale of vessels taken by this country from nations with which we were not at war, had been granted by his majesty to several princes, and particularly that the sum of 20,000*l.* arising in this manner had lately been granted to the duke of York. If this were really the case, he wished to ask, on what colour or pretext it was that the king came to seize on that property, and to dispose of it in such a manner.

Mr. Perceval said, that the condemnation of the property alluded to, was a judicial act of the court before which it came to be tried, whether it had been legally seized or not. It was, therefore, by that judicial act of the court completely vested in the power of the king. He had no difficulty in adding to this, that the grant of 20,000*l.*, to which the worthy baronet alluded, had actually been made to the duke of York, being only equal to the sums formerly granted to the other younger male branches of the royal family.

Sir Francis thanked the right hon. gentleman for his answer, and said he should take an early opportunity of bringing the matter before the house:—and on the next day he moved that an address be presented to his majesty, praying "that he would be graciously pleased to order that there be laid before the house an account of all captures made at sea, which remained at the disposal of the crown, from the commencement of the late war in 1792, to the present time; together with an account of the produce of the same, and the manner in which it had been disposed of."

At the suggestion of the chancellor of the exchequer, sir Francis postponed the discussion till the following day, when he contented himself with making his motion without any comments.

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The chancellor of the exchequer doubted whether the specification of every individual capture could be obtained. At any rate, such a specification would require considerable time to prepare. He entered into an explanation of the right of his majesty to these droits, which resolved itself into two distinct parts: the right of the crown, and the right as lord high admiral. If any complaint were made with respect to the mode in which the fund had been appropriated by the crown, that might form the ground of parliamentary inquiry and reprehension; but with regard to the fund itself, the right of the crown to the appropriation of it was unquestionable. A considerable proportion of this fund had been granted to captors under various circumstances; many grants had been made for the public service; and, it being completely under his majesty's control, grants had also been occasionally made for the benefit of the younger branches of the royal family. None of these appropriations could be characterized as misapplications. The honourable baronet had an undoubted right to know what was the gross amount of that fund, and what part remained undisposed of. If, on the production of those accounts, the honourable baronet should require an account of the mode in which the fund had been appropriated, the house would doubtless expect some strong allegations before they would consent to his request. For these reasons, and to facilitate the attainment of the honourable baronet's object, he submitted to him the propriety of confining his motion to the total amount of the captures from the period mentioned by him, and of that part of the proceeds of those captures which remained undisposed of at the present time.

Sir Francis Burdett could see no objection to follow the line of conduct marked out by the right honourable gentleman; he had been given to understand, on good authority, that the proceeds alluded to amounted to such a considerable sum, that he was convinced parliament could never endure that it should be left as the private property of the king; he must think that the subject was of the highest importance, and that it was incumbent on the house minutely to investigate it.

Sir Charles Pole declared, that every day afforded fresh proofs of the necessity of putting the proceedings in the admiralty court on a better fooling.

The advocate-general (sir John Nicholl) considered the insinuation of the honourable baronet who had last spoken, as irrelevant to the question; and also, not exactly comprehending the tendency and extent of it, would leave it unnoticed. He repeated what had been said by his learned friend, with respect to the double right of his majesty to the fund now under discussion; the right of the crown, and his right as lord high admiral: and enumerated many of the instances in which considerable sums had been granted out of that fund by his majesty on public and other grounds. At the commencement of the last war with Holland, and at the commencement of the present war with Holland, with Spain, with Prussia, and with Denmark, a large amount of Dutch, Spanish, Prussian, and Danish property, devolved of right to the crown. Of this property, at least a moiety, generally two-thirds, had been granted as a reward to the captors.

In the last war a million of the Dutch property was appropriated to the public service. Another million was also so appropriated about a twelvemonth ago. Other appropriations had been made to individuals, who, in many cases, had suffered from the sudden breaking out of hostilities. For instance, a considerable part of the property (the right of the crown) taken from the Spaniards, at the commencement of the present war, had been applied to the relief of persons whose property had been sequestered in Spain at the commencement of a former war. Part was applied to indemnify captors, who, having made captures in the execution of their orders, were afterwards compelled to restore them; and part to neutrals, who, from circumstances of peculiar hardship, were unable to recover property that had been taken from them. He was very ready to allow, that a small part of this fund had certainly been appropriated to acts of grace and liberality, on the part of his majesty, to the younger branches of the royal family. Was his majesty to be the only father in his kingdom, who was to be prevented from thus disposing of a portion of that over which he had an undoubted control? If any honourable member thought this application of the fund improper, he was not ashamed to say, that he completely differed from him. Should any misapplication of the fund be alleged, the house might, if they thought proper, institute an inquiry on the subject. At present it did not appear to him that any grounds had been laid for such a proceeding.

Mr. Lushington perfectly agreed with the last speaker, that this motion had no reference to the admiralty-court. He also agreed with him in the greater part of what he said relative to the right of the crown to this property: but differed from him materially as to the constant propriety of the application. One instance of misapplication he would state to the house. An honourable baronet (sir Home Popham) whom he saw in his place, had, in the year 1787, obtained leave of absence on half-pay from the naval service, in which he was then a lieutenant. He went to Ostend, and there procured a ship, the El Etrusco, bearing an imperial flag, in which he freighted a cargo for the East Indies. He there exchanged his vessel for an American ship, and carried a cargo to Canton, in China; having taken in a fresh cargo there, of which a French supercargo at Canton had a share, he sailed first for Ireland, and thence to Dungeness, where he landed goods, or, in plain English, smuggled them. Lieut. Bowen of the Brilliant frigate, captain Robinson, seized the ship in Ostend roads, after a person had escaped on shore with part of the goods. This vessel was brought to judgment in the admiralty court. During the proceedings, the hon. baronet claimed his share of the cargo and freight; but when it became necessary to serve a process of the court upon him, he was not to be found, and, in short, had absconded. The ship was condemned; but for all the trouble, the inconvenience, and loss of time, occasioned in the prosecution of the business, captain Robinson did not receive one shilling. Yet afterwards, in consequence of a treasury warrant, signed by the marquis of Blandford and Mr. Long, founded upon a report for that purpose reluctantly signed by the right honourable gentleman

gentleman (the advocate-general), 25,000*l.* was restored to the hon. baronet, being the amount of his claim; and that too, without deducting from it any of the expenses of the process. It was some time, indeed, before the right honourable gentleman (the advocate-general) could be induced to give a recommendation to this effect, and his scruples were highly to his credit. These circumstances formed part of the records of the admiralty court, but he had only received the papers that morning. Here, then, was an application of a large sum as a reward for a violation of the laws of the country. He was glad, therefore, that a disposition appeared to examine this subject: but he thought the business would be very imperfectly done, unless the house attended to the application of the money, which was, perhaps, the most material point of the whole.

Sir Home Popham being so particularly called upon by the very extraordinary and personal attack that had just been made upon him, could not refrain from requesting the attention of the house for a few moments. If the hon. gentleman opposite had given him the slightest intimation of his intention to make so sudden and so aggravated an attack upon him, accompanied with aspersions, such as he believed had never before been used in speaking of a member of that house, he should probably have been better prepared to rebut it. He hoped, however, to satisfy the house perfectly on the subject. When he went to the East Indies it was at a time of profound peace: and while there he had exerted himself as much as possible in the service of the country. Let the hon. gentleman consult the records of the India House. He would there find that his conduct had been so strongly approved by the governor-general in council, that lord Cornwallis had recommended him most warmly to the court of directors, on the ground of the important services that he had rendered the company; and had suggested to them to request his promotion from the board of admiralty. If from his anxiety to be actively employed, and to gain experience in his profession, he had in a moment of irritation gone out to India under a neutral flag (which perhaps he now regretted), he had only followed the example of many other naval officers; and he could not help thinking it strange, that after a lapse of more than 20 years, he should thus be singled out for peculiar animadversion. He trusted he might be allowed to say, that his exertions in India must have been of a very extraordinary nature, to induce the governor-general in council to recommend him at home as he had done. By the term "extraordinary," he meant only that those services had been of a description which were deemed deserving of marked approbation. He trusted also, that in no action of his, had he had any sort of connection with smugglers, as stated by the hon. gentleman; or that he had even violated the laws of the country, without having at the same time done something, which more than compensated for the injury they sustained.

Mr. Sheridan fully agreed with the honourable captain, that after the attack which had been made upon him, the matter ought not to rest there. It was due both to the house and to him, that the matter should be investigated. He also agreed, that his honourable friend behind him might have given some notice

notice of his intention; but then it was to be observed that he had only read the papers that morning, and had stated the facts upon an occasion which had suddenly arisen. But if it was necessary to have this affair inquired into, upon the statement of his honourable friend, it was much more so after the defence of the honourable captain. He said, he had, like other officers, entered, in time of peace, on board a foreign vessel, to acquire additional skill in his profession. But how did other officers engage in these services? They were employed entirely in their own profession; but who ever heard of their taking advantage of a foreign flag to trade to the East Indies, and land teas at Dungeness?

The chancellor of the exchequer rose to order. It was not consistent with any rules of order or justice, that a conversation should be carried on so long that had only arisen collaterally: and that personal attacks should thus be made on an individual, without giving him any notice, or allowing him time to prepare his defence. To what purpose was this carried on? There was no motion on that particular question before the house; and it was impossible that such a statement, unauthorised as it was, could be a sufficient ground for calling, in the first instance, for an account of the application of the sums arising from captured property belonging to the crown. He hoped the right honourable gentleman himself would thank him for interrupting him; and he also hoped that an opportunity would be afforded of fully considering the case which had occasioned this deviation from the main object.

Mr. Sheridan rose again, but not, he said, to complain of the chancellor of the exchequer having interrupted him; on the contrary, he should now abstain from any further comment on the hon. captain's (sir Home Popham) defence. At the same time, Mr. Sheridan showed that he had been perfectly in order, and now only deferred his argument from a principle of delicacy, understanding the chancellor of the exchequer to agree with the hon. captain, that a further and full investigation was absolutely necessary. After what had passed, after the charge so distinctly and forcibly made, and urged by a member in his place, it was absolutely necessary to the character and honour of the hon. captain, and what was of more importance, it was essential to the character and honour of the house that such an investigation should take place.

Mr. Sheridan then said, he should add only a few words on that part of the question which related to the application of the money arising from these droits of admiralty. He had no hesitation in saying, that he not only did not censure, but he cordially concurred in, and approved of, that part of the application this day avowed by his majesty's judge advocate, namely, his majesty's gracious gifts to the younger branches of his illustrious family. No member but must feel that their incomes never had, under the pressure of the times, been adequate to the expenditure imposed upon them by their rank and situation, and he had nevet heard any charge of wanton extravagance preferred against any one of the illustrious individuals alluded to. So far was he, therefore, from objecting to these acts of his majesty's paternal generosity, he only lamented

that

that his majesty's royal munificence had been confined to the younger branches of his august family. Had the heir apparent participated in it, he believed the house and the country would have not merely been satisfied, but gratified; for never must it be forgotten, that the prince had an unliquidated claim, which, greatly to his honour, feeling for the public burthens, and the difficulty of the times, had been, by his royal highness's express desire, suspended but not abandoned (he meant the arrears of the duchy of Cornwall): that debt still remained indisputably due, either from the sovereign or the public; and, towards the discharge of that debt, he could not conceive an application of the funds now under discussion, more grateful to the people, than in part directing them towards that object. His majesty's munificence towards the younger branches of his august family was an act of bounty: in the latter case, it would be an act, not of bounty merely, but of justice.

The advocate-general observed, that the hon. gentleman opposite was under a misapprehension with regard to the sum that had been returned to the hon. captain. It did not proceed from the enemy's property captured and condemned, but was a forfeiture to the crown for the violation of the law. The hon. captain (whether correctly or not he would not then inquire) had taken his family to Ostend. From thence he proceeded on a mercantile expedition to India. If he had rendered himself liable to the operation of the prohibitory laws against British subjects trading to India, he had unquestionably violated laws by which the charter and monopoly of the East India company were maintained. But it must be remembered, that it was well known to the highest characters in India, that the hon. captain was there; every possible respect had been paid to him by those characters, and therefore——

Mr. Tierney called to order. The learned gentleman, instead of confining himself to explanation, was entering into a defence of the hon. captain.

The speaker decided that the learned gentleman had confined himself to explanation.

The chancellor of the exchequer proposed to substitute for the motion of the hon. baronet, the following: "That there be laid before the house an account of the net proceeds paid out of the registry of the court of admiralty to the receiver general of droits, of all property condemned to his majesty, in right of the crown, or in right of the office of lord high admiral, since the 1st of January, 1793, with the balances now remaining,"—which, after a conversation between a number of members, was carried by a majority of 25.

On the next day sir Charles Pole moved, "That there be laid before the house a list of all such vessels and cargoes, as had been prosecuted as prizes in the high court of admiralty, &c., from Jan. 1802, up to the latest period to which the same can be made up: —also a list of all such ships, &c., as have been condemned as lawful captures within the same period, previously to the declaration of war being issued, together with an account of the net proceeds thereof, and copies of the commission under which they were sold or disposed of." These motions, with some little alterations suggested by the chancellor of the exchequer, were agreed to.

On the 16th Mr. Whitbread moved for various papers preparatory to a future motion on the subject of peace. Ministers, he said, had already laid before the house various dispatches and extracts relative to the proposals of mediation from Russia and Austria, which appeared to him to be deficient in the information which ought to be communicated. It had come to his knowledge that they were in possession of further important information. The object of his first motion, therefore, should be for the production of additional papers relative to the Austrian mediation. The second motion, however, he considered as still more important. It would go to the production of that most important dispatch transmitted by our ambassador at the court of Russia, and which contained an account of the conversation which lord Hutchinson held with the emperor Alexander, some time before the peace of Tilsit. That conversation related to the necessity of peace on the part of Russia, and also to the offer of Russian mediation between France and this country, and therefore had a most important bearing on that question, which he soon intended to submit to the house. It was true that lord Hutchinson was not our accredited minister at the Russian court, but certainly he was one of the most distinguished characters in Europe, and equally remarkable for military talents, intelligence, and a high sense of honour. Besides, the nature of his conversation with the emperor Alexander was no secret; it had been communicated to many, and, among others, to himself. Why then should that be withheld as a public document from this house, which all the world knew? He would ask also, whether lord Leveson Gower returned any answer to the note of baron Budberg, which cast such heavy charges upon the late ministers, in regard to their conduct towards Russia. If such an answer existed, he wished it to be produced, and also a copy of any assurances of military support to Russia, proceeding from the present ministers after the late change of administration. To this he should wish to be added a copy of a note of Mr. Stewart, secretary of legation at St. Petersburgh, relating to a negotiation for a loan to Russia.

Lord L. Gower, in answer to the question, whether any reply had been given to the note of baron Budberg, charging the late ministers with neglecting the interests of Russia and her allies, stated, that in a conference which he had with the emperor Alexander, the same charges were urged by him with considerable warmth. In that conversation he took the liberty of stating such reasons as appeared in his mind to justify the conduct of the late ministers, both from the respect which he bore to their character, and from a conviction that no party differences ought to actuate a foreign minister, whose business it was to support, to the best of his ability, the dignity of his sovereign, and the character of his country. He could also say, that M. Alopeus, the Russian minister in this country, transmitted a note which contained similar charges against the late ministers, and even proceeded to point out the different parts of the continent where a diversion might have been made. In answer to that paper, his right hon. friend had, in consequence, transmitted to M. Alopeus a defence of his majesty's govern-

government against such charges, which had been sent to him while resident at St. Petersburgh, and through him communicated to the Russian government. This defence appeared to him sufficient and satisfactory. With regard to the conversation of lord Hutchinson, he could only say that he had not transmitted it to this country as an official dispatch from an accredited minister, but as the conversation of a man who was on the most intimate habits with the emperor, by whom he was held in the greatest esteem and respect. He did not look upon that conversation as a public dispatch, but merely in the light of a private communication.

Mr. Canning observed, that lord Hutchinson was not an accredited agent to the court of St. Petersburgh at the time when he held those conversations, which were sought for at present, with the emperor of Russia. He was a private individual visiting St. Petersburgh from motives of curiosity. The honourable gentleman in his argument had not gone the length of saying, that the communication of a foreign sovereign with a private individual, was matter of parliamentary cognizance. To meet, therefore, the clear statement of his noble friend, he must go on and say that it was. Nay, he must go still further, and contend, that a confidence between a foreign sovereign and an accidental traveller, transmitted in a private letter to a person happening to hold an official situation at home, was a fit subject of parliamentary notice. With regard to the note from general Budberg, of the 30th of June, and the presumed answer to it by the British ambassador, the account given by the noble lord was a sufficient apology for the apparent omission. The note of the Russian minister at the British court, to his majesty's secretary of state for foreign affairs, containing similar reproaches and similar criminations, was answered to the best of his ability, and with as much zeal as could have been manifested by him on any other subject. That answer could not be produced, because M. Alopeus, in his statement of grievances, dwelt particularly on the neglect on our part to create a diversion on the continent in favour of Russia. He had pointed out the districts in which those diversions might have been particularly successful, as the inhabitants only waited for a British force, to rise up in arms against France. He could assure the house, that on looking over the note, he found it impossible to take three sentences together, in which there were not expressions committing places and individuals, and he therefore trusted that he should obtain their ready consent to withhold a disclosure, the effects of which would be so very cruel; for it was well known that those very districts must be, as every district on the continent was, now under the iron hand of the ruler of France. He therefore hoped that the hon. gentleman would not press his motion for the sake of making his argument better or worse. Worse, he could assure him, after all, it would undoubtedly be made, were the note produced. By some of the honourable gentleman's other motions, he seemed to have it in view to ascertain, whether the cause of the country, as administered by the late government, had been defended by the present government. He appeared to think that enough had not been done by the late ministers. When

the hon. gentleman asked for any assurances of military assistance that had been communicated by his majesty's present government, in confirmation of the assurances that had been communicated by the last government, he supposed that he alluded to the discussion in that house, in which it had been stated by himself (Mr. Canning) and his colleagues, that on their coming into office, they found the expectations of the allies of Great Britain, of military assistance raised to a great height, but that they found no means provided of satisfying those expectations. He now reported, that those expectations had been stated by foreign courts, more particularly and with greater precision, than the distinct assurances and instructions which they had found recorded in the foreign office seemed to warrant. But it was well known that with respect to assurances of this nature, much passed in personal communications, which was not transferred to paper. With some of the motions he should comply most willingly; because, when the papers were produced, they would show that great expectations had been entertained of British assistance by the continental powers; they would show that the noble lord, to whose authority the gentlemen opposite were so fond of referring, and for whose authority on military subjects, and with subjects connected with his situation, he entertained the highest respect; that lord Hutchinson had distinctly stated to the emperor of Russia and to the king of Prussia, that he knew his government intended to make a continental diversion in their favour; that he was authorised to make them the strongest assurances on this subject, although he could not particularize the point at which the diversion was to be affected. By some of the papers it would appear, that at the commencement of the late war between Prussia and France, dispatches had been sent to the courts of St. Petersburgh and Stockholm, calling loudly on those powers to make the greatest exertions, and to march an army to the assistance of Prussia. He did not mean to contend that that exhortation was a distinct and particular pledge on the part of Great Britain; but surely Great Britain had no right to require such exertions, unless she meant *bonâ fide* to imply that she would bear her share in them. After this call, however, a great interval elapsed without any specific promise of assistance on our part, and the whole correspondence between Russia and Great Britain consisted of applications and reproaches from the former. The court of Petersburgh was unquestionably entitled to suppose that they should receive support from this country, either by military diversion or by pecuniary assistance. They had neither. A proposal made by Russia to negotiate in this country a loan for six millions had been refused. He did not state this as attaching blame to the late ministers, for he fairly allowed that the negotiation of such a loan must, in effect, after the experience which this country had had, be considered as entailing a great risk, if not ultimately a burthen, on us. But there was a wide difference between refusing that loan, and doing nothing. We might have declined making so considerable an exertion, without disappointing Russia, by leaving her altogether without help. Had we agreed to raise four millions,

lions, or two millions (for which of course provision must have been made as for a subsidy), we should at least have gratified the feelings of his imperial majesty; but of such an intention on the part of the late government no trace existed in the records of the foreign office. This complete refusal was the more censurable, as no power on the continent had been so uniformly faithful to its pecuniary engagements as Russia. The wants of the Russian army were so pressing, that, towards the latter end of the last campaign, lord Hutchinson, in the sound exercise of the discretion with which he was invested, had advanced the miserable sum of thirty thousand pounds to relieve them from their embarrassments. Since the war between the two countries that money had been repaid. With respect to the charge brought by the Russian government against the late administration of this country, for disturbing their commerce by unnecessary detentions, the present administration had refuted it in the face of Europe, with as much anxiety and decision as if it had been preferred against themselves. Though he thought it had been sufficiently refuted, he had no objection to the laudable desire expressed by the honourable gentleman, of vindicating his friends by the production of papers on the subject. The hon. gentleman was desirous to obtain the dispatches from this country, containing those assurances of support and cooperation, which it was stated in his majesty's declaration, that "his imperial majesty had received and acknowledged, with apparent confidence and satisfaction." The hon. gentleman implied, that in that passage of his majesty's declaration, a distinction was meant studiously to be taken, between the last and the present administration; and that the assurances referred to, as having given such lively satisfaction to his imperial majesty, were the assurances of the present administration alone. The hon. gentleman was mistaken: the declaration referred to the assurances communicated to Russia in March, by lord Hutchinson, from the last government, as well as to those communicated in April from the present government. How could his majesty's ministers more fairly defend the conduct of their predecessors, than by identifying that conduct with their own? On the accusations by Russia, of our interrupting her commerce, of our withholding from her pecuniary and military aid; as those accusations were stated in the Russian declaration, he did not see that there was any thing that would be deficient in the information which would be produced by the hon. gentleman's motions. But there was a specific charge brought by Russia against this country, namely, the expedition to Alexandria, which the hon. gentleman's motions would not sufficiently elucidate. In the correspondence of his majesty's existing government with the court of St. Petersburgh (without any reference to their private opinion), that expedition had been defended against Russia, on the ground that the war with Turkey had been undertaken by this country on Russian instigation, and for Russian objects. That in the course of the expedition, it was diverted from a point where it would have been successful, to a point where it could not, was a part of the subject which could not be entered into with

minuteness in his majesty's declaration. In moving for the correspondence respecting the offer of mediation between Great Britain and France, made by Austria, the hon. gentleman thought that the chasm, which existed from the month of April to the month of November, in the official notes between prince Stahremberg and the British secretary of state, was an extraordinary one. But it was easily to be accounted for. The proposal of mediation was made in April, while the campaign on the continent was proceeding, and before Prussia and Austria had made a separate peace. Under those circumstances, it was cheerfully accepted by this country, subject only to the condition, that we must not be expected to depart from our good faith with other powers. Mr. Adair was then at Vienna; but it was a matter of general knowledge, that when a negotiation was carrying on between two courts, the correspondence from the court where the negotiation was carrying on, to the ministers at the other court, consisted only of a transmission of the official documents, lest a cross negotiation should be produced. Lord Pembroke, soon after that time, was appointed the British minister at Vienna. Had his lordship found the terms of mediation accepted by the other powers, he would have communicated that acceptance to his government at home; but his voyage and journey had been so delayed by unfavourable circumstances, that his lordship did not arrive at Vienna until the latter end of June. A few hours afterwards, the fatal news of the battle of Friedland reached that capital; and of course no more was heard of Austrian mediation; nor had government received any other political communication of importance from the continent, until that offer (at the desire of France) which was then on the table.

Mr. Ponsonby felt a good deal of astonishment at the conduct of the right honourable gentleman who had just sat down. His observations seemed all to be stated from the question, rather than to the question, and to have been prepared more in contemplation of an accusation against the late ministers, than to have presented themselves on the motion of his honourable friend. First, the late ministers were culpable in having held out assurances or exciting hope of cooperation to the continental powers. Again, they were wrong in not granting a subsidy under the description of a loan. In one point he was perfectly ready to agree with the right honourable gentleman opposite, that it would be highly improper that any communications should be made which could at all go to affect any districts, the inhabitants of which were now subject to the emperor of the French. He was certain his honourable friend would agree with him in thinking that nothing could be so wrong as to put the French in possession of any information which could enable them to wreak their vengeance on persons in this unfortunate predicament. But the right honourable gentleman said, the communications made by the emperor of Russia to lord Hutchinson cannot be produced, because they are verbal. He believed there never was an instance of a crowned head making any other than verbal communications to those who were in his confidence. Did the right honourable gentle-

gentleman expect that the emperor should have sent, or delivered, a dispatch to lord Hutchinson? He would wish to know, however, why the communication had been made to lord Hutchinson, but that he might impart it to his government? why it had been by him communicated to our ambassador, but for the same reason? and why the ambassador had thought it of such consequence as again to communicate it to the secretary of state for foreign affairs. It was said, however, that this late communication was made by a private letter. He did not ask for the private letter, but for the genuine purport of the communication. When the chief of a government, offering to us his mediation, condescends to communicate on that subject with a native of this country, and that communication is transmitted to our official servants at home, was not the house entitled to know that such mediation is not improvidently slighted? With regard to the right honourable gentleman's observations as to a member of this house, but not now present (Mr. Grenville), that was all a joke; the observation was below him: at least it was below the house to listen to it. He, the king's minister, received from the king's ambassador, and for the people of this kingdom, a letter, the very essence and quality of which proved it to be of a public and important nature. Did the right honourable gentleman deny it was so? Did he allege that his friend lord Leveson Gower had sat down to write him a letter of pleasure; that he had entertained him with an account of a concert or dance; that it contained an account of all the beautiful ladies of St. Petersburgh; or that it was a letter facetious and entertaining? He could say no such thing. Would the noble lord stand up and say that it was a private correspondence by one individual, not connected with the king's service, to another individual, not connected with the king's service, and on a subject not connected with the king's service? On the contrary, would he not say, that it contained communications from the emperor of Russia on the subject of his mediation between this country and France? How the letter was addressed to the right honourable gentleman was of little consequence, its contents must show whether it was in its nature public or private. He should suppose that the right honourable gentleman were to be impeached for neglecting a favourable opportunity of concluding a peace, and that he should say he was indeed perfectly aware of the fact, but that he did not choose to treat, because the communication which had been made to him was of a private nature, to which he did not think himself entitled in his public capacity to attend. Would that be estimated a sufficient vindication of his conduct? Would it not be said to him, "It is not sufficient for you to allege that the information you had was private; you knew well it was authentic." If lord Hutchinson was once the confidential agent of this country, and the emperor chose to send for him, and communicate his intentions to him, was it not the same as if he had done so to the accredited agent of this country for the time, and he had again made the communication to our ambassador? Was not lord Hutchinson to be entitled to the same degree of belief as if he had been the accredited agent of this country? Had the letter been

in a different form, still it could have contained no more than it now did; and if the contents were important, there was no reason why the form of the letter should prevent the substance of it from coming before the house. The house had a right to know what it contained. As to the other papers connected with this subject, to the production of which the right honourable gentleman said he had no objection, would they enable the house to do further than just to form a conjecture of the tone, frame, and temper of mind, which actuated the emperor of Russia in the mediation in question, as to which the latter alluded to would have afforded a complete proof? The right honourable gentleman refused to the house the thing itself, but he granted them something else, which would enable them to form a conjecture as to what was refused them.

Many other members joined in the debate, after which Mr. Whitbread withdrew his first motion; the second, calling for extracts from lord Granville Leveson's dispatch, containing the assurances referred to in his note to M. de Budberg, 28th, June, was negatived; the one for copies of all assurances of cooperation given to the courts of Russia and Stockholm was acceded to, with some modifications, as were all the others.

On the 18th of February Mr. Sheridan said he held a petition in his hand, the subject of which he most earnestly recommended to the attention and protection of the house, and especially to the immediate and earnest attention of his majesty's government. He pressed this, because, ready as he trusted he had always been to give what protection lay in his power, in cases of oppression, against the oppressors, it had always been his rule, where redress could be afforded by the executive government, to recommend an application to his majesty's ministers previous to an appeal to parliament; and this had been his course on the present occasion. The matter of the petition he had to submit to the house was nothing new; it related to a subject which occupied no small part of the deliberations of parliament in the year 1800, and a very great part of the attention and indignation of the public at that period. The object he alluded to was no other than the aggravated continuation of the abuses, grievances, and oppressions, practised in the Cold-bath-Fields prison. "I did, (said Mr. Sheridan) at the period I allude to, take an active and eager part, in concert with a worthy baronet, now member for Westminster, in endeavouring to detect, expose, and redress those grievances. The worthy baronet's motives and perseverance merit praise from every friend to justice and humanity; but they were unsuccessful, until at last we produced and proved some cases of so heinous a colour, that the late distinguished character, now no more, (Mr. Pitt,) fairly and conscientiously gave way, and the result was, that a most respectable commission was issued under the sign manual of his majesty, appointing eight most respectable persons to take the whole subject into their solemn investigation, and to report the result to his majesty and to parliament. This report," said Mr. Sheridan, "I now hold in my hand, and all I shall say of it is, that certainly its errors, if it has any, have not proceeded from a disposition

sition to exaggerate the grievances complained of in the prison, or a rancorous propensity to persecute Aris the governor. Perhaps, said Mr. Sheridan, there existed in the minds of the commissioners an apprehension of the consequences of deferring too much to the popular clamour which then strongly, but too justly, existed. However, all he contended for was, that there was sufficient in that report to have induced and justified the then ministers to have taken such measures as would have laid this question for ever at rest: but though some flimsy attempts at reform were at first held out, nothing effectual was done. Aris was not removed, which, if the administration had been disposed to pay the slightest regard to the report of their own commissioners, (for this commission not being a parliamentary commission, but under the privy seal, the commissioners were of course nominated by his majesty's ministers) was a direct reprobation of every suggestion of the commissioners. After such conduct, he was not surprised that abuses and grievances had increased. As to those alleged in the petition now in his hand, he thought it right to declare, that he had not inquired into, nor would be responsible for, the facts. On the former occasion he had made personal investigation, because he had to be responsible for a personal statement of facts. In the present instance, when a petition was put into his hands from so respectable an authority as the foreman (Mr. Stephens) and twelve of the grand jury of the county of Middlesex, he should have thought it an impertinent and unwarrantable delay, to have waited for inquiry into facts so authentically vouched for, and attested by the sanction of one of the sheriffs (Mr. Phillips), who is, to his honour, so zealously employed wherever his jurisdiction extends, in similar exertions in the cause of justice and humanity."

Mr. Sheridan concluded by declaring, that the petition was put into his hands with no adverse or factious feelings towards ministers; with similar sentiments he presented it. It ought not to be considered as an act of disrespect or suspicion towards them, that the appeal to their justice was accompanied by a statement of the case to parliament. After what had passed in the year 1800, when nothing was done in consequence of the strong report of the king's commissioners, it was natural for the present petitioners to apprehend that future ministers would not be worse for the eye of parliament and the public being upon them. He should move, that the petition should be brought up, read, and laid upon the table.

The chancellor of the exchequer, after what had fallen from the honourable gentleman, could not let the question pass without making one or two observations upon the subject. The honourable gentleman, before calling upon the executive government to interfere in a case of this kind, should have been aware that it was incumbent upon him in the first place, to put them in possession of facts of a nature sufficient to justify them in grounding upon them some proceeding; and he thought that the honourable gentleman would have acted in a way at once more analogous to his own profession of wishing to see the remedy proceed from them, and fully as likely to produce the object which he had in view, namely, that of redress, had

had he advised those who had signed this petition, to draw out an authenticated statement of the abuses of which it complained, and to have communicated that statement to his majesty's secretary of state for the home department. And he assured him, that had such a communication been made, no time would have been lost, or pains spared, to inquire into the source and extent of the evil, and to apply a remedy to it, whether by a criminal prosecution or otherwise. One obvious reason for preferring such a mode of proceeding to the one that had been adopted, was, that had a criminal prosecution been instituted against any individual who might turn out to be the author of these abuses, the grand jury, certain members of which had presented this petition, would have entered into an examination of the bill of indictment, less prejudiced than they could be supposed to do after having subscribed their names to this petition. All that the executive government now knew of the business, was, that in consequence of the presentment of the grand jury to the magistrates, an inquiry had been instituted, and that answer had been made to the grand jury which was supposed to be satisfactory. But while he was of opinion that it would have been better had a different course been pursued, and if a petition upon the subject had been presented to the house, he did not wish to throw any obstruction in the way of that petition being received, and laid upon the table.

The petition was brought up and read, and the substance of it was, that nine members of the grand jury of the county of Middlesex had, on the third of November last, visited the prison in Cold-bath-Fields, between the hours of eleven and twelve o'clock of the forenoon; that they had found the loaves intended for distribution among the prisoners, of 16 ounces each, deficient in quantity; that the prison weights were somewhat under the legal standard; that these circumstances had been communicated to Mr. Mainwaring, the chairman of the quarter sessions for the county of Middlesex, in a letter from Mr. sheriff Phillips, a copy of which letter was contained in the petition; that many of the cells were not only confined and crowded, but unprovided with fire, and badly aired; that persons were confined in such cells, against whom no verdict had been found, and who, therefore, were not guilty in the eye of the law; that the bills against some individuals, so confined, had been thrown out by the grand jury; that persons confined for debt were treated with unjustifiable hardship; that one foreigner had lost his reason, to all appearance from the severity of his treatment; and that one female prisoner had been seduced either by the son or servant (we did not hear distinctly which) of the governor. Against these grievances, as foreign to the mild spirit of the constitution, the petition craved relief.

On the motion that the petition do lie on the table,

Mr. H. Sumner objected to the petition on the ground of informality. It was signed by twelve persons, calling themselves members of the grand jury, whereas at the date of the petition they were *functi officio*. If the inquiry had been instituted by any one or more individuals of the grand jury, and such abuses had come to their knowledge, they ought immediately

ately to have called the attention of their colleagues to the circumstances, and to have made an official presentment to the court. As it was, he did not see well how the petition could be received, because it was signed by persons professing to have a different character from that which they really had.

The chancellor of the exchequer was also of opinion, that as the subscribers to the petition had assumed a character which did not belong to them; that as they professed to be members of the grand jury, when they were not members of that body; the petition ought to be withdrawn, and if they thought proper, they might present another in their individual capacities.

After some conversation upon the point of form, in which the speaker said that it was for the house to judge whether the description which the petitioners gave of themselves was or was not contradicted upon the face of the petition, a point on which he deferred entirely to its opinion,

Mr. Sheridan insisted that the house ought not to be too fastidious in inquiring into any minute inaccuracy of this kind, when a grievance was complained of which called for redress.

The chancellor of the exchequer said that he had no object but to preserve inviolate the forms of the house; and that so far from wishing to oppose inquiry, or to obstruct redress if any grievances were found on inquiry to exist, if the right honourable gentleman would withdraw the petition today and present it tomorrow, or any other day, in an unobjectionable form, he should most willingly second the motion for its being received.

Mr. Sheridan withdrew the petition upon this ground, and on the next day he presented the same petition signed by Mr. Alexander Stephens, who had been foreman of the grand jury.

Mr. Dent moved, that there be laid before the house a copy of a memorial presented by sir Home Popham, in 1803, to the lords of the treasury, praying the restitution of a seizure of the cargo of the ship El Etrusco.

A copy of a treasury warrant complying with the petition contained in this memorial:

A copy of a letter from sir Philip Stephens, granting permission to sir Home Popham to go to the East Indies, under a foreign flag, upon his resigning his half-pay as a lieutenant in his majesty's navy; and a copy of some paragraphs of a dispatch from lord Cornwallis to the directors of the East India company, dated the 25th of November, 1791, and received in 1792.

Mr. Long stated that he would not oppose the production of any papers which had for their object to give the house an opportunity of judging of the conduct of one of its members; but gave notice, that he should move to-morrow for the production of other papers upon the same subject, if they were not moved for this evening by an honourable gentleman opposite, who had given a similar notice for this evening.

Mr. Lushington said, that he should not have given notice of his motion, in the absence of the honourable captain whom it particularly concerned, and who, by a personal misfortune, was prevented from attending, if the honourable gentleman on the other side (Mr. Dent) had not given notice that he would move for certain papers on the same subject this evening:

if,

if, therefore, in the course of what he was about to state, he should have occasion to advert, with some severity, to the conduct of the honourable captain, and to the proceedings which the honourable gentleman (Mr. Dent) had thought fit to adopt, this alone was to be imputed. The papers for which he now meant to move, would have a twofold object: in the first place to show that sir Home Popham had obtained colourable papers for the ship El Etrusco, which papers were employed to protect an American ship called the President, and which he thought fit to re-Christen by the name of El Etrusco; and in the next place to prove, not only that the transaction in which he engaged was contrary to the charter of the East India company and the laws of the country, but that he was perfectly aware of this from the beginning, and that the whole was done with a fraudulent intention.

Here the speaker reminded the honourable gentleman, that if he had any charge to bring against a member of the house, it would be more orderly and decorous to do it in his presence, and to confine himself at present to moving for materials upon which he meant to found his accusation.

Mr. Lushington said that he should not now have entered into the merits of the case, if he had been sure that the papers would not be objected to; but as he was by no means sure of this, he had thought it right to state to the house the object which he had in moving for them. At the same time, from a consideration of some misfortune which had befallen the honourable captain both in his person and family, and out of deference to the opinion of the speaker, he should now content himself with stating, that his object was to show that the grant of the treasury to sir Home Popham was a gross misapplication of the public money. With this view he moved for the production of from twenty to thirty different papers; which were ordered to be laid before the house.

Mr. Dent requested to be informed whether the honourable gentleman meant to ground any proceeding upon the papers which had been moved for; and if so, what proceeding was intended?

Mr. Lushington stated that his object would be to press upon the house, that there had been a misappropriation of the public money; and he was not certain but he might eventually follow up his motion with some proposition, particularly affecting the honourable captain, as it would be found that he had received a sum much more than sufficient to cover his interest in the cargo that had been seized.

On the 22d colonel Stanley presented a petition from certain inhabitants of Great and Little Bolton, in the county of Lancaster, the prayer of which was, that no opportunity should be neglected for entering upon negotiation for the restoration of peace upon honourable terms. The petition in substance stated, "That thousands of the petitioners were reduced to great distress by the stagnation of trade, and the cessation of the customary demand for labour. That they believed that this arose from the present situation of the continent from the continuance of the war: that great numbers of the petitioners had been reduced to poverty, and that they were threatened with still greater distress: that their petition did not spring from any dread of the enemy: that all they asked was, that

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no opportunity for negotiation should be let slip: and that if the ambition of the enemy should lead him to insist upon demands incompatible with an honourable peace, the petitioners would with one heart suffer much greater privations, rather than see the security and honour of their country compromised."

On the motion that the petition do lie on the table,

Mr. secretary Canning said "Sir, I do not rise to object to the motion, satisfied as I am of the propriety of the terms in which the petioners have claimed the attention of the house to a subject so highly interesting to the whole country; although I cannot but at the same time feel that it is a subject which must always be in the contemplation of this house, and of those whose duty it is to advise his majesty. I trust, sir, I shall not be considered as deficient in feeling for the situation of the petitioners, if I express my sincere opinion and conviction, that even were peace to be the immediate cure of the evils of which they complain, the mode of obtaining that cure which they have adopted must necessarily retard its acquisition. While I allow that it is perfectly natural for the petitioners, experiencing the privations which they do experience, to look eagerly to any remedy that appears to promise them relief, yet, on the part of those who ought to take a more extensive view of the subject, I must deprecate any accusation of hardness of heart, if they declare their firm opinion, that, should they be driven to a negotiation under circumstances in which they must feel fettered and embarrassed, such would unquestionably not be the mode of obtaining the object prayed for by the petitioners, a peace consistent with the security and honour of the country. In pressing these sentiments, sir, I am sure I speak those of my colleagues. We are anxious to avail ourselves of the best means to accomplish this desirable end. Our duty and our interest unite to induce us, if possible, to obtain a peace consistent with the security and honour of the country. We have missed no fair opportunity for that purpose. Sir, I am anxious to repeat, that we feel most strongly the distress of that situation from which the petitioners wish to be relieved; but we are bound to advise his majesty conscientiously to the best of our judgment; and we are satisfied that, by a premature negotiation, or one commenced on any grounds but those of perfect equality and independence, not only would the object of the petitioners fail of being realized, but any subsequent hopes which they might be led to entertain would be disappointed in a manner the most injurious to them, and to the country at large.

The petition was then ordered to lie on the table, which will naturally lead us to the debate occasioned by Mr. Whitbread's resolutions respecting peace; being obliged by the limits prescribed to this part of the volume to omit many interesting discussions on Danish affairs, the orders of council, &c. It may, however, be observed that these subjects will, in a different manner, come before the reader in those chapters that are more particularly devoted to historical detail.

Previously to the motion made by Mr. Whitbread on the 29th, we notice one by lord Castlereagh on the

the subject of a message from his majesty with respect to a provision for lord Lake.

Lord Castlereagh, in calling the attention of the house to his majesty's most gracious message, brought down by him on a former day, trusted that the propositions he had to offer in pursuance of that message would find but little difference of opinion as to the propriety of acceding to them. When his majesty called upon parliament to substantiate those marks of his royal favour and approbation which he conferred upon distinguished naval and military characters, the house of commons always answered the call with promptitude and liberality. The reason why this application was not made immediately on the intelligence of the service done, and at the same time that the highest honour his majesty could confer was bestowed on lord Lake, was, that lord Lake was absent in India, and it was not known that his circumstances were such as to require the aid of public liberality. After the return of the noble lord, which was soon followed by his much-lamented death, he received such marks of the favour of the crown, and other distinguished branches of the royal family, that he felt himself in some measure able to support his dignity without public aid; and he of course felt unwilling to come forward with such an application as that which gave rise to his majesty's gracious message, now under consideration. His country had now, by his unfortunate death, lost one of its most valuable military officers; and on inquiry into his circumstances, they were found inadequate to support the hereditary honours his majesty had bestowed as the reward of his services. Thus, while his services were of so distinguished a nature as to afford the strongest claim to parliamentary reward, the circumstances of the family were such as to strengthen that claim. Lord Lake's military life had been a succession of brilliant and meritorious actions, from the time of the American war down to his last campaigns in India. Some of his lordship's acts were such as to bring home to him, personally, the whole merit of the success of many of the most distinguished victories gained: among which he was bound to particularize that of Lincelles by the British arms. Never, in fact, did any man present to his troops, in the day of battle, more striking examples of every quality that was calculated to inspire valour and to lead to victory. The same principle to which the French generals owed most of their victories in the late wars, that of exposing their own persons in every point of imminent danger and apparently doubtful issue, was eminently conspicuous in lord Lake's military conduct. Whatever difference of opinion may exist, with respect to the policy pursued in the recent government of India, certainly there was room for no difference as to the importance of the services rendered by lord Lake in the military department. This would be particularly felt at the present moment, when the French, meditating an attack upon our Indian empire, were obliged to wait to establish a footing and to break ground in Persia, instead of commencing at once on the banks of the Jumna or the Ganges, with a Mahratta army disciplined and commanded by French officers. To lord Lake belonged

belonged the merit of dispersing and destroying that army, and thus establishing the security of our Indian empire on a basis more solid. He did not think it necessary to enter more at large on the subject, as he felt that every one must be sensible of the value of the services of the illustrious deceased. He should also, to save the time of the committee, state now another motion which he intended to offer, after the one founded on his majesty's message should be disposed of. This was a motion for a monument to be erected to the memory of lord Lake. He was aware that this was a testimony of public gratitude, seldom asked but when the individual fell in battle, in the moment of victory, or died of wounds received in the country's cause. But there were some few instances which were particularly distinguished from this rule, when repeated signal victories had been gained, without depriving the country of the life of the person who had achieved them. Lord Howe's life of glory had been thought worthy of this distinction, and he trusted there would be found equal ground to make a similar exception in favour of lord Lake. This was a reward the most cheap, and an incentive the most powerful. He had further only to add, that as it was just and customary that the pension should commence from the time of the act that called for the exercise of the royal prerogative and bounty, lord Lake's forbearance from preferring his claim should be no bar to the benefit being enjoyed from the date of the battle of Delhi, from which he derived his title. This extension of the grant would afford the means of making some arrangements for the benefit of the female part of the family, who, he was sorry to say, were left in a most unsatisfactory state. The pension of sir Sidney Smith had not been granted till two years after the service for which it was given, and the grant covered those two years. The late lord Lake having died before the application to parliament could be made, his life was not counted as one of the three for which it was usual to grant provisions of this kind. The grant would be to the present lord and to the next two heirs. He moved, accordingly, that an annuity of 2000*l.* a year, to commence from the 11th September, 1803, be granted out of the consolidated fund, to the present lord Lake, and the two next heirs bearing that title, for the term of their natural lives.

Mr. Whitbread felt the unpleasantness of opposing motions of this kind, when the merits of individuals, certainly of high character, even in the opinions of those who questioned the propriety of the proposed reward, were to be canvassed. He admitted the bravery and eminent services of lord Lake; but he could not sanction such a libel upon the whole British army, as to allow that he was the only general in it who acted on the French principle of courting victory by exposing his person to every danger. He was persuaded that there were few officers indeed, if any, in the British army, who would not act on the same principle, and that it was a characteristic principle of the British army as much as of the French. He contended that lord Lake, having held lucrative offices, ought not to want parliamentary aid. But if a grant of this kind was necessary to keep the dignity of the peerage from being sullied, certainly there was

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no ground whatsoever for dating it further back than the present time. To the grant of a monument he was particularly adverse. He did not think any exception ought to be made to the rule of granting this honour only to those who died in battle, or of wounds received in battle. But certainly lord Howe was much better entitled to such an exception than lord Lake.

Mr. W. Dundas, Mr. M. A. Taylor, and several other members spoke in behalf of the pension, when

Sir Francis Burdett expressed his determination to oppose the present motion upon two grounds, one of a local, the other of a constitutional nature. As to the first, he denied that the services of the noble lord in question were of that nature which called for the distinction that was now required; but without dwelling upon a topic that might appear invidious, his vital objections to the measure were, that his majesty possessed ample means to remunerate, in the fullest manner, services of a nature much less questionable than those of the noble lord; and why then were the people to be called upon to do that which his majesty had been furnished with ample means to do; the defence that was uniformly set up, whenever the propriety of vesting such patronage and influence was questioned, was, that all this was merely a deposit in the hands of the crown for the reward of extraordinary merit. Why then, upon every the slightest pretence, did ministers call upon that house to draw from the exhausted pockets of the suffering people, instead of applying to that fund which had been created avowedly for such purpose? But it was still worse if the burthened people were to add to their privations, while that very fund was squandered for pretended services which never saw light. The people had their merits as well as the noble lord; and the reward which that people expected, and had a right to demand, was a cautious and vigilant jealousy on the part of their representatives in the management of the public money: this was in itself a consideration so paramount, that he thought the services of the noble lord were but a minor consideration. He never would consent to add this to those burthens the suffering people had hitherto borne with such patience.

Mr. Bankes thought the question might be judiciously divided, and he could not resist the grant of the pension to lord Lake; but differed on this, as he did on many other topics, from an honourable baronet. He thought that liberally to reward brilliant services was, in all cases, the best œconomy. He objected, however, to the retrospective date commencing at 1803. He disapproved also of extending the grant beyond the present lord Lake's successor. He censured the principle of annexing, of course, pensions to peerages, for the mere purpose of sustaining the rank of the party. In a late review of the pension-list, which fell to his lot, with others, in the discharge of a certain duty, he was sorry to find so many names of high rank on that list. He thought that the honour of a monument should be confined to those who had fallen in victory, or died in consequence of wounds received in the action that led to victory. The house divided,

For the pension - - -	202
Against it - - - -	15
Majority - - - -	187

The subject of the monument was again resumed; and after some conversation ministers agreed to withdraw the motion.

Mr. Whitbread then rose. He felt that, in the circumstances in which he stood, he was undertaking a task of great responsibility, as it was one which he was taking entirely upon himself. The commissioners who were appointed to open the proceedings of the session of parliament, after an awful exposure of the situation of the country, called the present the crisis of its fate. He firmly believed this denunciation to be true; and it was under this impression that he conceived it to be highly important that the executive government should be extremely wary in the measures which it adopted, and that no time should be lost in taking such as might be deemed necessary for the salvation of the country from the dangers with which it was environed. He did think that the present crisis might be employed for effecting its deliverance; but that if ministers persevered in the same tone and system on which they had hitherto spoken and acted, the crisis would terminate in utter and irremediable ruin. Parliament had been told at different periods of the greatness of the danger, and at different periods it had been represented as so great as not to admit of increase; but in point of fact it had increased as time rolled on; and now we were told that we had reached the crisis of our fate. His present intention was to take a review of the information now before the house, respecting the conduct of ministers in refusing to enter into negotiation with France; and, upon the materials before it (as it was not likely to be favoured with more), to ground a resolution expressive of what the state of the country might have been, had a different course been pursued. He trusted that it would not be pleaded by the honourable gentleman opposite, that the house was precluded by the vote of a former evening; which, however hastily adopted, could only be considered as provisional on its part for an after decision; and that it would not be thrown in his teeth, that the house was no longer at liberty to agree to any resolution of censure upon proceedings which it might condemn. He had, a month ago, stated some of the symptoms of the present crisis of the country. Since that time several petitions had been presented to the house, of which the statements were most distressing, the prayer most moderate, and the general tone most patriotic. He hoped the people would continue to express their feelings and their wishes till they made an impression upon ministers and upon that house; and till the problem was solved, whether it was possible or not to conclude a peace with the French government. He stood up abjuring the principle and doctrine of eternal war; he stood up the advocate of negotiation and peace with France, as soon as negotiation could be entered into on an equal footing, and peace could be concluded on honourable terms. To talk of security in peace, was to talk of something which had never been obtained; for from what did the violation of almost every treaty which had been concluded from the beginning of time down to this day proceed, if not from its insecurity? All that could be expected or wished for, was peace on honourable terms; and such a peace, he maintained, was better calculated to establish our security as a na-

tion, than a prolongation of the contest. In the speech of his majesty's commissioners parliament was told that the war was now purely defensive on the part of this country. All projects were now given up of obtaining indemnity for the past, of dictating a constitution to France, or of curbing the power and ambition of Bonaparte: our only aim now was to defend ourselves. And he would put it to ministers and to the house, what probability there was of obtaining a more honourable peace than might be concluded at the present moment? Was there any man, either in the house or out of it, who would state a single point in which this country could make an attack upon France with any probability of compelling Bonaparte to grant more favourable terms than could be had in actual circumstances? And if defence was our only object, might we not defend ourselves in peace as well as in war? Mr. Whitbread professed a strong wish, as far as in him lay, to dispel the cloud of error, which at present hung over not only the house of commons but the people at large. For this purpose he called the attention of the house to the present situation of the country in regard to foreign powers. When the honourable gentleman opposite got possession of the government, the fate of the last continental campaign was not quite decided. The issue of the battle of Eylau had been represented by them as highly advantageous to the cause of the allies, and as glorious to the Russian arms. It was, however, succeeded by the battles of Hielsberg and Friedland; the result of which was, to consume the existing remnant of the Prussian monarchy; and to compel Russia to conclude a treaty with France, as the only means of saving that empire from the dangers with which it was menaced. The battle of Friedland gave rise to a truce; and this truce was followed up by the peace of Tilsit. This event had been termed in his majesty's declaration, and in the speech of the commissioners, most disastrous to Russia; and represented as the effect of despondency and alarm. But he contended that this peace, instead of being a calamity, had been the salvation of Russia; and that it had prevented the Russian army from being totally and completely extinguished. He knew that military men of skill and experience imputed it as a fault to Bonaparte that he did not then pursue and annihilate it, as he might have done. Instead, therefore, of this peace being disastrous to Russia, it was both the most prudent thing which the emperor Alexander could do in the circumstances in which he was placed, and the wisest thing that Bonaparte had done in the whole course of his political career. Before the treaty of Tilsit was concluded, however, an offer had been made by Russia to mediate a peace between Great Britain and France; an offer which he had always considered as an effusion of the heart of the emperor of Russia towards this country. Here Mr. Whitbread entered into a detailed analysis of the papers which had been laid upon the table of the house, relative to this offer on the part of Russia, and the refusal of ministers to accept of it; and having entered very fully on the subject, he proceeded to consider the correspondence with Austria; and from the documents before the house, he contended that there had been two opportunities wantonly thrown away, of trying at least whether it was possible

possible to enter upon negotiation. On each of these points he had a resolution to propose to the house. But there was another subject to come, of far greater importance; and that was, how we were to make use of the future. The ruler of France had at three distinct periods made offers of peace to this country, in terms unobjectionable. The first was rejected. The second was not absolutely rejected; but lord Mulgrave wrote a contumelious letter, informing him, "that his majesty must consult his allies." We had then an opportunity of selling a recognition to him; and we might have sold many before he had established himself, as he now had in defiance of us. But it was said then, that his majesty must consult his allies; not, however, to see whether or not they would agree to open a negotiation, but to try whether they would enter into a coalition to destroy the power of France. They did enter into that coalition, and the consequence was well known. In proportion as we had endeavoured to crush the power of France, that power had increased. After the height to which our ill-advised measures had raised France, and the splendour of her military achievements and conquests; and after the constant hostility we had evinced towards her, it could not have been reasonably expected that she should have made a direct offer of peace. Notwithstanding, however, the manner in which her former offers had been treated, another has been made through the intervention of other powers; that had not been accepted; and what did the gentlemen on the other side mean to do? Were they, as was stated in the king's speech, looking about for an impartial mediator? There was no one now to be had, and nothing remained but a direct communication. Then they ought to send a direct offer of negotiation to France, if this was a proper time to do so. This would be no degradation, as such a thing was not unusual. The French emperor had done it, and the right honourable gentleman had, in his pamphlet, allowed that there could be no objection to the mode, other circumstances being favourable. If then they were as desirous of peace, as they pretended to be, why not resort to the only means remaining for trying to accomplish that object? The noble lord (Castlereagh) had, since 1805, been looking to a solid and desirable peace, and how was it now to be brought about? No offer could now be sent by a mediator, and why should it not be made directly? It had been done three times during the late war, by lord Grenville, for whom he felt the highest respect, and who could not be supposed capable of compromising the honour of his country. His conduct was direct and open. He had, indeed, no taste for epigrams, repartees, and nice turns, on a subject of this nature. But he directed Mr. Wickham to ask whether the republic of France would negotiate; and he afterwards wrote a letter direct to the French secretary of foreign relations. Was there any thing degrading in all this? If there was not, why should ministers hesitate to follow such an example? They said they were desirous of peace: then what should prevent them from at least making an attempt to procure it on such conditions as it might not be dishonourable for this country to accept? If peace could not be attained after a fair and candid attempt for that pur-

pose, the knowledge of that circumstance would unite all hands and hearts in the war, which would then be manifestly just and necessary. He did not say this at random, but from such knowledge of history as he possessed. Louis the Fourteenth of France had risen to a pitch of power and splendour, which excited at the time little less attention than Bonaparte did now. He had resolved to overrun the small country of Holland; and would have done so, if he had not had to cope with the mighty mind of the prince of Orange. The most earnest prayers for peace were sent to Louis, and by him haughtily rejected. It was then that the population of that little republic, seeing no alternative between the most determined resistance and complete subjugation, united under the immortal king William, and established the liberties of Holland. Louis was a man of inordinate ambition. Bonaparte too was ambitious, although his ambition appeared to be much better regulated. But supposing him as ambitious as you please, supposing that no peace could be made with him, still the best effects would result from the perfect knowledge of that fact. Then you might say, "See, people of England; see, ye manufacturers, and all who are suffering under the effects of the war,—no peace can be made with this man: nothing but the destruction of our independence will satisfy him: Would you then not rather starve, than yield upon such degrading conditions?" You would then have no petitions for peace: it would be seen that no peace could be concluded; and this great country would, surely, not be less formidable or less competent to hold out than the republic of Holland. The people of this country were now so habituated to a state of war, that they seemed disposed to think it preferable to a state of peace, and it was to be feared, that this disposition would only be corrected by having its miseries one way or another brought home to themselves. He had no doubt there were many who would willingly subscribe to a negotiation, provided they were sure that it would not end in peace. But he thought that peace might be brought about with as full a prospect of security as could reasonably be expected with a power of the same nature and extent as that of France. He was bound to say so, however much he might be misrepresented, as that was the firm conviction of his mind. It was said, the French emperor was ambitious. He allowed it; he was as ambitious as many others would be in his situation; with greater ability, however, in carrying his ambitious projects into execution. But amidst all his ambition, and his skill in gratifying it, there appeared in him a wonderful wariness; for he never seemed desirous of pushing his advantages beyond that point in which he found himself in a good situation. Charles the Twelfth of Sweden had a most insatiable ambition; but it was in the very nature of inordinate ambition of this sort, never to be contented; and accordingly Charles went on till he ruined himself. Bonaparte seemed to have his ambition, great as it was, under perfect command. Could there be better policy than his stopping at the battle of Friedland, instead of annihilating the Russian armies, a thing which he had perfectly in his power? The treaty of Campo Formio stopt him when Vienna was in his power.

After

After the battle of Austerlitz, he did not push his advantages, but stopt where it was his interest to do so. It was his interest to make peace with this country, and it was his interest to maintain it; and it would therefore in all probability be maintained, if made in a spirit of conciliation, and on terms of honour. There had not yet been one negotiator sent to him, who properly understood the man. If ambassadors were to be sent to Russia, Sweden, &c., those would be appointed who were best acquainted with the dispositions of the sovereigns. Lord Granville Leveson Gower was sent expressly upon the ground of his being agreeable to the Russian court. But as to Bonaparte, lord Whitworth, he maintained, had grossly mistaken his character and views. He meant not to apologize for the actions of Bonaparte; but he must state what he conceived to be the truth: and in this he only did justice to his country, whose interest it could not be to be deceived upon a point so important as this at present was. But it would appear as if a personal hostility to Bonaparte existed; and why? Because the people were told that he was ambitious and cruel, and a violator of all rights human and divine. But the political conduct of princes was that with which other nations had to do; and of the effects of that, nations, and not individuals, were to judge. Providence often brought about its best purposes by the vilest instruments. The Reformation in this country, an object of incalculable benefit, was brought about by the lust of Henry the Eighth. The crimes of Bonaparte were not reasons for our continuing that war with him, if we could be at peace. The murder of don Carlos by his father Philip, was one of the greatest of crimes, and yet that was not a reason why a foreign nation should go to war with the murderer. Was there any miracle in the power of Bonaparte? No. He had talents to take advantage of the blunders of those with whom he had to contend. This was all. We went on always blundering; and he always saw his advantage, and seized it. So that with his own talents and the blunders of his adversaries, he was elevated to the height of power which he had now attained. Louis the Fourteenth aspired to universal monarchy, and his means at one time were little inferior to those of Bonaparte. But then he had a William, a Marlborough, an Eugene, to contend with; and in the end a wretched bigotry brought him to the lowest reverse of fortune. If the advice of the archduke Charles had been taken, much of the power of France would have this day been on the side of other nations, who might in that case have been in alliance with us. If the advice of that immortal statesman Mr. Fox had been taken, continued Mr. Whitbread, who so often urged the policy of peace, and exposed the errors of the system which the government of this country had been so long acting upon; if his advice had been taken, who, from the spot where I now stand, so often spoke the words of wisdom, and enforced his salutary counsels in a manner so much better, God knows, than I can do; what misfortunes might we not have escaped! How much more proud would have been our present situation! Though I feel how much more inadequately I plead the cause of peace, yet it does afford me confidence and satisfaction to think that I am en-

deavouring to follow his steps; and would to God that his eyes were placed over me, that I might advocate that line of policy, of the soundness of which he was so sensible, with some portion of his spirit! But then it might be said, that circumstances might alter during the progress of the war. It was not, however, the power of France that was formidable; it was that of the French emperor. We had forced him to try the experiment of contending with all the European armies, and they had been defeated; and in proportion as we went on with the war, we were consolidating his power from day to day. It was the talents of the emperor that consolidated the present mass. If another character arose, difference of interests would soon produce a separation, and new views and new treaties would be formed. This would happen sooner or later. In the mean time, it was impossible to subdue Bonaparte by war; that was now obvious. We, therefore, had only to try him with the sunshine of peace. He concluded by moving the following resolutions:

"That it is the opinion of this house, that the conditions stipulated by his majesty's ministers, for the acceptance of the mediation offered by the emperor of Russia, were inexpedient and impolitic.

"That it is the opinion of this house, that the conduct of his majesty's ministers on the subject of the mediation offered by the emperor of Austria, was unwise and impolitic, and not calculated to ascertain how far the restoration of the blessings of peace might or might not have been attainable through the means of such mediation.

"That this house feels it incumbent upon itself to declare, that there is nothing in the present circumstances of the war, which ought to preclude his majesty from embracing any fair opportunity of acceding to or commencing a negotiation with the enemy on a footing of equality, for the termination of hostilities on terms of justice and honour."

Mr. Ponsonby expressed his sense of the disadvantage under which he rose, after the admirable speech of his honourable friend. As to the two first resolutions, he perfectly concurred with him; and in the third likewise he agreed as to the letter, but differed as to the spirit and effect, and as to the propriety of passing such a resolution at the present moment. He only wished, that the question should lie over a little longer to try what might turn out. The parliament had not been met above five weeks, and it might have to sit for some months. He did not say, that he might not, in the course of a month, be of the opinion of his honourable friend (Mr. Whitbread). He agreed with him at this moment, as he must do at all times, that peace was better than war. He was afraid, that instead of promoting peace, the resolution might have the effect of protracting the war If his hon. friend, therefore, would not withdraw his motion, he should now move the previous question.

Mr. Wilberforce agreed with the hon. gentleman who had just sat down, in his opinion on the last proposition of the hon. mover. He did so, however, from very different reasons. He did not see that the house was called on to interfere in the conduct of the executive power, unless it appeared that the servants of the crown had misconducted themselves

selves in regard to what was past. The third proposition, therefore, could not be agreed to, unless the house was satisfied as to the two former.

Lord Milton completely agreed with the hon. mover in the two first propositions, satisfied as he was that ministers deserved censure for their conduct in slighting the Russian and Austrian mediation. He could not, however, go the length of the third proposition, not being satisfied that there was yet ground to address his majesty to remove his ministers, as being disinclined to peace; which, he was of opinion, must necessarily accompany the third proposition of his honourable friend.

Mr. J. W. Ward felt himself called on, from a deep-rooted and conscientious conviction of the propriety of the whole motions of his honourable friend, to give them all his decided support. As to the first and second propositions, he thought it impossible to read the correspondence of the right hon. secretary of state for foreign affairs, and not to see that he had no subject more completely at heart than to shut the door against mediation. With a sort of microscopic eye he seemed even to have spied out and anticipated objections against it. The third proposition was one which absorbed in itself every thing coming home to the comforts and happiness of us all.

Mr. Blackford said, Whatever might be the burthens of the people, and to whatever privations our manufacturers might be subjected, he could not think that, generally speaking as a nation, we were in such a state as to justify us in adopting the propositions of the honourable gentleman, when we looked at the prosperous state of our commercial affairs.

Lord Mahon observed, that all the maxims which were laid down on the opposite side had a tendency to support the principle of eternal war. There was not an argument that was advanced this night, in opposition to the motion, which might not with equal propriety be urged in favour of any other war, at any other time, or under almost any other circumstances. Every power in Europe that was formerly our ally was now converted into an enemy. From this consideration, together with that of the distressed state of our manufacturers, he thought it his duty to support the motion. The house ought to consider these things, in fact, of its own free will; but from circumstances which had lately occurred, it appeared to him that they were called on by the imperious voice of the people to the performance of this duty, in order to avert, if possible, a tremendous evil, and prevent incalculable distress from falling on the working part of the community.

Mr. John Smith followed on the same side.

Mr. Canning asked What were the views of the enemy even when he professed his anxiety for peace, and even while at peace with us? Did he not secretly employ every means of excluding our commerce, of discouraging and annihilating our manufactures? Would he allow, if he could help it, the importation of a single yard of cloth, or of any other article of our manufactures? If such were his endeavours against the trade of this country at that time, what must they now be, when he had resolved to ruin the nation through the ruin

of her commerce? Would the cries of those for peace whom he was more particularly resolved to undo by war, be a motive with him to listen to any terms of peace? On the contrary, would they not encourage him to persevere in the war, as the surest means of accomplishing his ultimate object? Then how could those who professed to be friends to peace, attempt to derive any arguments in its favour from the distresses or importunities of our manufacturers? Was not the very plea on which they urged their object the most powerful obstacle to obstruct its attainment? He gave the honourable gentleman full credit for being sincere in the opinion he expressed. But he would contend, admitting negotiation to be desirable and good when there was a prospect of its leading to peace, that it was a mischief when it did not afford that prospect. It tended to excite deceitful hope, and to paralyse exertion. The hon. gentleman was satisfied that when Russia said, We may have peace on honourable terms, the fact was so. But why, in that case, did not Russia state those terms? What Russia may have looked upon as honourable terms, may not be so looked upon in this country. The manner in which Russia acted respecting Prussia; the manner in which that power surrendered the guarantied republic of the Seven Islands; the phrase of "maritime peace," always used by France in a sense which was wholly inconsistent with the maritime power and prosperity of Britain, and in that sense forced into all the diplomatic papers of the powers reduced under the control of Bonaparte; the apparent compromise of the independence of Sicily;—all these were grounds for suspecting that the terms which Russia described as honourable, may be in fact very far from being so on the principles that a British government was bound to act upon. A statement of the basis on which France was prepared to negotiate was demanded. The importance of adjusting a basis before coming to negotiate was obvious, as well from the effect it must have in confining the negotiation within fixed limits and principles, as from the confusion that arose from the want of an acknowledged basis in the last negotiation; and the labour that was afterwards bestowed in fruitless endeavours, first to arrange a basis, and afterwards to re-establish it when it was lost sight of by the French government.

And here he could not help making a remark on the strange manner in which it was made a matter of argument for a long time, that France had actually admitted the basis of the *uti possidetis* at the outset, while that admission was as repeatedly denied on the part of the French. Another material fact, tending to show the disposition of Russia and her devotion to France, was, that the inclination of the Russian government to complete the commercial treaty with Britain ceased on account of the influence of France, and was not concluded because it was disagreeable to that power. He had himself no doubt, that the declaration on the subject of Copenhagen was forced on Russia by France. It was thought strange, that while the mediation of Russia was thought suspicious as between Britain and France, the mediation of that power was solicited as between Britain and Denmark. But this

this application was perfectly consistent with the character of protector of the north; and by preserving any part of the independence of that state, there may be yet room to hope that all was not irrecoverably lost. The first offer of mediation from Austria was immediately subsequent to the battle of Eylau; described, in the gazette published by the late ministers, as a complete victory on the part of the allies. It was accepted without any other condition, than that it should be accepted equally by all the belligerent powers. The offer was made accordingly, and accepted by France in terms so offensive to Britain, that it would have been a question, Whether any negotiation could be instituted upon it? But, before this point could come to issue, the battle of Friedland had totally destroyed the hopes of the allies; and when lord Pembroke mentioned the matter at Vienna, he was told things were so changed, that nothing could be done. From that time nothing more was heard till the communication made by prince Stahremberg on the 20th November. The terms and tone of the offer made then were very different from the former; and it became the more necessary to ascertain the basis and the source from which it proceeded, as, when lord Pembroke asked at Vienna, for some explanations of things stated by prince Stahremberg here in September, the Austrian government denied having given any authority for such a statement. The whole of the proceedings on the part of Austria, with respect to the second offer, bore evident marks of French dictation. It was expected that one of the last notes of the French government would have produced a great explosion here. But prince Stahremberg, who was as anxious as he could well be to continue to reside in this country, forbore to communicate this offensive paper, and thus the explosion did not take place. Here Mr. C. entered into some verbal explanations of the note of prince Stahremberg, and concluded by saying that he should give his negative to the motions.

Mr. W. Smith disapproved of the two first resolutions, but expressed his intention to vote for the third.

Mr. Sheridan was surprised at the declaration of his hon. friend, just as much as he was at the conduct of other friends of his who approved of the two first resolutions but determined to oppose the third. He could not conceive any ground of consistency upon which such conduct could be justified. He determined to support the whole three; which he should have done, had they been even much stronger in their terms. They were such as ought to be passed by that house, as a guide and warning to ministers. And when some of his friends told him that they ought to be postponed, he asked why? These ministers had already suffered two opportunities for negotiation to pass by, and was it required to wait until they should lose a third? With regard to petitions for peace, he was decidedly of opinion, that the way to put a stop to them would be to pass those resolutions, which would serve to satisfy the country that the house was strongly disposed to peace, when peace was fairly attainable. Thus alone would the suspicion which prevailed among the people as to the hostility of ministers to peace, and which suspicion produced those petitions, be effectually removed.

As

As a great deal still remained to be said upon this important question, particularly upon the third resolution, into which it was now too late to enter, the right honourable gentleman moved an adjournment of the debate till to-morrow.

Mr. Adam requested his right hon. friend (Mr. Sheridan) to withdraw his motion, and let the house decide upon the resolutions, for every one of which he meant to vote affirmatively. His opinion was, that ministers had by their conduct put a bar to any expectation of peace being proposed by them or to them; and until that bar was removed by a declaration of the sentiments of that house, he very much feared there could be no hope of peace for the country.

Mr. Sheridan withdrew his motion. After a few words from Mr. J. Smith and Mr. Wilberforce, and a reply from Mr. Whitbread, the house divided upon each of the resolutions. Upon the first, the numbers were,

Ayes - - -	70
Noes - - -	210
Majority -	140

Upon the second,

Ayes - - -	67
Noes - - -	211
Majority -	154

Upon the third,

Ayes - - -	58
Noes - - -	217
Majority -	159

CHAPTER III.

Danish Expedition—Lord Darnley's Motion and Resolutions on the Baltic Expedition—Lord Elliot's Resolution—Debate on Mr. Sharp's Motion, and Mr. Stewart Wortley's Resolution.—"Orders of Council"—Lord Henry Petty's Motion for Papers—General Gascoine's Motion on the Liverpool Petition—Mr. Alderman Combe's from the American Merchants—General Gascoine's—Debate on the Third Reading of the Bill on the Orders of Council; on the Admission of Counsel; and on the Examination of Witnesses—Lord Lauderdale's Motion and Resolutions—Lord Grenville's Motion—Lord Holland's Motion and Resolutions.

WE must again advert to the Danish expedition, which occupied several other discussions in both houses of parliament besides those which we have referred to in a former chapter. It will, however, be sufficient, if we give an outline of the termination of these debates: beginning with what took place in the upper house, which claims a priority in point of time. On the third of March the earl of Darnley took a review of the principal circumstances connected with this expedition, and contended that the only ground on which it could be justified was actual necessity, which was not proved to exist by any documents, nor by the arguments of ministers. It had been said, that an option was given to the prince regent to deliver up the Danish fleet: this was in fact no option, because had he delivered it up Holstein and Jutland would immediately have been seized by France. In apology for this expedition, it had been said, that it was intended

intended to ward off danger from this country; But how had it been prevented? The danger was not of an invasion of this country, but of the shutting up of the Baltic; and instead of precluding this danger, the expedition had accelerated it. Possession of Zealand had not been retained, and Denmark had been thrown completely into the arms of France. The national character had been degraded, and its honour stained, by this expedition—And what was the gain? Sixteen ships of the line, which could be of little or no service: and as to the stores, they did not amount in value to the stores expended in the expedition; and the whole was not equal to the expense of the expedition. He was aware that a part of the public considered this as a victory, but he hoped the house would make a more accurate distinction, and characterize this act in terms which it merited. His lordship concluded by moving, that a humble address be presented to his majesty, submitting,

"That after attentively considering all the public documents before us concerning the late attack on Copenhagen, and the war which it has produced, we have found the information which they afford extremely imperfect and unsatisfactory.

"That in a matter in which both the honour and the interests of our country are so deeply concerned, we had hoped for the fullest explanations. The principles of our constitution, and the uniform practice of his majesty and the sovereigns of his illustrious house, require that parliament should be distinctly apprised of the true grounds of entering into new wars, especially in a situation of our country wholly unprecedented.

"Had Denmark been a party to any hostile confederacy against the rights or interests of the British empire, our resistance would have been necessary, and our warfare legitimate. Under such circumstances we should only have had to regret, that the ports and arsenals of that country should so lightly have been abandoned, when advantages so very considerable had been derived from their temporary occupation; and when, by our continuing to hold them during the war, all real danger from that quarter might have been effectually averted.

"But we cannot doubt that Denmark, instead of engaging in hostile leagues, had resolved still to maintain her neutrality. This fact is proved even by the imperfect documents which have been laid before us, and is confirmed by the proclamation issued by his majesty's commanders immediately before the attack.

"Certainly Denmark was no party, nor does it appear that she was privy to any confederacy hostile to this country. We are not even satisfied that such a league did really exist.

"The conclusion of any secret articles at Tilsit, affecting the rights or interests of the British empire, appears to have been uniformly denied both by Russia and France.

"The correspondence of his majesty's secretary of state, and the dates of the transactions themselves, prove that his majesty's ministers could not be in possession of any such articles when the attack was ordered against Copenhagen; and it has been distinctly admitted in this house, that they have not yet obtained a copy of them.

"The king's ambassador at Petersburgh

tersburg, in an official note, rested the defence of the measures not on any hostile purposes either of Denmark or Russia, but solely on the designs which it was said the French government had long since been known to entertain.

"His majesty's ministers not only forbore to advise such measures as would have been necessary to repel any real hostility of Russia, but they actually solicited the mediation of that power to extinguish a war, and her guarantee to defeat projects, in which it is now pretended they knew her to have been a principal and contracting party.

"Allegations thus inconsistent with each other, and contrary to admitted facts, weaken, instead of supporting, the cause to which they are applied.

"With respect to the alleged necessity of the case, we beg leave to assure his majesty, that we cannot think so meanly of the power and resources of his empire, of the spirit of his people, or of the valour and discipline of his fleets and armies, as to admit that such an act could have been required for any purpose of self-preservation.

"Any temporary advantages which the possession of such ships and stores as were taken at Copenhagen can afford, are already much more than counterbalanced by the other consequences of a measure which appears not less objectionable in policy than in principle. That measure has augmented the number of our enemies; it has countenanced the injurious representations circulated throughout Europe respecting our principles and designs; and has inflamed against us the warmest passions of neutral and of friendly nations.

"But it has, above all, shaken our own persuasion of the justice of our cause: a sentiment which had hitherto supported us through all our difficulties; commanding the respect of other powers, and encouraging us in a humble but confident reliance on the ultimate protection and blessing of Providence.

"Unwilling as we are even yet to pronounce definitively on a subject, the full knowledge of which has been so pertinaciously withheld from us; and reluctant as we must ever be to admit conclusions unfavourable to the justice of those counsels by which his majesty's conduct has been actuated; we are yet compelled, on such an occasion, to speak to his majesty the language of truth. And we must, therefore, with all humility, and with the most unfeigned and heartfelt sorrow, represent, that in a case which, above all others, required the clearest proof, every presumption is against us; and that no particle of evidence has yet been adduced, by which our national character can be vindicated from the guilt of an unprovoked and premeditated violation of that good faith, justice, and humanity, which have hitherto been at once the glory and the safeguard of the British empire."

Lord Elliot thought the noble earl had brought the question respecting this expedition fairly to an issue; but differed from him entirely with respect to the merits of the expedition; which he thought a wise and vigorous measure, that had prevented much risk and danger to this country. A mistake had, he thought, arisen in the arguments of those who condemned the expedition, in supposing that we entered the harbour of Copenhagen as friends, and seized the Danish

nish fleet: on the contrary, we entered it as enemies, and used our rights as such. By this measure that danger was prevented which would otherwise have arisen from the large fleet that France would have been enabled to form by means of the ships of Denmark, Sweden, and Russia. The necessity had arisen; and the expedition was, in his opinion, perfectly consonant with the law of nations. He thought it was not sufficient to negative the motion; but in case their lordships should agree to negative it, he should then move a specific vote of approbation.

Lord Holland supported the arguments of the earl of Darnley, and commented particularly on the offer of friendship which was made to the prince regent after seizing his fleet, which seemed to him a most extraordinary act. It would be thought a little whimsical if a highwayman, after robbing a traveller, was to say to him, "Do not let us have any troublesome discussions about this in courts of justice; but let us make it up and be friends." He thought that ministers had shown a vast eagerness to lay papers before the house when they were not wanted, or even when there might be some danger in producing them; but where they were necessary, they were not inclined to grant them. The effect of the expedition appeared to him to have been, to throw Denmark completely into the arms of France, together with the hearts and minds of the people. If this motion should be negatived, and the noble lord really intended afterwards to move an address to his majesty approving of the expedition, he would recommend to his notice an address to a former king of Spain, which was to this effect: "Your majesty has but two enemies: the one, the whole world; and the other, your majesty's own ministers."

Lord Boringdon defended the expedition, and contended that, after the battle of Friedland, it was evident that Denmark was unable to defend her neutrality, and must make her election between England and France; and that it was also evident from her previous conduct that her inclinations were with France. If her troops had been concentred in Zealand and Funen, they might have defended those islands; but, instead of that, they were stationed in Holstein and Jutland, where they might have been easily overwhelmed by the French army. His lordship quoted the authority of lord Granville Leveson Gower, to prove that the expedition had not caused the war with Russia; and contended that the expedition was dictated by motives of sound policy, and called for by a due regard to the interests of the country.

After some explanation between lords Holland and Boringdon, the house divided:

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Majority 59.

Whilst strangers remained excluded, there was a short conversation, on the motion of lord Elliot, for an address to his majesty, stating, that this house, "considering the declarations laid before them by his majesty's command; the state to which the continent was reduced, in consequence of the negotiations and peace of Tilsit; the avowed

avowed declaration of the French government to exclude the British flag from every port of Europe, and to combine all the powers of the continent in a general confederacy against the maritime rights and political existence of Great Britain; most highly approve the prompt and vigorous measures which were adopted by his majesty's ministers, for the purpose of removing out of the reach of his majesty's enemies the fleet and naval resources of Denmark."

The house then divided:

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Majority 68.

Protests were immediately entered on the journals against the rejection of lord Darnley's motion, and against the resolution proposed by lord Elliot: these were signed by twenty-nine peers, at the head of whom was his royal highness the duke of Gloucester.

On the 21st, in the house of commons, Mr. Sharp requested the indulgence of the house to a motion on the same subject. Though the subject had been frequently and ably discussed, yet what had passed hitherto was but preliminary to the sentence which the house would be now called upon to give. He was the more anxious to have the opinion of that house upon that expedition, in consequence of the language held by ministers and their adherents, not only of the success of the measure itself, but of the approbation it had met with from the great majority of the country. They had been bold enough to affirm that ninety-nine out of a hundred approved of it. As he (Mr. S.) thought this report no less than a libel on the people of England, as he was anxious to rescue them from so calumnious an aspersion, he was willing that their representatives in parliament should pronounce seriously upon it. He knew that the public conscience might be taken by surprise; but he believed that, however the success of the measure itself, or the mistatements that had been made in defence of it, might at first have produced a transient disposition to approve of it, yet now, after due consideration of the enormity of the act itself, and the shabby and contradictory pleas variously resorted to in vindication of it, he did believe that there was now a radical change in the public opinion, and that that expedition was, as it ought to be, held in just and general abhorrence. He was among those who had felt it their duty to dissent from the address that contained any congratulatory expressions on the event of such an expedition. He then thought it the bounden duty of those who had planned such an expedition, to give, in their defence, cogent and unanswerable arguments for its urgent and paramount necessity. He thought so still; and the same motive that actuated his conduct then, should influence him now. They were called upon, by a satisfactory explanation, to remove the imputation their measures had thrown upon the national character: And how had they acted? He had heard of various associations; they were the rage of the day; societies for the suppression of vice, &c.; but ministers, in the present instance, seemed to have formed themselves into a society for the

suppression of evidence; they had refused every species of evidence, till the feelings of one right hon. gentleman were affected; and then, what was denied to the great question of national character and public morality, was cheerfully conceded to the offended delicacy of an individual. He would now, however, pass to the inquiry; and he called upon gentlemen to reflect that the country might be said to be now on trial; the national honour was put upon its trial, and every member, in trying that question, was putting himself upon trial. He conjured them, therefore, to enter upon it with as much scrupulosity asif they were sworn to decide by evidence, and that they would remember the country and its cause, and forget all party motives. The case could be briefly stated, for the facts were easily remembered,—he should rather say, were never to be forgotten. In a time of profound peace we bombarded the metropolis of a neutral power, while all her ships were in port, and all her stores were in her arsenal. An act of this *primâ facie* injustice called for a frank exposition; and, indeed, in the words of his majesty's declaration, "it was due to Europe and the world." But had it, he asked, appeared that ministers had not resorted to this violence as long as a doubt of Denmark's hostility, as long as a hope of her neutrality remained? The grounds of justification had been threefold: first, the intentions of France to seize upon Holstein, and compel Denmark to depart from her neutrality; secondly, the cooperation of Russia with France; and thirdly, the collusion of Denmark with France, and the latent conspiracy of the three powers against the maritime rights of Great Britain. With respect to the first, there could be no doubt of the intentions and wishes of France to annoy us by every means in her power; but it had been asserted in the correspondence with our minister at the court of St. Petersburgh, that our government had positive *data* of the specific intention on the part of France: they had not since heard of these *data*. The second branch of justification was the supposed, or, indeed, rather avowed, confederacy of Russia with France, for the purpose already specified. To support this, there were but two circumstances alleged, and neither at all made out; the one, the information from Portugal through Ireland (a bull rather in thought than expression); and the other, the secret articles of Tilsit. The house did not yet forget how ministers had shifted their defence with respect to those articles;—first, they had those very secret articles; next, they had the substance only; then they had not articles, but engagements; and at last, not engagements, but arrangements. Dates, however, were stubborn things, and dates did prove that the treaty of Tilsit was concluded on the 8th of July, and that the orders for the Baltic expedition were issued on the 19th of the same month: now it would not be very readily credited, that what was done at Tilsit on the 8th of July could occasion orders in this country for a powerful armament in eleven days after. But why not give to the house the information required? Because it might expose the source of that information to the vengeance of Bonaparte. He could not conceive how the revealing of the substance would not betray the source, as well as the statement of the facts themselves. It was difficult to prove a negative;

but

but in the present case, gentlemen on the other side were bound to put the affirmative beyond doubt. Had they done so? The secret engagements at Tilsit were pleaded, when it appears in the correspondence between lord Leveson Gower and the right honourable secretary, that upon the 25th of September that noble lord had, in an interview with the Russian minister, concealed none of the reasons that justified the Baltic expedition; and in the answer of the right honourable secretary, the conduct of that noble lord received his majesty's approbation, and the defence then made was confirmed by the right hon. gentleman; so that when Russia complained of the expedition, the cause is ascribed to the designs of France upon Holstein; and when parliament required explanation, Russia herself is made a party in producing that effect she had previously complained of. As to the third ground of justification, the collusion, intrigue, and hostility, of Denmark, it was too like the means sometimes resorted to in private life, to endeavour to give our antagonist a bad name when we were not disposed to do him justice. The imbecility of Denmark had been dwelt upon; and what was most strange, her hostility to this country inferred from her weakness. He denied that Denmark had given any avowal, even indirectly, at any former period, of her inability to defend her neutrality; and as to the argument of any former or antecedent pique, he thought we might as well step back to the heptarchy, and, in the true spirit of religion misapplied, visit the sins of the fathers upon the twentieth or thirtieth generation. He did not mean to speak with levity, though he believed gentlemen at the other side had no objection to treat grave matters with levity. The honourable gentleman then alluded to extracts that had been read from official papers in that house by the right hon. secretary. He did not wish to add to the grave and solemn correction the right honourable gentleman had received from a noble colleague in another place; but there could be no doubt that Mr. Garlicke's and lord Howick's letters were misquoted, and read in such a manner as to produce an impression directly contrary to that they were intended to produce. He did not impute to the right honourable gentleman any intention to deceive the house; no doubt it was all owing to some underling employed by the right honourable gentleman to select such passages as would best make out his case. But reading what had not been read to the house, and comparing it with the partial extracts they had heard read, would prove how far Mr. Garlicke and the noble lord were done justice to. Here the honourable gentleman read some of the extracts which had been read by Mr. secretary Canning from that correspondence, and then read what immediately followed each, arguing, as he went along, that the subsequent passages either did away the preceding ones, or rendered them conditional.

In excepting to the policy of the measure, he reminded the house, that a considerable portion of our trade was carried on by foreign seamen, in the West Indies especially, where it was chiefly carried on by Danish sailors. This must have given this country great control over Denmark. He ridiculed the idea of an easy descent on Zealand from Holstein, and cited the opinion of a high military authori-

ty, that it would be easier to invade England from Boulogne, than Zealand from Holstein. He denied that we had got the Danish fleet; nothing but sixteen hulls, of the value of eight pounds per ton, about one quarter the value of ours; and the Danes have since been amply repaid by their reprisals on our trade. He next adverted to the system of recrimination, which had been resorted to by the gentlemen opposite, and contended, that the cases of the Dardanelles, Alexandria, and Lisbon, were so far from being analogous, that they were directly contrary to it. Why were gentlemen so anxious to con over the acts of their predecessors, like schoolboys striving to pilfer sense for their exercises? Was it that they wished to assimilate themselves to the late government? In private life, if two persons were said to be alike, both were offended; but here he could only see one party anxious to establish the likeness, and the other revolting from it with indignation. It was commonly required that the style should suit the subject; here the case was not more abandoned than the defence was mean, pitiful, and shifting. The gentlemen seemed to estimate the force of their arguments by their number; to count them by the head; and sooner than be content with one reason, they are resolved to have two, though they be contradictory; like the wretch who, being tried for a robbery, rested his defence upon the proof of two *alibis* at the same instant of time. The honourable gentleman then made an earnest appeal to the justice of the house; and asked them if they could say in their consciences that a frank exposition had been given? He regretted to see any indifference growing up in the public mind, as to the obligation of the great principles of public morality. He reminded them of the recorded sentiments of Mr. Burke: "Justice is the standing policy of society, and any eminent departure from its changeless precepts would be ultimately found to be no policy at all." He thought that the getting rid of those precepts, and those old prejudices of honour, good faith, and morality, was like an attempt to get rid of our flesh in order to prevent the poignancy of feeling. He next took a cursory view of the effects of the expedition in Sweden, and pronounced it as his opinion, that it was, perhaps, the cause of its own ruin. He concluded with moving,

That a humble address be presented to his majesty. [This address being very similar to that just quoted in the proceedings of the other house, it is needless to transcribe it.]

Mr. Stewart Wortley replied to Mr. Sharp's speech. He denied that either ministers, or their supporters, had charged Denmark with hostile intentions against this country; or that it was any part of their system to imitate the violent and unjust acts of Bonaparte. He admitted at the same time, that if the honourable gentleman could make out the case against them which he had laid down, it would be the duty of the house of commons to address his majesty, praying him to dismiss his ministers: but thinking, as he did, that the case was not made out, he should think it was his duty to submit a resolution to the house, approving of their conduct in sending a hostile expedition against Copenhagen. He quoted one of Bonaparte's official bulletins, in which he says that the blockade of England would

not now be a vain threat, for the purpose of showing that at the conclusion of the continental campaigns he had it in contemplation to seize upon the Danish fleet. In opposition to the argument of the honourable gentleman, that ministers could not have had information of the articles of the treaty of Tilsit before the sailing of the expedition, he mentioned that this treaty was signed on the 10th of June, that it was known at Hamburgh on the 25th of June, and that it might have been known in this country long before the 19th of July, the day on which the orders for the sailing of the expedition were dated. It had been said, that the secret articles of the treaty did not affect the interests of England; but he could not conceive any secret articles belonging to a treaty concluded in the present circumstances of Europe, and of the world, which did not more or less affect the interest of England. And in point of fact, that article which was publicly known of the cession of the Ionian islands, was of great importance to this country. There might also be a contingent engagement between Russia and France, which was to take effect in the event of our refusing to accept the mediation of the former of the two powers: this it was highly important that the British government should be acquainted with. To the objection that our minister at the court of Russia had never made it a matter of charge against the government of that country, that it had hostile intentions against this country, he replied, that it would not have been wise and prudent so to have acted, at a time when it was our evident policy to withdraw Russia from the influence of France, and to use every means of conciliation for the purpose of bringing her back to her old connection. For the same reason he thought ministers had acted very properly in allowing three ships of the line to pass the Sound and return to Cronstadt. With respect to Denmark, he did not mean to assert that she was actuated by a hostile spirit against this country, but he contended that she was sluggish and supine in preparing to defend herself against the premeditated attack of France; and that though she would have preferred remaining neutral, she had not this in her choice; and that had she been called upon to choose the alternative of joining France against this country, or of leaguing herself with this country against France, she would not have hesitated in preferring a connection with France to a connection with this country. Our conduct, he admitted, had been milder to Portugal than to Denmark; and very properly so, because Portugal had always remained faithful to her engagements with us, whereas Denmark had given several proofs of partiality to our enemy. He argued also, that though we might not estimate the acquisition of the Danish ships very high, yet that, in the hands of the ruler of France, they might have been powerful instruments of annoyance. He had been informed, that had they fallen into his hands, together with the Russian and Swedish fleets, he would have had between Antwerp and the Baltic, no less than 70 sail of the line at his disposal. He concluded with stating, that should, as he expected, Mr. Sharp's motion be negatived, it was his intention to move a resolution something to the following effect: "That this house, considering his majesty's declaration which had been laid before the house, the state

state of Europe at the period of the conclusion of the treaty of Tilsit, and the decree of blockade issued against this country by the ruler of France, does highly approve of the prompt and vigorous measures adopted by his majesty's ministers, for the purpose of preventing the Danish navy from falling into the hands of the enemy."

Mr. Porcher followed on the same side.

Mr. Orde and Mr. H. Lushington spoke for the motion.

Lord Granville Leveson Gower hoped the house would indulge him while he stated a few facts, on the ground of which he felt himself bound to dissent from the resolution, and to support the amendment which it was proposed to introduce upon it. He had listened to all the arguments advanced to support the resolution, and there was not one among them which gave him reason to doubt that, if the expedition to Copenhagen had never taken place, we should now have been equally at war with Denmark as we are. It was the known and avowed determination of the French government to force all the continental powers to take a part in the war; and Denmark, it was notoriously known, wanted strength and resolution to resist the appeal. He had no doubt that Denmark would have preferred neutrality, if left to her option; but when the alternative of choosing between Britain and France would have been put to her, he had as little doubt that her inclination and her fears would have led her to prefer France. The house would recollect, from the correspondence of lord Howick with Mr. Rist and Mr. Garlicke, that when the court of Denmark was most loud in complaint of the order of council of the 7th of January, which was in strict conformity with the law of nations, it was, at the same time, taking all possible pains to palliate the French decrees, which went to violate the neutrality of every nation. He would also bring to the recollection of the house, that all English letters had been prevented from passing to and from the continent by means of the Danish post; and that Mr. Thornton had been, in consequence, obliged to make use of special messengers, when he wanted to send any dispatch of ever so little moment. It was also material to consider, that the new system of maritime law announced by Bonaparte was in perfect conformity with the known policy of the court of Denmark, with the principles which had employed the pens of the ablest Danish writers, and with the feelings and interests of the whole Danish people. From all these considerations, there was no doubt on his mind, that if Denmark was put to the alternative, as she certainly would have been, she would have preferred the alliance of France to that of Britain. With respect to Russia too, he felt himself obliged to dispute the principle, that because, from a neutral alliance with Britain, she was compelled to make peace and alliance with the enemy of Britain, no sincere or effectual cooperation in the designs of that enemy was to be apprehended from her. For his part, he saw but a short interval between the accusation of neglect on the part of Britain, with which Russia accounted for the necessity of concluding the peace of Tilsit, and a direct participation in the designs against England. He did not mean that Russia would have run hastily into such a war, but that when the alternative would have been put to

her, she would have taken part against England. It was not on secret intelligence merely he relied: the public answers given to public questions put by him made the same impression. When he stated to the Russian minister, as a ground for detaching Russia from any policy hostile to Britain, that what was injurious to Britain must be equally injurious to Russia, the answer was, "If you have any influence at home, persuade your government to make peace with France." With respect to what the peace that would be so made may be, the peace made by Russia herself, and every thing that followed upon that peace, would enable the house to judge. But there was another key also; for he remembered that, when the treaty of continental alliance was signed in 1805, while the emperor of Russia was ardent in the general opposition to the principles of France, and before he was yet disgusted by the events of the Austrian campaign, the Russian ministers would not sign it without reserving a right for their master to use his good offices with the king of England, for the correction of any thing contrary to the principles of justice, that may be found in the maritime code of England. England was, indeed, to have been managed by Russia for a time. The French expression was used by a person of high authority, whom it was not necessary to name, "*il faut pour le moment menager l'Angleterre.*" There was no room to doubt the ultimate hostile determination. The foundation of the whole power, and the principal designs of the hostile confederacy, was the Danish fleet; and in taking possession of that fleet, the foundation of the active hostility of the confederates was destroyed. He would maintain that no men in the situation in which his majesty's ministers were, and receiving the information he knew they had received, could avoid doing as they had done. The act was conformable to precedent, which, if not exactly coincident, was at least analogous. He thought the expedition itself a matter of course; the manner in which the means of carrying the design into execution were provided, and the manner of the execution, were entitled to the highest commendation.

Mr. Abercrombie spoke in support of the address moved by Mr. Sharp. It was admitted on all hands to be a departure from the acknowledged rule and practice of nations: and in order to justify this deviation, they ought to have proved that they neglected no means which might be calculated to stimulate Denmark to active exertion in her own defence; that Denmark was incapable of defending herself with the assistance of this country, which could only be done satisfactorily by the report of military officers; that in consequence of the expedition, they have procured for the country a substantial and permanent security; they ought also to have proved that the expedition was defensible, as well on the ground of policy as of justice. But as there was no evidence in the papers which had been laid before the house to prove any one of those positions, he should certainly vote for the address.

Mr. Robert Thornton vindicated the conduct of government, and thought it not right to do so by a silent vote, but to state his reasons, that he might not seem to contradict his vote on a former night, relative to the subject of a treaty made

made in our Indian possessions. He said that France had issued her decree over the continent, "the house of Brunswick has ceased to reign." He defended the conduct of ministers in the attack upon Copenhagen, from the hostile sentiments which Denmark was known to entertain against this country on a late occasion, and which she had likewise manifested in 1780 and in 1801. A great deal had been said upon the morality of the measure, but he reminded the house that ministers had a moral duty to perform to their own, as well as to other countries, which was to vindicate its rights, and to watch over its security and independence. Gentlemen also had talked much of the law of nations, forgetting the important circumstance, that now there were no nations on the continent of Europe but one. They had all been swallowed up in the vortex of France. Russia, Germany, and Denmark, were but other names for France. He should therefore vote for the resolution approving of their conduct.

The secretary at war said, that it had been laid down as a principle by a high authority, that when a nation was menaced by another, and a third power had resources which might easily be seized by the first power to annoy the second, the nation thus threatened had a right, in self-defence, to take possession of these resources if it could. That Denmark was unable to defend herself was perfectly clear, and had been proved by a chain of irresistible argument. That France had the disposition to possess herself of Denmark was equally clear. Denmark could not defend herself, and she was on the point of being invaded at the time the expedition was undertaken. French troops had assembled at Hamburgh; the Danish army in Holstein had taken no steps to retreat into Zealand; they had no transports for that purpose; they must have laid down their arms and surrendered at discretion. No dispositions, therefore, appeared on the part of Denmark to abandon their continental possessions, and to defend themselves in Zealand. This was further confirmed by the fact that the Danish fleet was not in a state of preparation to oppose the passage of the French from the continent. He read an extract from the dispatches to show, that some steps had at one time been taken towards such a precaution; but these had been abandoned, and when the moment of danger came she was perfectly unprovided. It was evident, therefore, that Denmark must have been compelled to throw herself into the arms of France.

Dr. Laurence observed, though all nations had been ingulfed in France, yet the principles of the law of nations would still remain in their full force. Necessity had been urged for this expedition. Certainly, if that necessity was fully proved, it would bring the case within the law of nations, for self-preservation was the first law of nature among nations as well as individuals. But this must be a real, clear, and incontestable necessity, and not what the caprice of a minister might call necessity. That real necessity had not been proved. The previous hostile mind of Denmark was totally out of the question, and he was sorry that any one had adverted to the particulars of the conduct of Denmark in 1780 and 1801. Upon this principle Sweden too ought to have been attacked in the same manner; for she had proclaimed the doctrine,

that free bottoms made free goods, as well as Denmark. If former conduct was to be taken into account, there was no violation of law and justice that might not be defended. The next point was, the engagements under which Russia had come with France. But it was impossible that ministers themselves could have believed that Russia had engaged to compel Denmark and Sweden to join with her in hostilities against this country. The impossibility of any such belief was evident from the conduct which they themselves had adopted with regard to Russia. He allowed that Russia might possibly have been at war with us, whether the Danish ships had been seized or not. But there might be a war into which a nation might be driven by an external force, in which, however, she would not put forth half her strength. This would have been the hostility of Russia; but now that was turned into an inveteate enmity. Could France have seized the Danish fleet against the will of the Danish government? Sicily had as yet been defended; Sardinia was still safe; and there was a little comfortable ditch between us and France, and that ditch the French had not been able to pass. Why, then, could not Zealand be defended? That the Danes would have adhered to England when the moment of extremity came, he argued, from the evident interests of Denmark. It would have been insanity in Denmark, as some of the Danes themselves affirmed, to have chosen to join France against England. The disposition of the prince evidently was not to give way to France, as clearly appeared from the papers on the table; and his character was stated by Mr. Garlicke as a safeguard against all the efforts of the French party. He mentioned several minute circumstances to prove the sincerity of Denmark towards this country; but what put it beyond dispute, was the number of Danish vessels in our ports, the greater part of which might have got away if the Danish consul had not assured the masters that there was no reason to apprehend any hostility with this country. The Danes had then every disposition to defend themselves; we could have assisted them if their means had been deficient, and there was not therefore even a pretence of necessity for this expedition.

Mr. Fitzgerald said, that in the papers before the house he saw nothing that could justify the attack on Denmark. She had, it appeared, determined to follow a line of perfect neutrality, and whether this was conducive to British interests or not, it did not make out that necessity upon which this expedition could alone be defended. The attack, therefore, he at first considered as one of inexpiable atrocity, and afterwards hoped that some evidence would have been adduced to justify it. He had, however, found none. From an analysis of the papers, he showed, that Denmark had openly avowed her resolution of persevering in her neutrality; and distinctly stated to us, that if France should seize upon Holstein, &c. she would immediately form a strict alliance with Russia and England. This policy, they justly contended, would in the end be most favourable to England. It would have been the evident interest of Denmark to have acted thus, and this was the best security that they would have done so. They would have abandoned, in case of necessity, their less valuable possessions,

sessions, and would have, with our assistance, endeavoured to defend the more valuable. It had been said, that the defence of ministers had been full of inconsistencies. The truth of this was confirmed by the line of argument taken by their adherents this night. The hon. secretary at war had said, that the Danish troops could not have been conveyed from Holstein to Zealand, for want of transports. How then could the French have passed to Zealand? It was proved from the best authority that Zealand might have been defended. It had been admitted by some on his side, that we might probably have been at war with Russia, whether this attack had taken place or not. From whatever sources they had derived that information he did not know. They certainly could not have found it in these papers; as every disposition appeared before on the part both of Russia and Denmark to keep well with us, and it was evidently their policy to do so. It had for some time been the object of Bonaparte to persuade the nations of the continent that we were actuated by a narrow, selfish policy. Whatever his means might be, they could not enable him entirely to accomplish this. But what Bonaparte could never have done, ministers in a great measure had effected. Their conduct had created an impression which the ability of any future ministers would not be able entirely to efface. In the declaration of the noble lord (Gower) to Russia, there was an assertion, that "the safety of his majesty's crown and the existence of this country" depended on the seizure of these Danish ships! This had been sanctioned by ministers. But he asked, what sort of impression could this have conveyed to the nations of the north of Europe, of the power of the British empire? And what encouragement could it have held out to them to adhere to us in opposition to France? If our safety and existence depended on the possession of these sixteen ships, we were at present in a most desperate situation. He was sorry that, almost on the first occasion he had offered himself to the attention of the house, he should be obliged thus to condemn the proceedings of his country. But ministers had, by tarnishing the honour of the country, compelled him to this. He saw no real necessity for this outrage upon justice and the law of nations, but was forced to acknowledge that the transaction still carried on the face of it all its original atrocity.

Mr. Croker concluded a long speech by declaring that in his opinion the fullest evidence had been adduced in support of the necessity of our proceedings at Copenhagen; the only evidence which had been adduced against it was that of the Moniteur, whence the honourable gentlemen opposite had derived not only their evidence, but the very arguments by which they endeavoured to contradict their sovereign, to vilify his ministers, and to insult their country. The papers on the table proved that France had been endeavouring with all her art to cajole the Danes, and that the Danes were very willing to be cajoled. But the chief question was, whether France had it in view to seize the Danish navy, and whether France had the power to do so. It was contended on all hands that France had that desire, and it was allowed by lord Howick in all his dispatches. It was avowed by France herself; it was manifest to all Europe that she had the pow-

er. What proof could be superadded?

Mr. Whitbread took a comprehensive view of the subject, and answered all the arguments that had been urged at different times in favour of the expedition. The term "shabby iniquity," he maintained, was completely suited to the conduct of ministers on that occasion; its application was supported by the manner in which such an expression would be likely to be used in common life. If a person was to be guilty of a petty theft against a poor weak person, when at the same time it was seen that the thief had refrained from the commission of a robbery where more booty was to be gained, but with a greater risk, it might fairly be said, that such a man was a shabby thief, that he was detestable for his iniquity, and contemptible for his cowardice. After slightly noticing some observations that fell from other honourable members, he dwelt with force upon what had been stated by a noble lord near him (lord Granville Leveson Gower); that noble lord, with a degree of authority which attached to the situation which he lately held, came forward in that house, if he conceived his meaning rightly, to throw an imputation on the sovereign with whom he but a short time back held intimate communications, and to contradict those friends with whom he lately acted, without using a single argument in support of the position he assumed; the presumption that we should certainly have had a war with Russia, if the expedition to Copenhagen had not taken place: this conjecture he supported by the confederacies of 1780 and 1801, in both of which cases Sweden took the lead of Denmark; and when it was universally acknowledged, that no great measure was adopted by the powers of the north of Europe, without the concurrence, the hearty and sincere approbation, or a positively stipulated agreement, to which Russia was a party. But then it was said, that Denmark was in a state of greater preparation. A noble lord, however, had stated, that he had seen them in as good a state forty years ago; and he (Mr. Whitbread), at least, could vouch that he had seen them equally numerous and equally equipped twenty-four years ago. Was the house to be informed by the first diplomatic character, perhaps, in that house, or was the weight of his authority to be lent to such an assertion, as that we were now possessed of all the naval power of Denmark? Was it to be supposed that the naval hulks of sixteen ships, with a certain number of bolts of canvass, was the whole of the naval strength of Denmark? Have we got a single man of its naval population in our hands? and is it not more than probable, that Sweden will be shortly compelled to fit out her shipping against us, and that any deficiency as to seamen will be supplied from Denmark? We shall then have the whole of the Danish and Swedish naval force in fact against us, that is, we shall have their men fighting against us, and that too when they must evidently be animated with a spirit of enthusiasm, which nothing but our aggression could have given birth to. But thus says the noble lord (Granville Leveson Gower), there is no set of ministers that would not have done the same. Have we not the authority of the noble lord by his side (H. Petty), that he would do no such thing? Had the house not had the declaration

ration of a right hon. friend of his (Mr. Windham), who was absent, of his detestation of the measure under all its circumstances? Had they not heard, that the most complete disavowal of the principles that were here acted upon, was pronounced by a noble relation of his who was now in the other house of parliament? Did not every man who heard him know that such conduct was disclaimed by lord Grenville, lord Holland, and every other member of the late administration? And yet the noble lord (Granville Leveson Gower) could gravely state to this assembly that he believed such would have been the conduct of any administration!

Mr. secretary Canning vindicated the conduct and consistency of his noble friend, and asserted, that though, from the communications received from him, he had not any sanguine expectation that hostility with Russia could be avoided, it had been his and his colleagues' wish to avail themselves of every opportunity that might offer of restoring a perfect good understanding between the two countries. The eventual hostility with Russia was to have been apprehended; they yet had a hope, that, in the interval, some circumstance might occur, which, if improved, might preserve the relations between the two nations undisturbed. This was precisely consonant to the views held out, and the communications made by his noble friend. But whilst they felt a hope that war might be avoided, it was their duty not to have neglected any measure of security against the combination of Russia, which was the most probable alternative. The honourable gentleman who had just sat down, had again insisted on an argument, which all who had preceded him appeared to have abandoned, viz. that the expedition to Copenhagen had produced the war with Russia. If the papers on the table did not prove that not to have been the case, if the Russian declaration since published, if the conduct of Russia towards Sweden, did not disprove it, he could refer to the authority of a person of the first rank in Russia, to prove the contrary to have been the case. Count Romanzow, in his interview with the English merchants at St. Petersburgh, stated as one of the instances of our barbarous conduct to Russia, that we had detained a frigate laden with specie, to which they replied, that it had happened after a declaration of war: Aye, said count Romanzow, but did we not suffer the Astræa frigate laden with specie to depart after we had determined to go to war with Great Britain? The Astræa had sailed from Memel on the 27th of July, months before any declaration of war, and weeks before any intelligence could have been received of the expedition to Copenhagen. This circumstance showed that that expedition was not the cause of the war. As to the indignation expressed by the honourable gentleman, because his noble friend had stated, that any administration would have acted in the same manner under the same circumstances, he had but to observe, that as his noble friend thought differently of the measure from the hon. gentleman, it was not surprising that he should have said that those ministers, who had undertaken the expedition to Lisbon, would have acted in the same manner at Copenhagen. But he would have reason to be offended, if his noble friend had asserted the converse of this proposition; that those who had

had acted at Copenhagen would have conducted the Lisbon expedition, in the manner in which it had been conducted. He quoted several passages from the instructions to lords St. Vincent and Rosslyn, to show that these instructions were a mass of accumulated frauds and delusion; and after guarding himself against misconstruction, by stating that the name of the venerated character that appeared affixed to it, was only there in form, as from the state of his health at the time, it was impossible that it could have been his production, he declared, in the face of the house, that these instructions he would not himself have signed. When he had found them in the office, he did not believe that they were the production of that great man, and on inquiry had discovered that the instructions had been drawn up by a right hon. colleague of that venerated person, who acted for him during the latter part of his illness. If this was the old system of morality, if these were the frauds and delusions practised by the priests of the old school, he thanked God they had been departed from. Such delusions might often have been practised, but he had never seen them so set down before. He knew not how these instructions could be defended. It might be upon the difference of the imminence of the peril. At the time of the Lisbon expedition, Bonaparte was distracted with a rising continental war; at the period of the Copenhagen expedition, he was combining conquered Europe against this country: in the former case, the fleet of Portugal could not easily be brought to act in conjunction with any other naval force; the Danish fleet, on the contrary, was the point where a junction most formidable to Britain, of the northern fleets, might have been effected: the peril was not more imminent for an army placed at a six weeks march distance at Bayonne, than to Holstein from an army at Hamburgh. The force sent out to Copenhagen was such as to ensure the success of the expedition with the least possible loss; and the naked opinion of Mr. Garlicke was not to be taken without the circumstances, under which he stated, that the Danish fleet should make no effort to defend Holstein, that she should have a timely concert with Sweden, and that a good understanding should continue between Great Britain and Russia. Notice of these contingencies had taken place. The measure was to be defended without proceeding one step from the law of nature or nations; and whatever might be the vote of that night, he and his colleagues would have the satisfaction to reflect, that their measures had been succe sful, and promoted the security of the empire.

Lord Henry Petty and Mr. Sharp replied; when the house divided:

For the motion - -	64
Against it - - -	224
Majority - -	160

Mr. Stewart Wortley then moved the thanks of thanks of the house to ministers for their conduct in this expedition, which was carried by a majority of 155.

We now proceed to give in a summary way what passed in the house of commons respecting the orders of council, beginning with a motion of

Lord Henry Petty, who, on March 3d, after adverting to the importance of every topic connected with a subject of so great a magnitude as the orders of council, said

said that the house must be desirous of obtaining as much information respecting them as could be given. Their object was to impose duties upon the reexportation of certain articles, which were to be imported into this country before they could be carried to the continent. But without the cooperation of our allies, this object could not be attained, and the orders would be as completely nugatory as if they had never been issued or acted upon. Notwithstanding, however, the necessity of this cooperation in order to give them effect, the house was wholly without information of the steps which had been taken to procure it, and whether they had proved successful or unsuccessful. It was evident that our allies could not, with any sort of justice, be compelled to cooperate with us in these measures of maritime regulation; and if they did not see the policy of these measures in the same light that we did, the house was in the situation of being called upon to sanction a bill, the enactments of which might be entirely frustrated by the refusal of foreign powers to concur in them. The Americans, for instance, might carry to Sweden cotton, and the other articles on which it was proposed to impose a duty in this country; and what assurance had ministers that the government of Sweden, instead of imposing corresponding duties, would not avail themselves of the opportunity afforded by the system which we were adopting, to convert that country into a commercial depôt for supplying the continent with those very articles which it was the object of ministers to prevent reaching the continent? If, for example, America should find that she had an alternative of carrying these articles to the continent, either by touching at a British or Swedish port, and that a duty was levied upon them in the former and not in the latter, it must be obvious that an American captain would have little hesitation respecting the course which he would pursue; and that he would prefer touching at Gottenburgh, where he would have no duty to pay, to touching at Liverpool or London, where a certain tribute would be exacted from him before he could proceed to Memel or any other continental port.—Through Sweden, therefore, which commanded, to a certain degree, the navigation of the Elbe and the Oder, the whole of the north of Germany might be supplied with those articles of which it was the object of the orders of council to deprive the continent. And, in like manner, if the king of Sardinia refused to cooperate with our system, Italy might be supplied with the prohibited articles through that channel. Perhaps it was the object of ministers, in sending out a minister to Sardinia, to obtain this cooperation, for he knew nothing else that he could have to do at that court in present circumstances. It was certainly however of importance that the house should be informed of the assurances which ministers had received of the intentions of our allies to concur in the system which was now recommended to the house for its sanction, as without this concurrence its object might be completely frustrated. On these grounds the noble lord moved that "a humble address be presented to his majesty, that his majesty may be graciously pleased to cause that there be laid before the house the substance of all communications which have passed between his majesty's government and the powers at enmity

mity with this country in Europe, on the subject of the orders of council of the 11th of November last, previous or subsequent to their being issued."

The chancellor of the exchequer rose to give his negative to the motion of the noble lord, upon the following grounds: In the first place, the observations of the noble lord were applicable to the article of cotton only: and, in the next place, he informed the house, that there was no disinclination whatever on the part of his majesty's allies to concur in the system which government had found it expedient to adopt in the present period of the war; and that assurances had been received from Sweden, in particular, of the willingness of that government to give every facility for carrying that system into full effect. A general assurance of this nature had been received; but it could not be supposed, that any distinct and decisive expression of approbation of the whole details of the measure had been received, because these details were not yet finally arranged, and were still subject to the decision of parliament. Besides, the measure itself was not, as had been stated, dependent for effect upon the cooperation of Sweden, or of any other power; for its principle went to declare all the ports subject to the dominion or control of the enemy in a state of blockade; and this blockade might be enforced in regard to the allies of this country as well as in regard to neutrals. The difficulty, therefore, which the noble lord had started, was, in the first place, unfounded in point of fact; and, in the next place, if it did arise, we had the remedy completely in our own power.

Sir Arthur Piggott asked if it was not proposed to levy a tax upon the exportation of sugar? He understood this to be the intention; and, if so, it might be carried direct from America to Sweden: and as Sweden had no sugar colonies except the small island of St. Bartholomew, and consequently had no sugar monopoly to protect, he did not think it probable that the government of that country would concur in imposing a duty upon this article merely to secure the British monopoly. He wished to know, therefore, what assurances ministers had received that Gottenburgh would not be converted into a depôt for supplying the continent with colonial produce.

The chancellor of the exchequer replied, that government had received general assurances of the readiness of Sweden to concur in giving effect to the measure.

Mr. Ponsonby said, that if the king of Sardinia cooperated in the measure, the result of this cooperation, as to him, would be to deprive him of the only part of his dominions of which he was still in possession: and if Sweden refused to cooperate, which he thought not at all improbable, the right hon. gentleman had told the house that she was to be compelled to concur in it. And this was a reward which was to be conferred upon our only remaining ally! this the encouragement which we held out to other nations to attach themselves to our cause! this the motive which we presented to those powers by whom we had been deserted, to return to their old connection with us!

Mr. secretary Canning and several other members spoke on the subject; after which

Lord Henry Petty replied, and the house divided;

Ayes

Ayes - - -	71
Noes - - -	130
Majority - -	59

General Gascoyne stated, that he had in his hand a petition against the regulations of the orders of council, from some hundreds of the most respectable merchants of Liverpool: many of them he himself knew, and they were not more respectable for the extent of their dealings than their excellent characters in private life. If the house were as well acquainted as he was with the extensive dealings and high characters of those whose signatures were affixed to this petition, they would have the most lively sense of its importance, and feel it incumbent upon them to give the most serious consideration to its contents. He would not at present enter into the policy of the orders of council, or discuss the principle of that measure; but expressed his hope, that when it was considered how much the interests of his constituents were implicated, and the vast importance of the object at stake, the house would not reject this application. Those who signed this petition, did not wish to prevent the carrying on of the war with vigour: they did not wish to avoid the necessary taxes; nor were they under any apprehensions as to the result of the war, provided it was carried on in the usual way. But they could not conceal their apprehensions of this commercial warfare, where, from the nature of the circumstances, France must suffer comparatively little, while Britain must suffer severely. The American trade was carried on in the town of Liverpool to a greater extent than in all the rest of the kingdom put together; three-fourths of the whole belonging to that place. When the house therefore considered the magnitude of the interests concerned, he hoped they would at least attend to the statements in the petition. He would state the result of the trade of Liverpool within these few years. On an average of the last ten years it amounted to 10,000,000*l.* annually. The imports of the last year alone were upwards of 123,300 tons of shipping. The dock duties, &c. for the last three years, amounted to more than 31,000*l.* annually: the disbursements were 150,000*l.* annually, independent of the expenses of discharging cargoes, &c. which amounted to a much larger sum. In the last year the American trade was about half their whole trade, and the year before the same. How then could Liverpool be indifferent to a circumstance endangering one half of her whole trade? He was astonished that they had not come forward sooner. When it was considered how much the surrounding manufacturers would be affected by any serious injury to the trade of Liverpool, and the extensive consequences that must result from it, he was most anxious that the petition should not be rejected. It was expressed in the most guarded way, and kept as much as possible clear of the question of duties: and he therefore hoped it would be permitted to be read.

[The petition being objected to, as it was against a bill imposing duties, which the house never admitted,]

Mr. Tierney seconded the motion for receiving the petition, in a speech of considerable length and great ability, concluding the present petition was not a party one, nor could such a thing be even alleged, for it was known, that

many

many who signed it were friendly to administration. Would ministers thus aggravate the distress of the people? He had given them credit for pitying them; but if they rejected this petition, he would give them no such credit. Here we were told not of forty thousand people, as in the other petitions, but of four hundred thousand, who would be deprived of bread by the destruction of the Liverpool trade; a circumstance that would spread devastation over all the surrounding country. Usage in such a case as this ought to stand by, as the petitioners had been shut out by the neglect of the house. He said, that the same course ought to have been taken here as in the case of the convoy tax, where a committee of trade and navigation had been appointed. He had thought this from the beginning a most important point, and now the difficulty began to be felt. The forms of the house were the perfection of wisdom for the convenience of business, as the common law had been called the perfection of reason. The departure from these had placed the house in this unpleasant predicament. But it was impossible that the house could, with any shadow of justice or prudence, refuse to hear the petitioners in some way or other.

The chancellor of the exchequer stated that, according to the established rules of the house, it was impossible that the petition could be received. If even gentlemen were to forfeit the affection of their constituents, it was not to be supposed that they would, by supporting the motion of the hon. gentleman, break through a rule which had been observed by parliament for upwards of a century. There was not a single clause in the bill that did not enact a duty, or regulate the provisions under which it was to be raised, or the manner in which it was to be collected; there was no other purpose, no other object whatever, throughout the whole of the bill. Unless the house agreed to reverse the long established usage of the house, they must refuse their assent to the motion of the hon. gentleman; as the house had not thought proper to receive any petition against a tax bill, during the session in which it had been introduced, for many years.

Mr. Ponsonby declared that he really pitied the right hon. gentleman (the chancellor of the exchequer); for every step by which he advanced in the progress of the present bill, appeared only to throw fresh difficulties in his way, and to expose him to fresh disgrace. At first, when he was asked if duties were his object, he answered, "Oh, no! it is all matter of regulation, it rests entirely on the king's prerogative; the duty was not the object of the bill." But now, it seems, the chancellor of the exchequer is driven to another shift, and says the duty is every thing; and for that reason, as it is a money bill, the people of England must not be allowed to petition against it; and it was to be supposed that they would rest satisfied with this quibbling sort of argument. But, to examine that case of prerogative: Supposing the king had, by right of his undoubted prerogative, thought proper to declare war at a time when parliament was not sitting, and afterwards, when parliament met, he was, by the mouth of the chancellor of the exchequer, to come down to parliament with a demand of money to support that war; some stupid fellow, who happened to sit opposite the chancellor

of

of the exchequer, might say, "I don't like voting this money until I know the object of the war. I must know the purpose for which it is carried on, and see whether I approve of the principle of the war or not. I must see whether this money may not be raised for carrying into effect a measure which may be detrimental to the interest of the country." Would the chancellor of the exchequer then rise up in his place and say, "Oh, you have nothing to do with that: the war already exists: that is a part of the king's prerogative, and you must not meddle with it?" Or if gentlemen were to rest satisfied with that mode of arguing, could it be supposed, that he could afterwards turn round, when a petition came into the house, and say, "This is not what I took it to be: it is not a measure of prerogative, it is one for raising money, properly originating in the house of commons, and you can have no right to petition against it: it has nothing to do with prerogative?" Did the right hon. gentleman find this mode of arguing with the people of England or their representatives, used by his predecessors, or has he ever heard it used by the lowest practitioner in that profession to which he has the honour to belong? No; the gentlemen who preceded him and his colleagues in the administration of the affairs of this country were too honourable men to adopt such petty subterfuges: they were such as would disgrace an attorney. The whole substance and design of the petition was directed against the orders of council, and not against the paltry duties, as might have been collected from the speech of the honourable gentleman who made the motion. Then how could it be objected to, on the ground of its being a petition against the raising of duties? He was really surprised at the confidence of the right hon. gentleman (the chancellor of the exchequer), and he must confess that in a new measure, such as this was, so great a degree of confidence could not belong to a wise man. On a new measure, like the present, he should have thought that the right hon. gentleman would have taken the advice of others, even if they were inferior in ability to himself; but wisdom was usually accompanied by modesty, and subtleness was almost inseparable from obstinate self-confidence. If the hon. gentleman had taken the advice of others upon the subject, he really believed he would not, in such an instance as the present, where the interests of many respectable persons were concerned, have set up general usage as if it were a standing order of the house, but would have supported, instead of opposed, the motion for receiving this petition.

Lord Castlereagh confessed the difficulty with which he rose to answer the speech of the right hon. gentleman. The address of the right hon. gentleman was such as to impress the mind at times with some considerable degree of awe. But that, in fact, was no more than might be expected from the leader of the party. As long as he was able to keep the question out of view, he had the capacity to excite some degree of sensation in the minds of those who heard him; but whenever he touched upon the question, he became exposed to the fire of his adversaries. The fact was, that the orders of council were issued on the authority of the belligerent power of his majesty. It was now the object of his majesty's servants

servants to act with a greater degree of mitigation towards neutrals; and this was to be effected by the enactment of certain duties. If the argument of the right hon. gentleman was to be admitted, it might stand good against all tax bills whatever that should be brought into the house. If his majesty's servants had advised the blockade in its full extent to be carried into execution, and if there was any form that would permit their doing so, the merchants might have petitioned. But the duty, which was only incidental, was what the house could not hear petitioned against, unless they opened a door for petitions against every measure of taxation.

Mr. Sheridan complimented his right hon. friend (Mr. Ponsonby) for his luminous display of the question before the house. For that display he thought the house and the petitioners owed him the strongest obligations of gratitude. But this was one of the many occasions in which his right hon. friend justified the respect and confidence reposed in him by the party with which he had the honour to act. When the noble lord called his right hon. friend the leader of a party, he was surprised to hear some gentlemen call to order. For certainly that was a title which properly belonged to his right hon. friend. For himself, indeed, he had no hesitation in saying, that there was no man whom he would be more ready to confide in and to follow than his right hon. friend, from a full conviction of his integrity, honour, ability, and character. With respect to the question before the house, he thought the object of the gentlemen on the other side was, to refuse the subject that sacred privilege of petitioning, which was guarantied to him by the bill of rights. That such a refusal had never occurred on any similar occasion, he was prepared to show. He recollected many instances analogous in their nature, in which such petitions had been received: he meant where matters of regulation were blended with duties. He cited that of the petition from the hawkers and pedlars, in Mr. Pitt's administration, which was quite in point. In that case, some objection was made; but after a discussion the objection was given up, and the petition was received.—This example would, he hoped, influence the gentlemen on the other side. But the fact was, as it appeared to his mind, that this petition did not come within the scope of the principle from which the practice sprang, for which the gentlemen on the other side contended. That principle was, as defined by Mr. Hatsel, that as all the subjects were interested in opposing the introduction of a tax upon themselves, it was proper not to allow petitions against a tax in the session in which such tax was proposed. But the tax proposed in the bill to which this petition applied not being to be levied on English subjects, but upon foreigners, that principle was not, of course, applicable to it.

Many other gentlemen spoke; when the house divided:

For receiving the petition	80
Against it - - -	128
Majority - -	48

Another petition on the same subject was presented by Mr. Tierney on the following day, which was likewise rejected.

On the 10th Mr. alderman Combe presented a petition from the merchants

chants trading to America against the orders of council; which being received, general Gascoyne presented one of a similar nature from the merchants of Liverpool; which being likewise ordered to lie on the table, the general was about to move that it be taken into consideration on Monday; when he was reminded, that as the third reading of the bill stood for this day, the measure might before Monday be out of the power of the house.

It was therefore moved by Mr. Whitbread, that counsel be heard against the order of council now. This motion was negatived; and after several motions, debates and divisions for adjourning the third reading of the bill, it was agreed to defer it till next day; when, after the reading of a petition against the "orders of council" from Manchester, Mr. Baring spoke against the bill, both on the score of justice and expediency:—but as we have already reported debates upon the same subject, we shall not, at present, enter very largely into the business.

Mr. Rose observed, that in framing the orders of council, the utmost possible care had been taken to avoid giving any cause of hostility to America. He denied that any inflammatory language had been used on his side of the house with respect to America; and expressed a wish that the gentlemen on the opposite benches would beware of attempting to persuade America that a disposition existed in the present government to provoke war with that country. No man deprecated such an event more than he did, and yet he denied that the benefits resulting from American neutrality were so great as they had been represented. It had been said, that the Americans were the chief instruments in conveying our manufactures to the continent. This, however, was not the fact, and there were many present who knew it as well as he did. The exports to America had been stated at ten millions. They were certainly upwards of nine millions, but of these not much above one half were consumed there, and therefore the Americans were our carriers to a considerable extent; but in case of a war with America, there were other channels by which the surplus above the consumption of America could be carried to the places where it was wanted. Among other instances of the disposition to keep well with America, he mentioned the large compensation (about one million) which had been awarded to that country for the unjust sentences of our prize courts abroad, which had not then been under the same regulations as they were now. He justified the measure upon the ground, that the principle had been recognised by the order of council of the 7th of January; and from an account of the amount of our exports, since the present orders of council had been promulgated, compared with our exports in former years, he drew the conclusion that they were no less expedient than just.

Mr. Edward Morris, after paying many compliments to the judge of the admiralty court, proceeded to controvert the doctrines which he had advanced on this subject on a former night. He admitted that we had a right to retaliate upon our enemy: but we had not a right to visit upon America the sins of France, unless America had acquiesced in the French decrees. If the learned judge could prove

that acquiescence, no doubt the case was made out; but America had not acquiesced, and why should we retaliate upon her? The learned judge had said, that if a man on horseback was pursued by an assassin, and, in his effort to escape, rode over an innocent person, he was justified. This, however, supposed that there was no other method of escape, and that the danger was so pressing and imminent that there was no time to allow the innocent man to get out of the way. But with regard to America, the danger was not so imminent, nor was retaliating upon her the means of saving us. He went on to prove that several other conclusions drawn by the learned judge from the principles of the law of nations, were erroneous, and cited Grotius, Vattel, &c. in corroboration of his arguments.

Mr. Hall spoke at some length, in favour of the orders.

The solicitor general deprecated, with considerable warmth, the taunts and aspersions thrown out against the good faith, honour, and morality, of the existing government of the country; aspersions at all times mischievous, but at the present awful crisis alarmingly dangerous, as calculated to excite a distrust in the people that might be attended with fatal consequences. The learned gentleman then contended, that the question of municipal law had been given up by the other side, and that there was not an authority in any one book, from the earliest times of the history of this country, to justify the objection of the law of nations being violated in the orders of council. He proceeded at great length to invalidate the objections to, and justify the arguments in favour of, the justice, policy, and legality of the orders of council, which have been before given to our readers.

Mr. Grattan was of opinion, that the name, morality, and character of this country were the only strength which it retained upon the continent; and that whatever was fatal to its character must be fatal to its interests. Viewing the measure before the house as inconsistent with justice, and of course injurious to the character of England, he felt himself bound to oppose it. He deprecated the idea of acting upon the principles of France, by pursuing the system which gave birth to this measure, and thus taking away the best of our friends, by involving us in war with America. No measure should be more studiously avoided by England, than that which threatened to deprive us of the affections of America, or was likely to lead to a war with that country. For the effect of a war with America would be to render the interests of France triumphant, and to engage our fleets in the service of the enemy. None of the arguments of the learned gentleman who preceded him, or those who supported him, served to show that the empire would be benefited in its financial, commercial, manufacturing or political interests, by these orders of council, while the evils they menaced were obvious. There were two capital faults in the speech of the learned gentleman who had just sat down; the one of law, the other of fact. He was erroneous in his definition of the law of nations, and his conception of the principles of the late ministers. For the law of nations could never sustain the notion, that because the

decree

decree of one belligerent might affect the interests of neutrals, the other belligerent was warranted in controlling the trade of neutrals altogether. And in order to understand the principles of the late ministers, gentlemen had only to look to the letter of lord Howick to Mr. Erskine, and to the memorial of lord Holland and lord Auckland to the American commissioners, from both of which it would be seen that the further proceedings which the late ministers proposed to take against neutrals, were only in case they acquiesced in the French decree. They did not call upon neutrals to resist that decree, as the learned gentleman argued; and therefore the assertion was unfounded, that the present ministers acted upon the principles of their predecessors. According to these principles, America, not having acquiesced, should not have been proceeded against upon the grounds stated. Indeed, the faith of the British government was pledged to America in the dispatches he had referred to, that no such proceedings should be taken.

The right honourable gentleman laughed at the idea of reducing the tone of the enemy, or pressing him to peace, by any privations the operation of this bill might produce upon the continent. We might refuse our jesuits' bark to the French soldiers; we might inflict pains and penalties by the acrimony of statutes upon those who were saved from the severity of war; but the calculation was contemptible, that by such an expedient, or by refusing tea and sugar, we could coerce the French or the Spaniards, or least of all Bonaparte. On the contrary, we should only enable that potentate to injure our reputation and inflame the prejudices of his subjects against us. Therefore, this measure would not injure the enemy, while it would expose us to odium.

With regard to the commercial effects of the bill before the house, the question was, whether it would be politic in us to deprive France of her commerce? Such might be the policy of Bonaparte, but it could not be ours; for France deprived of her commerce would become more formidable to us; she would become a nation of soldiers. But if the commerce of the continent were done away, what was to become of the commerce of England? France and England would return to their natural relations, and if so, the advantage must be on the side of the enemy; therefore it was quite absurd for England to talk of destroying commerce.

Mr. Bankes maintained, that, as far as any other nation was concerned, we were not guilty of any violation of the principle of justice by our adoption of the present measure. But, when he looked at it in a commercial view, as far as regarded our own manufactures, he confessed that he, for one, was deficient in information as to that point; it was not unlikely that some other gentlemen might be in a similar predicament. And, now that petitioners had been let into the house, and their prayer heard in the first instance; now that they were ordered to be heard by their counsel; he confessed, that in justice to his own character, and in justice to the character of parliament, he wished to see them pause, until something was heard from America, or until, by hearing counsel further, they obtained further information for themselves; and to do an act of justice to the petitioners before the passing of the present bill.

Mr. Wilberforce concurred with his honourable friend (Mr. Bankes) as to the principle of right. But he was sorry that he found himself bound to differ as to the idea of pausing before the passing of the bill. Such conduct might possibly be construed on that side of the Atlantic into a want of decision on our parts. Then, as to the effect which the measure might have upon our own manufactures, it was to be considered that they were already shut out of the continent; that we owed it as a paternal act of kindness to the suffering manufacturers of this country, to show that we were inclined, by passing this, or some other measure of the same description, to pay some attention to their interests, and to resent the injury which had been done to them.

Lord Henry Petty, in answer to his honourable friend who had just sat down, observed that more good might possibly result to the country, and certainly it would be more creditable to the English legislature, to act with temper and moderation, at least to endeavour to have reason on our side, as far as regarded our relations with America; and to show ourselves so far just towards our suffering manufacturers, that at least we should hear their complaints before we decided upon the merits of them. The latter of these points, however, was most strongly urged by his honourable friend on the same bench with him (Mr. Bankes); but there were other points to which he wished to call the attention of the house. A message had been delivered from his majesty, in which it was stated, that (a heavy sum indeed to the already burthened people of this country) one hundred thousand pounds a month was to be given to the king of Sweden, and yet no one act of effective co-operation was stated on the part of that power, nor did he know whether he would be likely to assist us in carrying this measure into execution. Then, with respect to the warehousing of East India goods, it was at variance with a law already established. In another particular it was defective, inasmuch as it made no provision for regulating the trade with our own colonies; so that the Americans, as the bill now stood, need only to send their goods to one of our West India islands, there land them, and have them reshipped direct for France.

Mr. Canning supported the principle of the bill, which was an experiment rendered necessary by the unprecedented situation of affairs.

Mr. Whitbread opposed the measure.

The house divided for the third reading of the bill:

Ayes	168
Noes	68
Majority	100

On Friday the 18th, on the motion of Mr. alderman Combe, counsel was called into the house in behalf of the petitioners of London, Liverpool, Manchester, &c. Having stated the case with perspicuity and much conciseness, he proceeded to call witnesses to prove the injury done to trade by the orders of council. The examination of witnesses continued in both houses several days at different periods of the sessions, among whom, we understand, was Mr. Thomas Martin, of the house of Martin, Thornly, and Hope, of Liverpool, who gave such an exposition of facts as made a considerable impression upon those who were appointed to hear

hear and determine the important question. On the 1st of April, Mr. Brougham, the counsel for the petitioners, summed up the evidence in support of the allegations contained in the petitions; upon which

The chancellor of the exchequer observed, that if the house were to proceed to a determination on the case, as it at present stood, they would proceed in utter ignorance of the subject which they had to decide upon. He should, therefore, after the house had resumed, propose that the chairman report progress, and that he have leave to sit again on Monday, when such further evidence might be heard as it would be of importance that the house should hear before it came to a decision on the subject. The evidence at present was materially defective; and Mr. Glennie, upon whose testimony the learned counsel had laid so much weight, was not sufficiently qualified by his line of practice to lead the house to a determination.

Mr. Tierney expressed his satisfaction at hearing that the resistance to the orders of council was now considered of so much importance, that further evidence was deemed necessary, notwithstanding the right honourable gentleman (the chancellor of the exchequer) had, in the first place, thought it unnecessary that any witness at all should be examined. He should, however, now that the right honourable and learned gentleman had condescended so far, and thinking as he did, that the orders of council were unintelligible, move, when their address could be found out, that the thirty-four gentlemen who had subscribed the counter-petition, and who belonged to the club of which the worthy baronet opposite (sir Charles Price) was the head, should be called to the bar, in order that they might prove their understanding of these orders. As to Mr. Glennie, of whom the right honourable gentleman had taken notice, he must observe, that his evidence was most clear and intelligent, and therefore useful to the house, as his was the testimony of a commercial man of a most clear understanding, most extensive experience, and most respectable character.

Mr. Whitbread observed, that it might have escaped the right honourable gentleman at the time unguardedly; but certainly, if he had considered a moment, he would not have spoken as he had of Mr. Glennie; he was a man of as high a character, as extensive commercial concerns, and as refined an education, as any of the commercial men that sat near that right hon. gentleman. With respect to the bill for enforcing the orders of council, since this tardy justice was now going to be done to the public, he should hope, that as it contained a clause for its repeal within the session, the house would avail itself of that power which was given in a former discussion on that bill, and correct its own error, when they heard every evidence that could be adduced on the subject.—Several other members spoke, and the house adjourned.

The subject was resumed and evidence heard at different periods through almost the whole session.

In the house of lords the orders of council occasioned similar discussions: petitions were presented to their lordships; counsel was heard, and witnesses examined. Having, however, gone through the detail of what passed in one house, it is not necessary to refer

any further to the subject, than to give a short account of the motions of the earl of Lauderdale, lord Grenville, and lord Holland.

March 22. Lord Lauderdale rose to make his motion against the commercial policy of the orders in council. In a speech of considerable length, the noble lord argued against the principles on which the orders had issued, and contended, that they would ultimately destroy our commercial interests with America, and the general prosperity of the country. The framers of these orders had not considered the remarkable difference between the situation of France and Great Britain. The most intelligent writers on the political œconomy of the former had shown that by agriculture alone, unassisted by trade, four fifths of the inhabitants could subsist. It was not so here. The effect of the new regulations would be so pernicious, that not fewer than a million of quarters of corn would be necessary, in addition to our farming stock, to supply sustenance for the people of this country. He concluded by moving the following resolutions:

1. "Resolved, that the unprecedented commercial warfare in which his majesty has been advised to involve this country, by the late orders in council, must be particularly injurious to a nation, whose extended concerns give her an interest, more or less, in all the mercantile transactions of the world.

2. "That it appears to this house, that the system adopted by the said orders, threatens the immediate extinction of maritime commerce. For while, on the one hand, the navy of Great Britain will, in a great measure, prevent all communication with the continent of Europe, except through this country and her allies, it cannot be doubted that the armies of France, and of the nations under her subjection, may, on the other hand, easily put an end to any such direct intercourse between this country and the continent.

3. "That such annihilation of all maritime commerce, whilst it must totally exclude the produce and manufactures of this island from a foreign market, will leave to our enemies those means of trading in the produce and manufactures of the continent, which the land carriage and internal navigation of such extensive countries afford; means which their industry, urged by the necessity of the case, must rapidly improve and extend.

4. "That it appears to this house, that there is just ground to apprehend, that the exclusion of colonial produce from the continent of Europe, if it could be effected, would close many of those channels of industry, by the means of which the commerce and manufactures of this country have attained an unparalleled degree of prosperity. That it would divert the labour of the continent from the production of those articles, for which maritime commerce has hitherto afforded a vent, to the culture of those productions, for the supply of which the extinction of such commerce must create an imperious demand.

5. "That the manufactures of this country must sustain irreparable injury, from forcibly diverting the labour of America, by the annihilation of maritime commerce, to the manufacture of those articles which habit has made necessary to that country, and the furnishing of which has long given sustenance to thousands of our own industrious countrymen.

6. "That

6. "That this system, which his majesty's orders in council are intended to enforce, whether regarded as a source of revenue, or as a measure of hostility, appears to the house equally nugatory and absurd. As a source of revenue, its success must depend on the co-operation of the neutral whose property is to be taxed; on the inclination of our allies to sacrifice their interests to our views; and on the consent of our enemies to contribute to the increase of those resources, which it is their known object to annihilate. As a measure of warfare, it is destructive to our resources, injurious to the interests of our friends, but wholly ineffectual against our enemies, whom it enables, by payment of the projected duties, to purchase a complete exemption from the distress it professes to bring upon them.

7. "That it appears to this house that his majesty's ministers, by advising his majesty to adopt such a mode of warfare, are cooperating with the government of France, to deprive the respective countries of the comforts to which they are habituated, and even of the means by which they have existed; and that, in so doing, they are concurring in an experiment which renders the great contest now at issue betwixt the two nations, highly disadvantageous to the British empire; for it is obvious that this system of deprivation must bear much harder on the people of this country, where property has been uniformly respected, and the profits of industry held sacred, than on the people of France, who have been habituated to the extreme of distress, during the convulsions which the revolution has created."

Lord Bathurst said, that after so much had been urged on this topic, he should not undertake to follow the noble lord in his extensive view of the subject. The distress of the country, on which so much had been detailed on different occasions, was not to be attributed to the orders in council, which could scarcely yet be considered in operation; on the contrary, if they had been extensively executed, that distress he had no doubt would have been greatly alleviated.

Lord King, in reply to the noble earl at the head of the board of trade, could not assent to the necessity of persevering in these orders, until at least his majesty's ministers should lay before the house such documents as would convince their lordships of such necessity and such policy. His lordship then entered into a general view of the measure, as it affected Europe and the interests of America; and concluded with declaring his hearty concurrence in the resolutions of his noble friend.

Lord Auckland spoke shortly in favour of the resolutions.

After some observations by lords Holland, Hawkesbury, and Grenville, the question was called for, and the house divided, when there appeared—Contents 21, Non-contents 56.

On the following day lord Grenville moved that the orders in council bill be divided into two bills, in order that the petitioners might be heard against those clauses which were not of the nature of aid and supply.

After some debate on this motion, the house divided—Contents 48, Non-contents 109.—Majority 61.

The house then resolved into a committee on the bill, in which lords Auckland and Grenville moved a-

mendments on several of the clauses, all of which were negatived.

Lord Erskine, in the above debate, said, he had no doubt, that if it were convenient to establish that his lordship's black coat was of a green colour, it might easily be accomplished. As many as are of that opinion, say aye—would give it in a moment any colour in the rainbow. His lordship here adverted to the bark bill, which he had done two days before. He said that Mr. Burke, in one of his immortal orations, had also given immortality to the benevolent Howard: speaking of that great man in his career of humanity, he had said, He has visited all Europe; not to collect manuscripts or to collate medals, but to dive into the depth of dungeons; to plunge into the infection of hospitals; to serve the mansions of grief, misery and despair; to pity the forsaken; to remember the forgotten, and to collect and collate the distresses of all men in all countries. It was a circumnavigation of charity. It was fit, said lord E., that this circumnavigator of charity should have received his being in that country which had been the instrument of providence in her circumnavigation of the earth; not like the first discoverer, carrying cruelty and death in her train; but collecting mankind together under the dominion of laws and liberty. But what was the proposed circumnavigation of ministers? They at this moment, like Howard, were to visit all Europe; like him they were to plunge into the infection of hospitals; but not, like him, to remember the forsaken and forgotten, but to pluck the balm of health, or rather of life, out of the mouths of the miserable. They were to rob them—not of one medicine, which, as he had said formerly, might be substituted for another; but which he would repeat again, even as often as they repeated the order of the 7th of January, that would subject Great Britain to the final everlasting curse—"I was sick, and ye visited me not."

On the 29th lord Holland rose, in pursuance of notice, to call their lordships' attention to the line of policy adopted by his majesty's ministers towards neutral powers, which term, in fact, now meant the United States of America. Towards that power he contended that the conduct of ministers had been very far from conciliatory, and had rendered a war with that country far from improbable. The orders of council which they had issued, tended to the destruction of the American trade, and yet the minister they had sent out to negotiate respecting the Chesapeak was not informed of these orders, although it was intended to issue them at the time he sailed. When these orders were referred to, then they were told of the order of the 7th of January, and that it had produced irritation in America. It was evident that that order was misunderstood in America, as appeared by the note of Mr. Madison, who conceived, not that it prohibited merely the coasting trade from enemy's port to enemy's port, but that it also prohibited the discharge trade, namely, the trade carried on by American ships to the enemy's ports, in which they left part of their cargo at one port and part at another: yet, although ministers were in possession of the interpretation of the order given by those who issued it, and which clearly proved the misconception on the part of Mr. Madison, they left the note of Mr. Madison unanswered,

swered, and did not take any step whatever to remove the misconception or the irritation which it might have caused. With respect to the treaty, he contended that it had not been sent back, as stated; a copy had been sent, but the original remained in America: he admitted that the ratification on the part of the American government, had been delayed until some more satisfactory arrangement could be obtained respecting certain points; but the manner of placing the notes called marginal notes, whatever convenience might arise from it, was calculated to convey a false impression to the public, as they had not been so placed by the American president. He could not help thinking the note in answer to these remarks, harsh and unconciliatory. He admitted there were considerable difficulties in the way of an arrangement with respect to the impressing of seamen; but still he did not think them insurmountable: of our right to take British seamen out of American merchant vessels, there could be no doubt; but how did this right arise? The American merchant vessel met on the high sea by a British ship of war was extra-territorial, and the latter had an undoubted right to take out of her a British seaman for his majesty's service; but it was also a right on the part of the American, that no American subject should be taken, and that the British right should be exercised as moderately as possible. Between these conflicting rights it might be difficult to make an arrangement; but surely it was unwise to shut the door against any arrangement. His lordship took a view of the effects likely to result from the orders of council, and contended that it was clear they would produce injury to our manufactures; and as to the West India interest, which it was boasted would be benefited, how was this to arise if a war took place with the United States, which, he contended, the orders of council were calculated to produce, when it was clearly ascertained that the West India islands depended upon the United States for a large proportion of their provisions? In whatever point of view these orders were considered, they must, he contended, be found highly injurious to the interests of the country. If it was the object of Bonaparte to force America into a war with this country, this measure tended to facilitate that object; the policy should rather have been to have remained quiet; and if Bonaparte had urged the American government to a war with this country, then all the odium would have remained with him, and a large proportion of the population of the United States would have been with us. When we saw all Europe under the dominion of one man, pressing and urging forward plans inimical to the interests and happiness of mankind, we might have looked to America for that order of things congenial with our own feelings and our own views, and as forming a counterpoise to the power of the ruler of the continent; whilst Britain held the balance between the new and the old world, and enjoyed all those immense advantages which must result from such a commanding situation. The measures of ministers, however, forbade this pleasing prospect, and threatened us with a war with those, from whose increasing prosperity we might otherwise derive the most solid advantages. His

lordship

lordship concluded by reading the following resolutions, the first of which he moved:

1. "That it appears to this house, that his majesty hath been advised, without any alleged provocation from the United States of America, to issue orders of council, on and subsequent to the 11th of November 1807, for interrupting nearly the whole of the commerce of the said states with the continent of Europe; for limiting such trade to be carried on in future through British ports only, (with the exception of neutral and allied ports in certain cases;) thereby exposing it to such restrictions and duties, and even prohibitions, as the government of Great Britain may think fit to impose upon it; and for confiscating the property of the citizens of the said states, in all cases where the same shall be accompanied by particular documents, certifying the place of its growth or manufacture.

2. "That it appears to this house, that previous to the issuing of the said orders of council, a negotiation had been carried on between this country and the United States or America, for the maintenance of peace and friendship between them, and that a treaty had been actually signed respecting some of the most material points in discussion; that a desire had been expressed by the government of the said United States for the addition of certain other provisions to the said treaty, and that a proposal was made for renewing the negotiation for that purpose; but that this offer was abruptly and intemperately rejected by his majesty's ministers.

3. "That at the time when the said orders were issued, his majesty's ministers had recently received from the ministers of the United States in this kingdom, assurances that the injurious decrees of his majesty's enemies had not, in any one instance, been executed against the commerce or navigation of the United States: and that, from all that had passed subsequent to the issuing of the said decrees, his majesty's ministers had every reason to conclude, that any attempt of the enemy so to execute the same, would be decidedly resisted by the government of the United States; whereby it must have happened, either that the said decrees would have continued to be wholly nugatory and ineffectual, or that the enemy, by endeavouring to enforce the same, would have driven the United States into a closer connection with this country.

"4. That it appears to this house, that the order issued by his majesty in council, on the 7th of January, 1807, was not intended to interrupt neutrals in a commerce of discharge from port to port of the enemies' territories; that such was understood to be its legal construction by those who were in his majesty's service at the time the said order was issued; and that an explanation to that effect was given by them to the Danish minister, in an official note dated on the 17th of March, 1807.

"That in a note from the American secretary of state to Mr. Erskine, dated on the 20th of the same month, considerable uneasiness was expressed, under an apprehension of a contrary interpretation of the said order: that although the above-mentioned note was actually received by his majesty's present ministers in the month of April last, yet no steps have been taken thereon, up to the present hour, for removing the unfounded apprehensions of the American

rican government on a point to which they appear to have attached so much importance: that by this omission, much unnecessary irritation has been suffered to prevail in America, long after it was in the power of his majesty's ministers to have effectually removed the same; and fresh obstacles to conciliation and friendship have thus wantonly been interposed.

5. "That it is, therefore, the opinion of this house, that the said orders are in themselves unjust and impolitic; that the issuing of them at the time, and under the circumstances, above mentioned, was an act of the utmost improvidence and rashness: and that by abruptly breaking off a friendly negotiation, and withholding a satisfactory explanation on a point, on which it might have been given with so much ease and advantage, his majesty's ministers have acted in disregard of our true policy, which is to cultivate the friendship of a nation, whose interests and prosperity are so intimately interwoven with our own; and have conducted themselves in a manner the least adapted to enable his majesty to maintain that maritime superiority, on which the greatness, and even the existence, of his empire so much depend."

These resolutions, after an animated debate, were negatived by a large majority.

CHAPTER IV.

Debates on the Arrangement with the Bank of England—Lord Folkstone's Motion on the Oude Papers, and the Marquis of Wellesley—Sir John Anstruther's Motion—Mr. Adam's Motion on the Law of Parliament—Lord Castlereagh's Motion on the new Clause in the Mutiny Bill—Sir Francis Burdett's Motion on the Army—The Duke of Glocester's Motion on the Mutiny Bill.

WE shall now turn back in point of time, in order that our readers may have, in chronological order, an account of several other discussions in parliament which are necessary to elucidate the history of the year. We shall begin with the proceeding between government and the bank of England. On the 2d of February, after some conversation between Mr. Tierney, the chancellor of the exchequer and others, some papers were ordered, particularly those which gave an account of the amount of the unclaimed dividends in each quarter on the day previously to the payment from the bank into the exchequer. On the 10th the house went into a committee on the subject: when

The chancellor of the exchequer said, he had the satisfaction to call the attention of the committee to an arrangement, which it had been his good fortune to make, under circumstances so advantageous to the public, and at the same time so fair towards the bank, that he was sure on explaining them to the committee to have its full approbation. The papers before the committee contained the details of the correspondence between him and the governor and deputy governor of the bank. It was, therefore, only necessary for him to state the origin and conclusion of the

the arrangement which he had now to submit. The house would be aware, that this arrangement was first suggested by the committee appointed by the house in the last year, to inquire into the means of reducing the public expenditure. The second report of that committee turned upon the management of the public debt by the bank, and the manner in which the bank was connected with the public revenue and the public expenditure. This subject resolved itself into three heads: 1st, the management of the public debt; 2dly, the balances of the public money in the hands of the bank; and 3dly, the unclaimed dividends. On all these heads, the committee had presented such facts as afforded opportunities of considering how these matters may be conducted with a saving to the public. The allowance that had been first made for the management of the public debt, and the times and degrees in which that allowance had been altered, and the causes of the alteration, were all specified. The great increase of the amount of the public debt since the last alteration, was mentioned as a proper ground for revising the last arrangement, with a view to a saving to the public. On this point the agreement between the bank and him (the chancellor of the exchequer) rested. It was agreed that the allowance for management should be 340*l.* per million, when the debt should amount to 400 millions, and from that to 600 millions inclusive; 300*l.* per million for all debt above 600 millions, the 600 millions continuing at 340*l.*; and 450*l.* per million between 300 millions and 400 millions, in the event of the public debt being reduced so low as that amount. Under this head alone, the saving to the public, by the present arrangement, would be from 62 to 65,000*l.* a-year. The next head of the agreement was the advance of 3,000,000*l.* by way of loan without interest, till six months after the conclusion of a definitive treaty, in consideration of the advantages of management, and in participation of the benefit of the balances. The committee, to whom he was indebted for being enabled to bring this subject distinctly before the bank and the house, had stated that the average amount of balances of the public money in the bank was about 11,400,919*l.* But the committee was in error in including in this 475,000*l.*, part of 600,000*l.* placed in the bank in virtue of an arrangement with the United States of America. Though the claimants on this fund may not have been as prompt in coming forward with demands as before, it was in the power of the trustees to vest the money in exchequer bills for the benefit of the claimants, whenever they should come forward. The fair sum at which the amount of balances may be taken, was about 10,600,000*l.* or 10,500,000*l.* From the œconomic attention that had of late been put in force, these balances would not rise above 10,000,000*l.* from year to year during the continuance of the war. The committee that had suggested these improvements that were now to be carried into effect, had shown one principle on which advantage may be reasonably claimed for the public. Mr. Pitt, in his arrangement with the bank, had asserted the right of the public to participate in the advantages derived by the bank from the management and balances; and that, whether this participation should be

be in the proportion of one-third, one-fourth, or one-half, it would be greatly to the advantage of the public. This showed that not more than a participation was intended; and therefore, as the proportion of one-third, being the middle rate, was what was most looked to, and probably considered as most equitable, that proportion was agreed to. Calculating that proportion of advantage, he would now state how it operated upon a balance of 10,000,000*l.* By the former advance of 3,000,000*l.* at three per cent. when the legal interest was five per cent. the public gained an advantage of 60,000*l.* a-year, which was equivalent to a capital of 1,290,000*l.* which was to be computed towards the amount of the total benefits realized at present. In addition to that, ought to be taken also the amount of balances then in contemplation, according to Mr. Thornton's evidence, which was 2,500,000*l.* This amount of balances was to be deducted from 10,000,000*l.* and left 7,500,000*l.* which was the amount upon which the present arrangement was to be calculated. The arrangement now entered into, gave to the public, besides the 500,000*l.* of unclaimed dividends, one half of the reduced balance after the arrangements made by Mr. Pitt. Then there was to be added the 1,200,000*l.* in consequence of the arrangement entered into by the noble lord opposite, which made the advantage to the public considerably more than a moiety of the benefit derived by the bank. If some would say, that the 2,500,000*l.* agreed for by Mr. Pitt, according to Mr. Thornton's evidence, should not be deducted from the total balances of 10,000,000*l.*, he submitted, that, on the full consideration of all the circumstances, the agreement now submitted was as fair a participation of the profits of the bank as the public could expect, under the report of the committee of finance. Having stated these circumstances, as to the manner of reforming the allowances of management, it remained for him only to say, that the precise benefit to be given to the public was an advance of three millions without interest, during the war, and till six months after a definitive treaty. Thus far the bank had given its full sanction to the arrangement. On the next head, the bank had acceded so completely, that what he had to submit would be found so fair and equitable between the public and its creditors, and so perfectly competent to the right and powers of the house, that there could be no difficulty of arranging and agreeing to it without the consent of the bank. He alluded here to the unclaimed dividends. This, like the other parts of the present arrangement, originated in the report of the committee of finance. But the manner in which the account of unclaimed dividends had been called for by that committee, had rather produced an increase in the calculation upon which the loan was grounded. The unclaimed dividends, according to the report of the committee, amounted on the 8th of July to 986,573*l.*, and at the lowest period of some antecedent years, they had not fallen below 900,000*l.* This calculation had been taken on the day before payment, whereas it ought to have been taken on the day after. In demanding 500,000*l.* for the public, in addition to 376,739*l.* advanced under the act of 1791, provision was to be made that the balance

balance ready for the payment of the public creditor should not be reduced below 100,000*l.*; and according as any reduction below that sum should take place, a proportion of the 500,000*l.* should be refunded from the exchequer to make up the deficiency. The definition of an unclaimed dividend was, one that had lain in the bank undemanded from the day of payment of dividends before the last. The bank, in agreeing to pay 500,000*l.* out of the surplus of this species of dividend, would have exceeded the amount of the precise fund; and therefore the governor and directors would not undertake to go so far without the consent of the proprietors of bank stock in general courts. It was impossible to ask the bank to make the advance out of such a fund on its own authority. But when the power of the public came to be considered, with respect to the money due to its creditors, it appeared that the public provided sufficiently for the security of all demands, when a constant balance of 100,000*l.* was reserved, never to be reduced below that amount, without a constant reparation of the deficiency. These were two of the three heads of arrangement completely sanctioned by the bank; the third was sanctioned in principle; and though the house had to make the arrangement between the public and the public creditor, without the intervention of the bank, there was no doubt of the equity of the arrangement, and therefore the house could have no difficulty in acceding to and confirming it. On the first head, the public would have an advantage of 3,000,000*l.* on account of management, which would be an annual saving of 65 or 70,000*l.* This was so obviously beneficial, that there was no necessity to expatiate on it. The public, he was sure, would receive this, as well as the other parts of the arrangement, with satisfaction; and he would add that the agreement, while advantageous to the public, was fair and equitable to the bank. Others may look to greater advantage to the public; but he was sure the public interest would be found to be fully attended to on a fair consideration of the whole of the circumstances. He regretted if any body should see cause to complain; but he hoped for the general approbation of the house. He moved a resolution, purporting, that 500,000*l.* be advanced from the unclaimed dividends, in addition to 376,739*l.* advanced before from the same fund; but that this new advance be made in such a manner as always to leave 100,000*l.* in the bank applicable to the demands of arrears on unclaimed dividends; the said 100,000*l.* to be always made up, in case of deficiency, by repayments out of the exchequer from the said sum of 500,000*l.*

Mr. Bankes agreed with the right hon. gentleman, that it was most just that the country should avail itself of the profits arising from its own money, without infringing the faith due to the public creditor. The large rate of allowance which the bank enjoyed for the management of the national debt, he strongly condemned. Even in 1786, the report of the auditors of public accounts stated, that the business could be done for 200*l.* in the million, and this at a period when the debt was comparatively small. Great as was his respect for the illustrious man who at that time presided over the finances of the

the country, he could not help thinking that he had made an improvident bargain on this subject. He did not like any thing that drew the bank into too close a connection with the ministry. He wished them to feel mutual good will, but to be perfectly independent of each other. Were he asked, however, Would he adopt the bargain such as it was, or change the mode of managing the debts? he would answer, That so many difficulties and inconveniences must result from such a change, that, inadequate and disadvantageous as the terms were, if they were the best that could be obtained, he would acquiesce in them rather than set the whole business afloat.

Mr. Tierney, after an elaborate speech, in which he considered all the bearings of the subject, said: The bank directors consented to lend the country three millions, which, in his apprehension, would not cost them three pence. Did they mean to increase their notes for this purpose? If so, it was a strong argument against the step; and he certainly did recollect, although he would not draw any inference from the circumstance, that about the time of the renewal of the bank charter, a report was prevalent, that above a million of small notes had been issued from the bank beyond the ordinary circulation. If they did not mean to increase their notes, did they mean to distress the trade of the country, by refusing to discount the bills of the merchants? This would also be a strong argument against the step. On the face of the affair, there appeared a clear profit resulting to the bank, on the management of the national debt, of about a hundred thousand pounds. Why this, in addition to the advantages they derive from the use of the public balances? He knew that the bank was at a great expense for clerks, for buildings, &c. but this expense ought to be defrayed from the last-mentioned profits. He repeated his wish that the subject should be referred to a committee. He believed no committee could be found, which would not tell the right hon. gentleman that he had not taken half enough in interest, and that he had taken too much in principal. With respect to the unclaimed dividends, there was a great deal of truth and justice in what the right hon. gentleman had stated. Perhaps it was politic that the bank directors should make a show of resistance on this point, lest the public should suspect that they had got too good a bargain on the other points. He thought they owed great obligations to the right hon. gentleman, who had certainly granted them what no other man would have done; but he would take another opportunity of expressing his sentiments on this business, not having yet had time duly to examine the papers on the table. It was a most important subject, and deserved the most serious attention of parliament.

Mr. Samuel Thornton declared, that whether they gave a loan of three millions, or an annual sum of a hundred and fifty thousand pounds to the public, would be immaterial to the bank; but, in his opinion, from the former the public would derive the greater advantage. He denied the posssibility of supplying the loan by an issue of notes. Let the hon. gentleman look at the quantities of notes at present issued, and then let him look to the quantity issued subsequent to the

payment

payment of the loan. The conjectural opinion contained in the report of the financial committee on the expenses attending the management of the national debt was unfounded. The rate of allowance now fixed, if he were called on to decide as between man and man, he would say was fair and reasonable. Much had been said of the profits of the bank; he would say something of the profits which the public derive from the bank. In the first place, the capital of the bank above eleven millions was lent to the public at three per cent. by which the public gained two per cent. On the three millions paid on the renewal of the bank charter, the public gained two per cent. The bank advanced the annual malt duties, amounting to two millions, at four per cent., by which the public gained one per cent. For the last two years the bank had collected the property tax, by which the public gained forty-seven thousand pounds. By adding these various sums together, it would appear that the public derived a profit of five hundred and ninety-five thousand pounds per annum from the bank, exclusive of what they paid for the property tax on their own capital. The ground on which the bank declined to consent to the arrangement proposed with respect to unclaimed dividends had been mistaken. As the trustees for the public creditors, they did not believe that the balance of unclaimed dividends would admit of having such a sum withdrawn from them as that proposed; and without having previously ascertained the opinion of those public creditors, they could not consent to it. It ought to be recollected, that in 1791 it was determined that five hundred thousand pounds should be drawn from those dividends, upon the express condition, that six hundred thousand pounds were in the hands of the bank at the end of the penultimate quarter. It was now proposed to extend this to the last quarter, although since 1791 the debt had very much increased, and a larger balance of unclaimed dividends was thereby rendered necessary to be left in the hands of the bank. Until dividends remained for half a year, they had never been considered by the bank as unclaimed; it was running them much too close.

Mr. Huskisson defended the proposition of his right honourable friend. Several other members spoke on the subject, and the resolution was put and agreed to.

Feb. 22.—The order of the day being read for taking the Oude papers into consideration,

Lord Folkstone moved that they be now taken into consideration.

Mr. Creevey rose to give his negative to the proposition, for two reasons: in the first place, because it was impossible for the house to come to a decision upon the conduct of marquis Wellesley, without at the same time deciding upon the general question of Indian policy; and in the second place, because it was quite impossible that gentlemen could so have digested materials which would fill seven volumes, and which had been collected from the administration of that country during a period of 17 years, which had been moved for by different persons and with different views, and which brought into comparison the administrations of lord Teignmouth and marquis Cornwallis with that of marquis Wellesley, as to be able to decide upon the merits of that complicated system

stem with which the conduct and character of the last-mentioned nobleman were inseparably interwoven. The papers were in such confusion, that it was indispensable that they should be arranged, before they could be perused so as to convey the information necessary to enable the house to form a judgment upon the facts to which they related; and though he was pretty generally acquainted with them, he had not met with 3 gentlemen who had read them. The course, therefore which he should recommend was, that they should be referred to a committee. He did not care how that committee was formed. He had no objection that the three brothers of the noble marquis should be members of it, and it should be appointed exclusively by the honourable gentlemen on the treasury bench. As matters now stood, the house could not enter into a discussion of the question, because it was connected with a variety of others which required a detailed examination. The question before the house was, the propriety of the treaty by which the nabob of Oude was dethroned and stripped of his territory. But this was not a solitary instance of this policy. Lord Wellesley had concluded many treaties of the same kind, and each was referred to in his instructions to his agents as a model for the other. If, for example, they were to take the whole of the territory of independent princes, he referred them to the Carnatic treaty as their model; and if they were obliged to be satisfied with only a part, they were to model themselves upon the Nizam case. They could not, therefore, decide upon one treaty without also taking into consideration the model upon which it was formed. The justification of some of them was the perfidy of the prince who was dethroned; but would it be contended that all the princes who had fallen the victims of his policy were equally perfidious? And if a general view was taken of the whole policy of his administration, what light, he would ask, was there to guide the house in forming its decision? Mr. Creevey quoted the opinion of the court of directors, as it was expressed in a printed dispatch that had been published, in which that court, while it expresses a high consideration for the talents of lord Wellesley, condemns, in the most pointed terms the general tenor of his administration, as contrary to the existing laws; as an open defiance of the authority of the directors; and as an attempt, on his part, to convert the government of India into a simple despotism. In the same dispatch the profusion of his expenditure is censured, and the whole of his conduct to foreign powers reprobated, as a departure from those principles of moderation by which they were desirous that the governor-general should be actuated.

He then proceeded to read another part of the dispatch, in which the system adopted by marquis Wellesley, for extending the territory and increasing the revenues of the company, was reprobated as unjust, illegal, and impolitic. He contended that it would be extremely rash for the house, in the face of an opinion so decidedly pronounced by those who were the best judges of the subject, and with an unanimity almost unparalleled (this dispatch having been signed by twenty-three out of twenty-four directors), to come to a decision with their present inadequate means of information, directly the reverse of this opinion, which would be the

effect of a resolution of acquittal passed in favour of lord Wellesley. It ought to be considerered too, that the very circumstance of marquis Cornwallis having been sent out to supersede marquis Wellesley, then in the prime of life, in the government of India, was a proof that a disapprobation of his conduct was not confined to the court of directors, but that government likewise participated in it. It had been said, that any further delay would be extremely hard towards lord Wellesley. He admitted that it was hard upon lord Wellesley; but was there not a third party which likewise merited some consideration? Would it not be hard on the East India company to be defrauded of their possessions in consequence of his mal-administration? or would it not be hard upon the country, if, in consequence of his measures, its Indian dominions should be severed from it for ever? What he wished was, that this question should be examined as all other Indian questions had been examined.

Sir John Anstruther called the attention of the house to the present state of the proceedings. Three parliaments ago, a charge had been brought against marquis Wellesley, by an honourable gentleman who was no longer a member of that house; all the evidence necessary for supporting the charge had been moved for and granted; an inquiry had been challenged by the friends of the noble marquis; the charge originally brought forward had been abandoned; but upon the papers that had been produced other accusations had been founded by a noble lord, and this night had been fixed for the house to pronounce upon the justice or injustice of these accusations. Nothing had been said of any deficiency of evidence, or of any confusion of papers, till about ten days ago. He contended that the delay now proposed, was neither more nor less than an attempt to arrest the course of justice as far as lord Wellesley was concerned, for the purpose of entering into a detailed examination of the affairs of India, and to blend two subjects which were totally different and distinct.

Mr. Robert Thornton professed his decided disapprobation of many of the political measures of the the noble marquis; at the same time he wished that the house should decide upon the charges that had been brought against him, with dispatch as well as with boldness. For this reason he was against the appointment of a committee, because that mode of proceeding would tend to postpone a decision which had already been too long delayed. His wish was, that the character of lord Wellesley should be either cleared by a vote of the house, or that the censure should be passed upon him which his conduct had merited. He denied that the directors of the East India company appeared as the accusers of lord Wellesley; but he, along with many of his colleagues, had disapproved of many of his measures, and it was necessary, in their own defence, that they should state the grounds of this disapprobation.

Mr. Windham deprecated a hasty decision upon a question in which the national character was most deeply involved. Were the house, by a vote this evening, to give its sanction to all the flagitious outrages which had been committed in India against the

rights

rights of independent princes, in violation of all the principles of justice, honour, and good faith, he was afraid that, in the estimation of the world, this country would stand chargeable with many of those crimes which we had reprobated so much in others, but of which we had in several recent instances, he was afraid, been too successful imitators.

Sir Samuel Romilly admitted that justice to the noble marquis required that no unnecessary delay should take place. Justice, however, could not be done to him, and, what was of still higher importance, to the national character, if the house came to a premature decision. A great deal had been said of the number of parliaments which had passed since the papers were laid on the table: let it, however, be recollected, that there were many members in that house who had sat there for not more than seven months; not one of whom, of course, had heard a single word on the subject of these papers, which could enable them to form any idea as to the facts which they were meant to substantiate; and yet they were now called on to give a decision on evidence of which they did not know the bearing! This was said to be a question personal to the noble lord, but still it was no less a judicial question; and he had never yet heard of any proceeding by which a fair result of such a question could be obtained, unless those who were to judge of it were previously acquainted with the facts charged and the nature of the defence. Was there a man in that house prepared at the present moment to say, that he was ready to come to a right decision on the case? He had, with great inconvenience to himself, gone through a considerable part of these papers; and if obliged to come to his decision this night, he must give it against the noble marquis; though he did not say that, in the mass of evidence before the house, there might not be evidence in the noble marquis's favour, of which he was at present ignorant. He was of opinion that to send the evidence to a committee to return a digested report of it to the house, would be the only means of arriving at substantial justice. None, he was convinced, ought to desire this so anxiously as the friends of the marquis, and nothing could be more unsatisfactory than a premature decision.

Sir Arthur Wellesley said, that it was for the house to decide what mode of proceeding would best suit its own convenience and the ends of justice; but he contended that it had been always asked, and it was the only thing that was asked, on the part of the noble marquis, that the case should be brought to as speedy a decision as a regard to justice and fair inquiry would allow. The propriety of this principle had been laid down and enforced by the highest authority on all sides of the house, and among others by an honourable gentleman now no more (Mr. Fox), whose opinion would weigh very much with the gentlemen on the other side. He did not suppose that every member had read the papers word for word; but he was satisfied there were very few who had not read them sufficiently to enable them to give a conscientious vote. All that he asked now, was what he had asked before; as speedy a decision as the house in its sense of justice could admit.

A great number of other gentlemen spoke; when it was determined

by a vast majority to proceed. The debate was then adjourned to the 9th of March: on that day

Lord Folkstone rose, and, in a speech of considerable length, arraigned the conduct of lord Wellesley in his transactions with the nabob of Oude. He began by vindicating himself from the charges which had been brought against him by the friends of the noble marquis, both of vexatious and unnecessary delay, and of endeavouring to raise the prejudice of the public. He denied both charges, and retorted the latter upon the friends of the noble lord. Pamphlets had been disseminated gratis to the members of that house, and among most of the coffee-houses, by the friends of the noble lord. He did not blame them for this, but thought that, acting in this way, they should not be too flippant in making such charges against others. He said he was doubly comprehended in the resolutions already circulated, and he did not despair of making it out: if he failed in doing so, he should regret he had taken the business at all into his hands; but if he did not, he entreated the house to recollect that the case would then be made out upon the noble marquis's own stating, not of that of the nabob of Oude; and that it would be fair in the house to conclude, that, if it was so bad on the statement of the noble marquis himself, the whole transaction was much more so than upon such evidence it appeared to be.

The first resolution stated the treaty entered into in February, 1798, between the nabob of Oude and the East India company. This treaty was a special contract, abrogating all former treaties, and regulating the grounds of all subsequent dealings between the two parties. By that treaty the nabob was certainly deprived of all political power; but as certainly guarantied by it, in the exercise of all authority in the control of his household affairs, and most relations of the internal œconomy of his empire. As to the zeal and sincerity with which the nabob entered into the full discharge of his part of the contract, colonel Scott bore ample and satisfactory testimony. At the time of this treaty the affairs of the nabob were in great confusion; his troops were not only disorderly, but disaffected to his person; and the dismissal which took place about that time, of a person who had by many arts contrived to render himself extremely popular, did not contribute to remove the discontent; but the nabob himself, at last, reduced his battalions to one half their number, with the exception of certain battalions; but still that exception did not arise out of any improper partiality. With respect to the nabob's punctual performance of the terms of the treaty of 1798, there could not be better testimony than the fact that colonel Scott was commissioned by lord Wellesley to give his thanks to the nabob, for the great punctuality he had observed in the payment of the kists, though it was in general said there had been before great arrears. In the earliest period of the noble lord's government, his design upon the territory of Oude betrays itself. In No. 3, they had a letter, in which that noble lord goes at great length to prove the great advantages likely to result to the company, from the annexation of part of that territory to their possessions, and also of the policy of compelling the nabob to reduce his military

military force, prospectively to his more easy subjugation. Twelve months, however, elapsed after this period, before the noble marquis thought proper to take any actual means, preparatory to his ultimate design: at last, on the 5th of November, 1799, lord Wellesley wrote a letter to the nabob of Oude, in which he declared it to be the undoubted right of the East India company to increase, according to their discretion, the number of the British troops in the nabob's territory; the pretence was, the danger with which the territory was threatened by the menaced attack of Zemaun Shah, a Persian prince: this danger, however, was very remote, and the company were only bound to assist in case of actual and immediate danger. Thirteen thousand troops were sent in, and it was agreed that, if a greater number should be added, they should be paid by the nabob: but it was insisted by lord Wellesley, that, with a view to this very distant danger, it was necessary that an extraordinary force should be at all times maintained within the territory. This was a mere pretence; for the same territory had been defended by the company from the actual invasion of Zemaun Shah, at a time of much more urgent danger, when they were at war with Tippoo Saib; and that too without resorting to such extraordinary means as lord Wellesley had thought necessary, when the danger was so much less and so much more distant; not to mention the authority of sir James Grant, who had said, that it would take up so many weeks time before Zemaun Shah could invade Oude, that there would be always abundant opportunity of bringing up a force sufficient to defend it. The noble lord next proceeded to detail the various oppressions and exactions practised on the nabob, being compelled to receive an extraordinary foreign force, and then compelled to pay them; so that by various arts his expenses became so great, and the demands upon him so accumulated, that he was at last worried into a proposal of abdicating the government on condition of his son succeeding him. The Bengal government jumped at this proposal, but the sole condition stipulated was sternly and absolutely rejected. Of this proposal lord Wellesley never for a moment lost sight, and persisted with unwearied pertinacity to claim and insist on the compliance of the nabob, though the condition of the son's succeeding him in the government was rejected; lord Wellesley requiring of him to give up all into the hands of the East India company: and when the nabob prefixed the condition on which the proposal was founded, he was charged by lord Wellesley with having made the proposal for the mere purpose of vexatiously deferring the reduction of his battalions, and ultimately defeating the proposed system of reform. The nabob, in November 1800 again remonstrates, but with the same success. His patience was now rewarded with an accumulation of demands and grievances he could no longer hold out against, and at last the measure of a territorial cession is proposed and adopted: then followed a set of disgraceful exactions: 17 lacs of rupees were at first demanded; then this demand soon swelled to 38 lacs, about 450,000l. of our money. The nabob agreed to pay the former and more reasonable demand, but objected to the latter. It had been pretended that there was less real difference between

those two sums than there appeared to be, because the 17 lacs were but for the service of one year, and the 38 lacs for that of two years and a half; but he contended that the estimates of either charge were extravagant and iniquitous. Then when the nabob demurred at first to the proposal of territorial cession, he was expressly given to understand, that, if he did refuse it, the company could not do their duty if they did not take entirely his territory into their own possession. The noble lord then proceeded to detail the establishing of a police and a resident in Oude, with the consequent remonstrance of the nabob, and the hardships that produced them. The noble lord here went into a minute statement of the grievances suffered by the nabob, and concluded with saying, that he did not think it possible to conceive a more flagrant violation of a treaty, than was evinced in various parts of the conduct of lord Wellesley to this unfortunate nabob, which he did not hesitate to pronounce both gross and cruel. The noble lord, before he sat down, adverted to the behaviour of lord Wellesley when he had received a letter from the nabob without the customary forms. Lord Wellesley, with an indecent intemperance, answered the nabob in a letter full of the most violent opprobriums, a letter which was equally unworthy of the person to whom it was addressed and of him by whom it had been written. He concluded with an exhortation to the house to do their duty, to let all feeling give way to the paramount dictates of justice, and not to confound the weakness of the advocate with the strength of the cause.

The noble lord moved a number of resolutions.

Mr. Whitshed Keene entered into an elaborate history of the affairs of Oude, and contended that lord Wellesley was completely justified in the steps which he had taken.

Sir John Anstruther replied to the speech of the noble lord. Before he entered on the subject, he would observe that the character of this prosecution against the marquis Wellesley differed materially from that of any other Indian prosecution. In every preceding Indian prosecution, not errors of policy alone, but personal corruption, had been attributed to the individunl accused. No man had dared, in the present instance, to whisper the slighest insinuation of such a nature against the noble marquis. Certainly, the last resolution of the noble lord charged his noble friend with ambition, and a love of power, evinced by his actions, at the very moment that he was retiring from his high situation. This proposition contained within itself an evident contradiction. A learned gentleman not just now in parliament had said, that there were three parties in this investigation; the noble marquis, the court of directors, and the suffering millions in India. The two first unquestionably were parties in the investigation; but with respect to the suffering millions in India, did not that learned gentleman know that the accusation of the chiefs and rajahs of India against the British government there, was, that it was a government for the protection of the lower orders; who, in the provinces under British influence, enjoyed a degree of security and happiness, for which they in vain sought in any other part of Asia? The suffering millions of India, therefore, were no parties to this cause. The noble lord had expressed his hope that no person would decide

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on this question from motives of personal attachment. For himself, the long friendship with which he had been honoured by the noble marquis, had naturally created in his mind feelings of the highest respect and attachment; but, in communicating to the house his sentiments on the subject, he was actuated by nobler motives. He had himself been in India; he had witnessed the danger at which it had trembled; he had witnessed the joy which the relief that the noble marquis's measures afforded had occasioned. He had heard the opinions in India of the most faithful and the most intelligent of the company's servants, and he had never heard a doubt expressed of the justice and propriety of the noble marquis's conduct. It would be enough for the vindication of the noble marquis, were he to state that the principles on which he acted had been approved by the government who employed him. This would be enough for the vindication of every executive officer. But he would go further; he would show that even had that approbation not been given, the noble marquis's conduct would have been not the less justifiable and honourable. The subject resolved itself into two parts; the transmutation of subsidy for territory, and the military interference with the province of Oude. With regard to the first point, the measures which the noble marquis pursued were imperiously called for. He was guided by the declarations of the East India company, repeatedly made; for instance, to lord Hobart, who was instructed to transmute subsidy into territory, in order that the territory from which the company were to derive support in war, should be in their hands during peace, and be thus rendered more available when a period of war might occur. When the noble marquis first went out to India, he was charged by the court of directors with similar instructions, to change subsidy for territory; and when he failed in an undertaking of that nature (from circumstances which it was not necessary to state), they lamented that failure. Subsequently, when the noble marquis effected a transmutation of subsidy for territory with the rajah of Tanjore, the court of directors thanked him for so doing. After this, they could not surely turn short round and say, that an accession of territory in India was against the law in all cases. There was another reason why they could not say this. Thinking highly of the services of the noble marquis in the war against Tippoo sultan, the court of directors had behaved to him as a great body ought to behave to a great man, and had rewarded him with a pension during the continuance of their charter, expressly declaring, that by the destruction of Tippoo "the company had gained a great accession of territory." How then could the noble marquis suppose, after this explicit declaration, that there could be any disapprobation of future transmutation? But this was not all. The noble marquis had, in this particular instance, informed the company of his intentions: he had told them that he meant to avail himself of the existing circumstances in Oude, to introduce the British power into that country. To this the company expressed no objection; they never replied, that it was against the law, or entreated him to desist from the execution of his plans. It was therefore fairly to be inferred, that

those plans met with their concurrence. With regard to the other part of the subject, the introduction of military force into the Dewab, was it not evidently the wish of the directors that the civil and military power of the nabob of Oude should be reduced? When the noble marquis acquainted them that he was about to reform the useless and even dangerous battalions of the nabob, they in answer approved of his intention, and directed him, when he had completed his military, to effect a civil reform; and was it to be endured that the noble marquis should now be told that these were measures highly criminal, and that he had fixed an everlasting stigma on the British name and character in India? But this was not all: after the noble marquis had effected his objects, he received the approbation of the directors, at least of the secret committee; which was a sufficient justification. He should now, however, argue the question, without reference to their approbation or disapprobation. If the noble marquis were to act at all in India, his intention must naturally have been directed to two points; the first, whether he had any right whatever to interfere in Oude? the other, whether the occasion in which he did interfere was sufficient to justify him in such interference? As to the first point, no man, considering the relation which subsists between the British possessions and the province of Oude, could possibly question the right of the British government to interfere with the affairs of that province. By treaty, Oude was to be defended by the British. By policy, Oude must be defended by the British; for to defend Bengal without defending Oude was impossible. Undeniably, therefore, the British government was justified in interfering authoritatively, and compelling the introduction into that country of an adequate military force. Who then was to be the judge of the quantity of the force which ought to be so introduced? What said sir John Shore, by whom the treaty with Oude had been concluded? He considered himself the proper judge. Had not lord Cornwallis declared, that if the reform in Oude were not carried into effect voluntarily, he should compel the nabob to provide for his military defence? Moreover, had not that noble lord appointed two ministers of the nabob to carry his orders into execution, assuring them that he would support them against their master in the fulfilment of this task? How idle was it then to talk of the independence of Oude! Had not sir John Shore revoked Mr. Cherry's rash and unadvised assertion, that no further interference on the part of the British should take place in Oude? and had not the court of directors applauded him for this revocation? On what principle had sir John Shore himself interfered in the government of that province? A man of more mildness, temperance and moderation, he would also say of more integrity and ability, never existed. It was not to derogate from his administration to declare, that energy was not the characteristic of it; and yet sir John Shore, espousing the cause of Vizier Ally, declared, at his own tribunal, who should be the prince of Oude. Would he have done this had he not felt his undoubted right of interference? He had expressly told the company, that he found it necessary to establish the British influence in Oude on a sure footing, because the two states were so connected, that without an overruling

influence

influence in Oude it would be impossible to keep Bengal. Zemaun Shah, at the head of a formidable army, threatening Oude, the Mahrattas making no movement and showing no disposition to oppose him, and a large French force in the heart of Egypt! Well did he recollect the feelings of natives and Europeans in India at that period. Well did he recollect the doubt and dismay which existed before the noble marquis arrived, which he dispelled very soon after his arrival, and which never reappeared during his continuance in the government. The civil state of Oude was this: half the army which ought to have been on the frontiers, to repel the menaced attack, was compelled to remain in the country to quell the rebellion which the bad administration of affairs had occasioned. In these circumstances was not the noble marquis completely justified in interfering to compel a mutinous army to obey its leaders, and a rebellious people to submit to their prince? He did interfere: he obtained his objects. So completely did he change the character and disposition of the country, that some time afterwards, when a fair opportunity was afforded by the passage of a hostile force from one extremity of the province to the other, that force was not joined by a single individual of those "suffering millions," as they had been so pathetically but so unfoundedly termed. But the noble lord accused his noble friend, not only of sending into Oude a force larger than what was necessary, but of charging the vizier for a force larger than was actually sent. If this were true, which he denied, the noble marquis had nothing to do with it. He had desired the proper officer to make out the account in the manner most favourable to the nabob. If any mistake had taken place, which was not very likely, and which he completely disbelieved, was the commander in chief of India to be chargeable with the error of a clerk in the accountant general's office? The noble lord had so mingled, in his resolutions, that which was true with that which was not quite true (a laugh), that he felt the impossibility of proposing any amendment to them. On all, therefore, but the last, he should move the previous question; to the last, he must give his most direct negative. It charged his noble friend with ambition, and the love of power. True, he was ambitious, but it was that his country should be great: true, he did love power, but it was the power of contributing by every honourable means to her prosperity and happiness. Traduced as his noble friend's character had been, he was desirous of meeting the personal imputations that had been cast upon him, by a motion to the following effect: "That it appears to the house of commons, that marquis Wellesley in his proceedings in the province of Oude was actuated by an ardent zeal for the public service, and by an anxious desire to provide more effectually for the safety and prosperity of the British empire in India."

The speaker then put the previous question on the first resolution; when

Colonel Allan (member for Berwick) in a maiden speech entered into a very elaborate defence of the noble marquis, justifying his whole conduct, as in the highest degree advantageous to the country; and he concluded in these words:

"These are a few of the splendid services of that illustrious character

racter marquis Wellesley. I will not trust myself to speak of the return he has met with, during a period of seven years, the most eventful in our history of India: decision, energy, and purity, marked every measure of his administration, and they were crowned with success. Thinking as I do of the conduct of that noble lord; thinking that he was the saviour of British India; and convinced that an ardent zeal to promote the honour and the real interests of this country governed every part of his conduct; I shall oppose the resolutions moved by the noble lord, and shall most cordially concur in the motion of the honourable baronet."

A very long and interesting debate, which continued by adjournment to the 15th of March, succeeded, when the previous question was carried by a majority of 151. Sir John Anstruther then moved, "That it appears to this house that marquis Wellesley, in his arrangements in the province of Oude, was actuated by an ardent zeal for the service of his country, and an anxious desire to promote the safety, interests, and prosperity, of the British empire in India.

On this motion the house divided:

For the motion -	180
Against it - - -	29
Majority -	151

This topic was again brought forward in a different shape but with the same view of censuring and criminating the marquis, by lord Archibald Hamilton, who moved a series of resolutions to the purport "That it appears the British government is bound in honour to reconsider and revise the treaty of 1801 with the nabob of Oude, with a view to an arrangement more favourable to the nabob of Oude." The previous question was again carried by a large majority.

March 4.—Mr. Adam, pursuant to a notice given on a former evening, rose to propose a motion somewhat new in its nature, because the circumstances which had induced him to bring it forward were novel, and, he might say, unprecedented. Before stating the terms of this motion, he found it necessary to enter into some discussion of general principles, and to state the facts upon which he intended to found it. The object was, to prevent the repetition of a practice which the house had occasion to witness on the third of February last, and which stood recorded on the journals of the house of the eighth of February, he hoped for the last time. When any thing irregular occurred in the course of the debate, it was not unusual to check that irregularity at the time it took place; but because the irregularity to which he alluded was not checked at the moment it happened, it was no reason why the house should not now impose an effectual check upon its recurring on a future occasion. He should now endeavour to show that the right honourable secretary of state, by reading extracts from official papers not before the house in the course of the debate, had been as disorderly as if he had introduced his majesty's name for the purpose of influencing the decision of the house; than which, it was unnecessary for him to state, nothing could be more irregular. In the year 1757, a member of the house of commons having expressed a wish to be absolved from his oath of secrecy on a court martial, a message was sent to the house by the king, in which there was a reference to what had passed in debate on the subject. The message was received; but particular mention was made of the circumstance

on the journals of the house, as being of a nature which ought not to pass unnoticed. In that instance, the violation of form, he was inclined to think, rather proceeded from oversight; but, on a late occasion, he had not the same apology to make for a much more flagrant breach of order. He hoped, therefore, that the house would so mark it with its reprobation as to prevent its ever occurring in future. In order to induce it to come to this decision, he should shortly recapitulate the circumstances on which he meant to ground a motion; and he was confident that if the house did not adopt some resolution similar to that which he meant to propose, it would be impossible to go on with the transaction of public business in the way in which it had hitherto been conducted, and that there was an end at once to the constitution of parliament. The first point he wished to establish was, the difference that there was between simply answering a question which might be put for the sake of obtaining information on any particular subject, and the practice which the right honourable secretary had introduced, of reading extracts from official papers in the course of debate, to serve any temporary purpose which he might have in view, either in his private or official capacity. There was as great a difference between these, with regard to the forms of that house, as there was in a court of law between the speech of a leading counsel in the cause, and the evidence he adduced in support of the pleadings. The right honourable secretary, not contented with giving his own representation in support of that side of the question which he espoused, had brought forward a chain of evidence, the truth of which it was not in the power of the house to verify, for the sake of influencing its decision upon the question at issue. On the third of February certain papers had been moved for by a right honourable friend of his (Mr. Ponsonby); and in the debate which took place, the discussion embraced not only the motions for papers, but the conduct of the individuals to which these papers referred. On that evidence the secretary of state for the foreign department read extracts from two of those papers which had been moved for, for the purpose of putting the house in possession of the information necessary to enable it to form a judgment of the propriety of the hostile proceedings which government had adopted against Denmark. On the eighth of February another honourable friend of his (Mr. Whitbread) moved for the production of those very papers from which the secretary of state had read extracts on the third of February, on the ground that the extracts which had been given conveyed a different impression to the house from that which the writers of these dispatches (lord Howick and Mr. Garlicke) intended to convey. On the third of February the reason given for not producing the whole of these papers was, that their contents could not be disclosed without detriment to the public service; and, on the eighth of February the right honourable secretary had persisted in opposing their production, on the pretence that he had not misrepresented, in the extracts which he had read from them, the opinions of lord Howick and Mr. Garlicke. On the 26th of February, however, the right honourable gentleman had come down to the house, and himself moved for the production of those very papers, the contents of which,

on

on the 3d of February, he had contended it would be unsafe to disclose, and the production of which he had resisted on a different ground on the 8th of February, for the purpose, as he stated then, of vindicating his own character! When the right honourable gentleman read the extracts from these papers on the 3d of February, it was not done with the view of communicating information to the house, but for the purpose of influencing its judgment upon an important public question. It was not done preparatory to a proceeding, but on the very model of a proceeding which was to terminate in adjudication; and it was upon this ground that he pronounced his conduct to be wholly irregular, and highly censurable. If a libel was published upon any member of the house, it was competent for that member to move that the libel should be read in the house; but the house would not ground any proceedings upon the libel till it was upon their table. This practice, which he contended to be invariably adhered to, was supported by analogies completely impregnable: here the learned member went into a historical detail of authorities, and concluded by saying, there were a variety of ways in which this practice might become prejudicial, not only to the constitution but to the whole code of parliamentary regulations. If it was allowed, it would be impossible to avoid referring to former nights' debates, which at present was not permitted; because there was no necessity for it, when the documents which formed the subject of discussion were upon the table of the house, and therefore might be referred to as often as occasion required. In a constitutional view it was obviously of the most fatal tendency, because it might be converted into an engine of dangerous influence upon the proceedings of the house on the part of the king. The fact, therefore, having happened, it was incumbent upon the house to come to some resolution respecting it which would prevent it from again recurring. There was also another point of view in which the conduct of the right honourable secretary appeared to be highly censurable, namely, in disclosing the secrets of his office, without the command or permission of his sovereign. The great officers of state were bound by law to the most profound secrecy in the exercise of the trust reposed in them, and they could not be absolved from this obligation of secresy, excepting by command of the sovereign. A secretary of state had no more right, of his own accord to disclose the contents of any dispatch with which he was intrusted, than a person picking it up by accident would have to publish it. The interference of the house, therefore, was essentially necessary on the present occasion, as well to mark its disapprobation of the misconduct of one of the servants of the crown in his official capacity, as to secure the regularity of its own proceedings, and the independence of parliament. On these grounds, Mr. Adam concluded with moving the following resolutions:

"That it appears to this house, that one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state did read to this house dispatches, and parts of dispatches, and other communications, to and from the accredited ministers of this country at foreign courts, relative to the subjects of their missions; and that he has stated and read other matters respecting the transactions of this country

country with foreign powers, none of which were then communicated to this house by his majesty's commands, and some of which this house has determined to be unfit to be produced.

"That such conduct is subversive of the antient and approved usages of parliament, is destructive of fair discussion and decision, and has a direct tendency to injure the public interest, by making the resolutions of this house proceed on inaccurate statements, which it cannot correct by reference to the documents from which those statements are made; or to force on the consideration of this house, papers which, in its wisdom, it may deem unfit for public production.

"And further, that such conduct is contrary to the trust which is reposed by the constitution in the confidential servants of the crown."

Mr. Canning said, either a general rule was to be laid down as broadly as possible, or a line directly drawn, respecting the nature and amount of the information that might be communicated to parliament. The former did not seem to be the opinion of the learned gentleman; that is to say, that information should generally and indiscriminately be laid before parliament upon all matters with regard to which it might be required. Was he then prepared to say, that no information was to be given to parliament but that which came in the more regular and authentic shape of a message from his majesty? If that were to be the case, he did not hesitate to say, that no minister could ever afford satisfactory information to either house of parliament; and that no immediate answer could ever be given to the most fair and proper questions which any member of either house might find it necessary to put to his majesty's government. It certainly was to be regretted, that of late it had grown into practice to lay before parliament much ampler communications than formerly; but was that a fit charge and crimination to come from the mouth of those who had made, in so short a space of time, twenty-four motions for the production of official documents? It was to be hoped that the present discussion would check that practice, and reduce such communications into a narrower compass. Here the right honourable secretary argued the cases referred to by Mr. Adam, and then enquired minutely into the facts stated by him, many of which he showed to be incorrect. In whatever light the tendency of the resolutions was to be considered, whether as laying down a general prospective regulation for the future conduct of ministers on such occasions, or as a personal and vindictive censure upon him, the course to be followed should be fairly stated and strictly applied. He was at a loss however to see how this had been done, and only saw how inconsistently it was attempted. The right honourable gentleman entered into a minute examination of the wording of the resolutions; and proved that what had been passed over uncensured in Mr. Pitt and lord Melville was construed into a criminal charge against him: as if the honourable and learned gentleman felt that such authorities could not be impeached, but that he might single out him as a fit person to make an example of, agreeably to the maxim:—*fiat experimentum in corpore vili.* All these arguments were of no avail to prove that in reading such extracts any breach of trust had

had been committed. Ministers must be supposed to have the confidence of his majesty; they must be supposed to feel the awful duty they owe to their country; and equally must it be supposed, that they have the permission of his majesty to have recourse to such communications when they think them necessary to the public service. Their discretion, after all, is the only rule by which they can be directed. It can never be expected that, upon every question put to them, they must consult the sovereign and receive his special permission, and then make their communication to the house. Were they to be subjected to such a rule, it was impossible that public business could be carried on with effect, or without perpetual interruption. Having stated thus much in vindication of the conduct he had pursued, he should now withdraw, not thinking himself competent to vote when a criminal charge was brought against his own conduct. Mr. Canning then retired.

Mr. Windham lamented, that the circumstance of the right hon. secretary having withdrawn from the house, prevented him from answering as fully the arguments of that right hon. gentleman, as he should have felt himself bound to do if he had been present. He then proceeded to touch slightly on the different precedents, as they were called, which the right hon. secretary had called in to his aid; and maintained, that not one of these was such as could bear out that right honourable gentleman in the inferences which he had drawn from them. It was one thing to place confidence in his majesty's ministers collectively; or in any one giving information, either when called upon in that house, or when ordered officially to do so by his majesty; but it was another, and a very different line of conduct, for one of his majesty's ministers to ransack the archives of his office, for the purpose of finding out such documents as might be serviceable to him; to pick out what scraps he pleased, and read them when he thought proper, and in what manner he thought proper, with a view to a personal triumph in debate; and afterwards to refuse the house an opportunity of reading those documents, and judging for themselves, when they were told, from high authority, that a false colour was given to them by that partial reading.

The chancellor of the exchequer stated his firm concurrence with his right hon. friend (Mr. Canning) as to the correctness of his conduct on the occasion which was now the subject of debate. He did not recollect an instance like the present, where a charge was made without a precedent or without an argument to support it. If gentlemen thought that there was any thing in the manner of his right hon. friend (Mr. Canning) in his reading those extracts, they should have moved for the extracts only. But a right hon. gentleman (Mr. Windham), said, "Are we to have no line at all?" Yes, certainly; but that line is to rest with the discretion of the person himself. If gentlemen thought that he had abused that discretionary power, they should have charged him with such abuse, and not with the bare fact of reading extracts in his place as part of his speech. In another part of that right hon. gentleman's speech (Mr. Windham's), he had observed the great difficulty which his right hon. friend had in finding precedents to support his case. To this he must only answer, that such silence in the history of parliament is the best

evidence

evidence that can be in his favour: *dum tacet, clamat.* The practice was so general, that it was clearly evident there was no ground for censure. The case of the king's message in the year 1757, referring to (he believed) admiral Byng's trial, and alluding to something in that house, could hardly for a moment be said to be at all analogous to the present case; and that was the only instance in which any thing like a censure was expressed upon the journals. As to the reading of the letters of sir Charles Stuart or gen. Abercrombie, there was not a tittle of evidence to snow that any judgement was expressed by the house in either instance. Under all the circumstances of the case, he felt it to be his duty to oppose the present motion, and to move that the other orders of the day be now read.

Mr. Whitbread, lord Castlereagh and Mr. Sturges Bourne took part in the debate; after which Mr. Adam entered into an elaborate defence of himself, maintaining that the conduct of the right hon. secretary was against the usage of parliament, which was proved by its never appearing to have been the practice of the house, and by its being checked each time on the occasions on which it was done. "As to modern practice (says he,) whatever it may be, I care not, because I deny that this justifies the practice, or defeats the ancient usage founded on the principles that formed the common law of the country, the practice of the house, and the acquiescence of the people; and I contend that my doctrine is confirmed and established by the entries of the 8th February which I have read to the house, being the only entries of the sort to be found on your journals. Had it been otherwise, there must have been hundreds of the same sort. It is to check this practice that I have moved these resolutions, the wording of which the right hon. secretary has chosen to criticize. As to his insignificant grammatical observations, I certainly shall not waste the time of the house by entering on them. But as to their substance and object, my meaning was this, and I contend that I have executed it; to resolve the fact in the first, and draw the conclusion in the second. The right hon. gentleman has retired, because they criminate him; and you, sir, have sanctioned his act. I can only say what my meaning was. I will not assert that, in nice construction, the latter part of the second resolution may not be connected with the fact stated in the beginning of the first, namely, that the secretary of state being charged with having done the thing, the offence may not be referred to him personally, stated at the end of the second resolution. But my meaning was, by using the words "confidential servant of the crown," to make it a general proposition as to all, and not a breach of trust by one. As my object was a general resolution to prevent the grievance in future, sir, I am now, notwithstanding the tone in which this has been taken up, perfectly satisfied that I have discharged a most important duty in bringing this most important question of the law and constitution of parliament into discussion; both to counteract the entries on the journals, and to check a course of proceeding which places the means of swaying the decisions and acts of this house, by misrepresenting facts, and withholding the evidence of them, entirely in the hands of the ministers of the crown.

crown. If this object is obtained I am satisfied, and I am confident that in future what has been done now will put a stop to any such proceeding hereafter; and that, in our time at least, no ministers will dare to do what was done on the third of February last. That being my conviction, I have no desire to take the sense of the house at this late hour, and after this very fatiguing week, upon the question. It is sufficient for me that it remains on record that I have interfered to check this most injurious and unconstitutional practice."

The house divided upon the motion for the previous question:

Ayes	- - -	168
Noes	- - -	67
	Majority -	101

March 8th.—The house went into a committee on the mutiny bill: and

Lord Castlereagh, referring to Mr. Windham's system, (which has already been detailed in our preceding volumes) said to many parts of that system he had no objection, he even applauded the inducements held forth to certain descriptions of men, to engage for a limited time: but what he complained of was, that the right hon. gentleman considered his measure as prescriptive, to be preserved without addition or alteration, contrary to whatever happened with respect to any measure. He had no objection to limited service; but why should limited service be enforced, to the total exclusion of unlimited service, even when men were perfectly satisfied and desirous to enter without limitation? But let it be seriously considered, what would be the consequence of making it the exclusive principle. With no less than nine thousand men now employed in foreign and colonial service, how would it be possible to maintain an efficient army in our distant possessions, if it should be necessary to bring home the men at the termination of a short period of service? Every soldier sent to India cost 100*l.* for his conveyance out and home; and if a regiment was to be sent out, the whole or the greater part of which would be to be brought back at the end of three years, he begged the house to consider how little service would be had for so enormous an expense. He allowed, that a limited engagement may answer very well for European service. But all he wished was, a fair option to the individual to form his engagement, so that some portion of our army, and that as large a portion as may be, should consist of men engaged for life. Let it be considered how large a portion of our army was already engaged for limited service only; and here he could not help expressing his satisfaction, that it was not now the object of consideration how an army was to be raised, but how a very flourishing army, already in existence, should be maintained. The present regular army of the line consisted of about 204,000 men; and he was sorry to say, that of these, including the men inlisted under the right hon. gentleman's measures, full 70,000 were engaged for limited service. The number raised under the right hon. gentleman's measure was 26,000, and they were all for limited service. All the foreign corps were, from their origin, engaged for limited service: the garrison battalions were also limited; and the volunteers from the militia, with the exception of 6 or 7000. It was mat-

ter

ter of serious consideration to think that the 36,000 enlisted this year would all be entitled to their discharge at the same period, seven years hence. It was also very material to consider how this principle, if exclusively acted upon, would affect our peace establishment. Supposing a peace establishment of 100,000 men, and 36,000 of these to be discharged in one year, and a war to follow in that year or the next, what would be the state of the country? He contended that the right hon. gentleman's measure would not cover its own waste, and that of the army in general. He maintained that the enlistment for life of those who, on having the option, should prefer engaging for life, would not discourage others from engaging for years. The ordinary recruiting was made more productive under the right hon. gentleman's plan, by multiplying the number of recruiting parties beyond measure, and also by the threat of reduction held out to the 54 additional battalions, unless they should complete their establishment to 400 men each before six months. One part only of the right hon. gentleman's plan was not speculative, and that was the permanent burthen of 450,000*l.* a year which it imposed upon the country, in the shape of additional pensions, an incumbrance which must increase continually. These reasons, he conceived, would be fully sufficient to satisfy the house of the propriety of not depriving such men as were inclined, of a fair option to enlist for life. He therefore moved, that a clause be introduced allowing that option.

Mr. Windham began by commenting on the candour and fairness with which the noble lord had introduced, into the mutiny bill, a clause subversive of the system which had been already decided upon, after long and serious parliamentary investigation. To prove, that, though slow, the system was in its operation sure. The noble lord was contented with simply stating this, and perhaps it was well judged in that noble lord not even to try to prove it. For what were the facts? The progressive increase had been in the following proportion; 11,000 in the first period, 13,000 in the next, 21,000 in the third, and 24,000 in the fourth. The noble lord would find it difficult to counteract those statements; and, admitting their verity, still more difficult to satisfy the house, that they were not proofs of the efficacy of the means resorted to. He objected to the comparison which had been attempted to be drawn from the first resolution, as if the effect of extraordinary levies was to be compared with that of the ordinary system of recruiting. He contended that, unfair as it certainly was to judge of the result of any plan by the beginning, still the beginning was such as to justify the most sanguine expectation of the result; as must have appeared from the brief statement he had already submitted to the house, of the gradual increase within stated periods, from 11,000 to 13,000, from 13,000 to 21,000, and from 21,000 to 24,000, and all this not within 18 months, as has been intimated by the noble lord, but within a period of 12 months. With respect to the militia, he was well aware that substitutes had often received the enormous bounty of 60 guineas, and ten guineas more for another bounty. Much had been said with

respect to the system of introducing boys in the army, as affecting the influence of limited service; he certainly did think that parents would be more inclined to part with their children for a limited time, than to devote them to an unlimited service. What was the fruit of the creation of fifty-four 2d battalions at one stride? That one-fifth of them deserted: therefore, it was not merely the question, how many could be got to remain after they had enlisted? It was nonsense to strike an average rate, independent of desertions, when the decrease of desertions was one of the best tests of the efficacy of any system of recruiting. To argue that such a system will enlist so many men, was so far good; but the great question was, how many men so enlisted would upon an average serve? that was, in other words, what would be in a given time the efficient return? To argue that a system which raised so many men produced so many soldiers, was obviously false reasoning; but to say, that because a certain system will purchase within a certain very limited period a certain number of men, the same will, in a regular progression, be productive in a proportionable period of time, was to say, that because a system was effective at first (no matter now by what means), therefore it would continue to be so, and that too in an increased proportion: this he utterly denied. But it had been objected that the number of recruiting parties was extraordinary; he could only state that the increased number of such was not all to be attributed to his system, and that they could not be considered, in fact, as in any greater degree productive; for the old rule of arithmetic could not be well applied in the present case; that if so many men could till so many acres, how many would a greater number till? For in such propositions the acres were indefinite, but not so the men in the present case, for they were definite. No number of recruiting parties, however great, could raise beyond what was required; therefore the number of the recruiting parties was not to be looked upon as any extraordinary means of efficiently raising men. The right hon. gentleman then went into a variety of numerical statements, to prove the progressive increase of the plan of last year, contrasted to those of others. He then proceeded to argue, that the country was pledged to those men who had entered the service on the stipulated conditions of the plan of last year, so actively discussed and so solemnly determined on; and that it would be no less than a breach of the public faith, to violate the engagements which had induced those men to enter into the service of their country.

General Tarleton said, that in any other country he should think the principle of limited service a good one; but in this country he thought it would be dangerous to adopt it, on account of the extent of its colonies. There was likewise another point of view in which he considered it as very objectionable, namely, the necessity that there was of having a large army at all times in readiness to oppose those schemes of invasion which it was beyond a doubt Bonaparte never for a moment lost sight of, in the prosecution of the present war. The honourable general, however, did not confine himself to the question immediately

diately before the house, but availed himself of the latitude of debate generally permitted in a committee, to take a general view of the defence of the country. When Bonaparte invaded our shores with his numerous and formidable legions, would it be sufficient to oppose to him Magna Charta, our constitution, or a friendly and conciliating opposition? He reminded the committee, in glowing and pathetic language, of the dreadful results of invasion from such a foe; slavery, death, and utter destruction! It would, perhaps, be objected to him, that military men were fond of war; but the hon. and gallant general assured the committee, that this was by no means the case; at least he, individually, was not fond of war, though he had fought and bled, and was ready to die in defence of his country. On these grounds the hon. general gave his decided support to the clause of his noble friend, empowering recruiting for life.

The secretary at war shortly adverted to some of the leading points of Mr. Windham's speech. He contended that the house had not been taken by surprise by his noble friend, as nine days notice had been given of his intention to propose the clause which was now under discussion. He likewise dwelt upon the bad effects which would result from the discharge of a large proportion of the military force at regular stated periods, and vindicated the government from the imputation cast upon them by Mr. Windham, of having committed a breach of faith with the country.

After some explanation from Mr. Windham and lord Castlereagh, the committee divided on the clause:

Ayes - - -	169
Noes - - -	100
Majority -	69

March 14. Sir Francis Burdett, on the third reading of the mutiny bill, had to offer a clause to prevent officers from being dismissed from the army by any other means than the sentence of a court martial. He thought such a provision of essential importance to the army, to the interests of the crown, and those of the country. The form of the proposition he had to make was so moderate, that he did not conceive any objection could be made to it. He was not aware of any opposition being intended, except from some loose ideas that had been thrown out, of its trenching on the prerogative. He did not think it did. But even if it were true that it did, he should not think that would be a reasonable objection with the house, if he could show that the power, so far as he meant to correct it, had been exercised in a manner detrimental to the honour of the crown, and the interests of the army and of the country. The army itself was constitutionally looked upon as a great infringement made by the crown on the prerogative of the people. He did not say it was an unnecessary infringement. But as the army was constitutionally an invasion of the liberties of the people, the principle of limiting in some respects the arbitrary power of the crown, with respect to the army, could not be looked upon as trenching on the prerogative of the crown, which held the army only by the indulgence of parliament. He contended that no prerogative of the crown ought to infringe on the

liberties of the people. The clause he should propose had nothing in view but to secure that justice and fair dealing which should always mark the proceedings of the crown towards the people. He proposed to restrain only that which no king if well advised would ever do. It was due to the officers of the army, to afford them that legal protection for their fortunes and lives, and, what was of still more importance to them, their characters, which persons of other classes enjoyed. They were wholly at the mercy of those malicious whispers by which the ears of persons high in authority were ever liable to be abused. Officers of the army should certainly be no worse situated in this respect than the rest of his majesty's subjects. No man whatsoever ought to be condemned or punished without a hearing. Such was the principle of British justice. The honour, of which military men were so tenacious, was exposed to ruin often without the possibility of guarding against it. The discipline of the army also suffered materially by the practice he wished to correct. For when those who, when brought to trial, would be found decidedly deserving of punishment, were blended in the operation of one undistinguishing stroke of power with those who, if tried, had the means of procuring themselves an honourable acquittal, virtue and good conduct, in a great measure, lost their stimulus, and bad conduct was sheltered from a great part of that shame, which was the most effectual check upon its vicious progress. As the object he had in view was to prevent future abuse rather than to censure the past, he forbore to cast any reflection, or to cite any of those cases which it would be competent to adduce. He might be told there were cases in which persons were dismissed, whom it would be hard to expose by a court martial, though it would have been highly improper to continue them in the service. Persons of this kind may be permitted to resign, and thus there would always be a sufficient security against abuses of every kind. It was the principle of the British constitution to separate every thing odious from the crown, and to adorn it with the heavenly attributes of mercy and power of relief. It was an inconsistency with this principle that he wished to remove, by giving to the officers of the army the same measure of justice enjoyed by the rest of the community. It was by the army that the crown was supported and the people protected, and why should the army be in a worse situation than any other part of the people in the essential point of justice? The army had now grown to such an extent, with a disposition still further to augment it, that, even in point of mere numerical consideration, it was a large portion of the people. And in the present critical and dangerous situation of the country, when our safety depended so much on the zeal and energy of the officers of the army, ought they to be left in circumstances in which they may be whispered out of their rank and situation, into poverty, disgrace and ruin, and a thousand calamities worse than any law could inflict, by the arts of a dark malignant assassin, who would not dare to meet them in the open light of genuine British justice? Courts martial afforded ample means to punish every description of offence; and when it was considered

sidered that these courts were not, like juries, bound to be unanimous in their sentence, and how many descriptions of offences could be included under the very extensive and sweeping charge of ungentlemanlike conduct so often censured and punished by them, he was sure no latitude of impunity could be apprehended, by giving every accused person the opportunity of stating his case before such a tribunal. He moved a clause accordingly.

The secretary at war objected to the clause, because the honourable baronet had laid no sufficient ground for making so great an alteration in the constitution of the British army. If the system which had been so long and so beneficially acted upon were now for the first time to be adopted, it might be a fit matter for consideration how far the principle of the honourable baronet might with propriety be annexed to it. It had unfortunately become necessary, in modern times, to keep up large standing armies, and in the ordering of these armies it was most material that they should look up to their head with awe. Undoubtedly the intervention of courts martial, in general cases, was right and necessary. But still there were cases that called for the exertion of a summary power; and the exercise of such a power, in those cases, was attended with the most salutary effects. The instances in which it was in fact exercised were very rare, and he believed it would be very hard to find an instance in which it had been abused. To say that it was liable to abuse was no argument; for what power was not? The prerogative of war and peace was liable to abuses of the most fatal tendency, and even the amiable prerogative of mercy may be exercised to the violation of justice and the material injury of the state. Still no one ever thought of limiting the crown in the exercise of these parts of the prerogative. The idea of an army totally independent of the sovereign head, was repugnant to every principle of the military and civil constitution. It had always been felt so, and therefore the interference of parliament with the power of the sovereign over the army, had ever been deprecated as a sort of invasion subversive of the constitution and ruinous to the country. There were now no abuses of the prerogative to intimidate officers in the disposal of their votes in parliament. There was no instance of abuse whatsoever that came within his knowledge. He therefore should vote against the clause.

After some conversation between different members, sir Francis agreed for the present to withdraw his motion.

The bill was then read a third time.

Mr. Calcraft rose to move an amendment, the object of which was to reduce the mutiny bill to the state in which it was last year, and to take from his majesty's ministers the power of enlisting men for a term longer than that which the bill had hitherto prescribed. He replied to the arguments that had been used against limited service. In the East Indies the example of the company was a sufficient inducement for its adoption. In the West Indies, a regulation of that sort was absolutely necessary to enforce the regular relief of regiments. The character of the soldier was improved by the introduction of limited service; the greatest part of the army who

conquered Egypt, were composed of men who enlisted from the militia for a term of years. The success of his honourable friend's system was rendered undeniable. He reprobated the mode in which it was attempted to subvert that system. Adverting to the 16,000 men that had enlisted from the militia into the regular service, he contended that each man cost the counties, upon the average, 25*l.*, which added to the 10*l.* of bounty to induce them to enter into the regular army, made an expense of 35*l.* per man, and this not equally raised, but ultimately falling on the landed property of the country. He concluded by moving, to omit the words in that clause of the bill by which the option of entering for limited or unlimited service was allowed to the recruit. Several members spoke upon the subject; after whom

Mr. Windham entered into an examination of the nature of that system, which he contended was the plan of the present administration secretly, cowardly, and clandestinely, to undermine: the measure which they proposed was impotent as to good, but powerful as to mischief. With a determined, unrelenting, remorseless animosity, they endeavoured to destroy the existence of that which lived to their shame. That his majesty's ministers really wished to destroy his measure, he doubted not, although they denied any such intention. The clause introduced by the noble lord, was as wise for their concealed purpose as it was foolish for their avowed purpose. He dwelt on the evils which must result from the noble lord's proposition, and particularly on the heart-burnings which must be occasioned among men who were enlisted for different terms of service; and remarked the change which had taken place in the sentiments of his majesty's ministers; who formerly had called out for a present accession of force, reckless of futurity, but who now, disregarding the present, directed all their solicitude to the future; for he contended that not a single additional man would be gained to the regular army by the new regulation. He stated at length the steps which were taken by the late administration for the reduction of the bounties, which he thought might be brought down to one guinea. The bounty, under the system of the present ministers, was 17*l.*; under his system it was already so low as 6*l.* and rapidly lowering from that. He again insisted on the breach of faith in putting other terms of engagement to the men than those given under his measure. He complained of the insertion of the present proceeding in the mutiny bill, which could not admit of delay, and wished it to be brought forward in a distinct shape, which would afford sufficient time to consider and discuss it.

Lord Castlereagh thought it natural that the right hon. gentleman should have the fondness of a parent for his bill, but the right hon. gentleman showed rather that doting predilection which the fondest lover felt for his mistress. He adverted to the delays that had intervened between the first disclosure of the principles of the right honourable gentleman, and its being regularly brought forward. These delays arose from the difficulty the right hon. gentleman found in reconciling his colleagues to the alterations he intended to introduce in the military system as it then stood. The measure was then introduced in the mutiny bill, to prevent

vent the fair opportunity of separate discussion and separate rejection. The mutiny bill was now very fairly made the vehicle of the remedy for the mischief introduced by its means at that time. The noble lord then stated, that the right honourable gentleman's measure had not added a man to the prior rate of the recruiting of the army. Of the 11,000 men the right honourable gentleman had raised by the ordinary recruiting, 8,000 were obtained by filling up the second battalions for rank, and the rest by the multiplication of the recruiting parties, which were raised at once from 350 to 800. He adverted to the advantage the right honourable gentleman derived from the additional force act, towards the recruiting account of this year. The honourable gentleman himself was obliged to admit, that the difference in point of desertions, for which he claimed such merit, was reduced to nothing; as indeed was all the right honourable gentleman's fine theory of the superior quality of the soldier; give him size and strength, and he would give all the rest of the superiority for nothing. One thing was certain, that the right honourable gentleman's measure added 470,000*l.* a-year to the expenses of the country. The late experiments in the volunteering of the militia were not decisive of a general preference for limited service. He deprecated the mischief of representing the engagements for life as disgraceful. The right honourable gentleman, on mature consideration, had not thought proper, under his own plan, to discharge those who had served twenty-one years, though that was his first intention. The alteration now proposed was the less contrary to the honourable gentleman's measure, as the warrant of his majesty issued upon that measure went to enlist the men, but was not binding to discharge them. The quality of the men engaged for unlimited service was certainly much superior, in a military point of view. Of such men, not one above the prior rate had been got by the right hon. gentleman, and 40,000 had been got by the measures of the present administration. It was now remaining to take the most essential means to preserve so large and valuable an army, and with that view he hoped the house would persevere in the measure brought forward by him.

Lord George Cavendish and sir Ralph Milbanke spoke shortly in favour of Mr. Windham's measure.

The house then divided, when there appeared:

For the clause proposed by lord Castlereagh	- -	189
Against it	- -	116
Majority	- -	73

In the house of lords, this new clause in the mutiny-bill was opposed by

The duke of Gloucester, who urged the inexpediency of altering the system of limited service, from the operation of which it appeared, by the returns on the table, the most beneficial effects, with respect to recruiting the army and preventing desertion, had been derived. It was a general opinion amongst military officers, that recruiting for limited service was the best mode of obtaining an efficient army. Such an alteration as that now proposed would create great confusion in regiments, in consequence of the different terms of enlistment; and was, in every point of view, in his opinion, likely to be prejudicial, as

it would tend to destroy the system now established. His highness, after speaking in warm terms of praise of the British army, which consisted, in his opinion, of the finest troops in the world, concluded by moving to leave out the words which had been read.

Lord Boringdon contended that the alteration would not tend to the destruction of the present system; this would be prevented by those opinions in favour of it which had been mentioned by the illustrious duke. It also appeared from the returns on the table that, out of 23,000 militia who had volunteered into the line, 18,000 had enlisted for limited service. He thought, however, that it was highly advantageous to have different terms of enlistment in the army, which might suit the various caprices of men; and might, at the same time, be highly beneficial to the service.

Lord King, the earl of Derby, and earl Grosvenor, supported the motion. The earl of Buckinghamshire opposed it.

Lord Melville took a retrospective view of the state of the army, and of the various plans that had at different times been devised for recruiting it. He disliked the frequent interference of the legislature in what regarded our military establishment. In his opinion, it was best intrusted to the care and management of the chief executive magistrate; and it was found of late to improve and flourish under the auspices of the illustrious personage to whose hands the sovereign had confided it. The country never had an army so numerous and well appointed as that it had to boast of at the present moment; and how was that army acquired? Not by any one plan or exertion; not by metaphysical recruiting, and a philosophical investigation of the moral propensities and habits of men; but by a combination of various plans and various exertions, adapted to the nature and employments of men as they were to be found, and to the varying situation and exigencies of the country. Of all the plans to which the present flourishing state of the army might be ascribed, the additional force bill, and the enlisting from the supplementary militia into the line, he conceived to have been the most efficacious. But as no one system or exertion had raised our military force to its present amount and perfection, so no one plan or exertion would be sufficient to maintain it in that desirable state. A variety of systems and exertions must conspire to accomplish this wished-for object. He was, therefore, for blending and uniting the two systems, respecting the merits of which noble lords seemed to be so much divided. Let the two systems go hand in hand; let them mutually aid each other. Thus, and thus only, could a military force be raised and maintained, that would answer the different calls of our colonial and home defence. The noble viscount then entered into a minute examination of the system of limited service; and ridiculed the theories and the reasonings upon which it was so whimsically built. It was said it would introduce a better description of men into the army; that it would induce respectable farmers to prepare one of their sons to be a soldier; in short, that it would make the military service a trade. The trade of a soldier! there never was, and never would be, such a trade in this sense of it. What was meant by a better sort of men? Was it that they were taller or shorter, broader or thinner?

This

This might be intelligible, but it was not the case. The men that had hitherto formed the British armies were men of stout hearts and habits: men of spirit and courage; lovers of bold enterprise. These were the materials of which an army must be composed: give him such men, though not of the better description; the worse men were the fittest for soldiers; keep the better at home. Upon these grounds, he must vote for the clause as it now stood.

Lord Sidmouth agreed with the noble viscount, as to the advantages derived to the army from volunteering from the militia, but differed with him in his opinion as to the present system of enlistment. His lordship entered into a detail of the measures adopted for recruiting the army during the last and present wars; and contended that the system of recruiting now in operation was the only measure to which the late administration could look with confidence for keeping up the army, without resorting to compulsory service, which, on every ground that could be stated, it was so desirable to avoid. His lordship said he had entertained doubts as to the system introduced two years ago, though he had given it his support as an experiment then necessary, in consequence of the failure of the additional force act. That system had succeeded in the most ample manner, and had more than equalled the ordinary mode of recruiting and the additional force bill put together. He was satisfied that the old mode of recruiting would never be sufficient of itself, without some subsidiary system, such as the army of reserve. By the new system we had procured a force better in quality, in stature, and in morals. He was, therefore, of opinion that any thing which might go to deprive the country of any part of the benefit arising from the system of limited service must be prejudicial, and ought to be avoided.

The earl of Moira spoke on the same side, as did lord Holland; the earl of Westmoreland was against it. The duke of Glocester replied, and the motion was negatived without a division, and the bill was almost immediately past into a law.

CHAPTER V.

Petition against the Bill to prevent the Exportation of Bark—Debate in the House of Lords on that Subject—Debate in the House of Commons on a New Reversion Bill—Debate in the House of Peers on the Bill to prevent the Exportation of Cotton—Debates on the Budget—Earl Stanhope's Motion on the Indictment Bill—Lord Castlereagh's Motion on the Local Militia—Mr. Perceval's Motion and Resolutions on the New Plan of Finance.

WE have been obliged to pass over some interesting debates in the house of commons; among these was that on the exportation of bark; which having passed the lower house, and been read a first and second time in the house of peers, a petition was presented against

against it by an individual M. de Testat, who, under license from the Spanish government, had opened a trade with the Spanish dominions in South America, by which means he exported a considerable quantity of British manufactures, and imported bark, of which he had a very large quantity on hand: his petition went to prove that the bill would be productive of serious injury to him. On the 7th of April he was heard by counsel, and witnesses were called to support the allegations contained in the petition. As soon as the counsel was withdrawn, the question was put for the third reading of the bill; upon which

Earl Bathurst stated the object of the bill, which, he said, had been miscalled a bill of privation, as it went to allow the exportation of bark upon certain conditions. Information had been received, that the French government, wishing to obtain a supply of this article, had given directions that this article should be admitted into the French ports, although coming from this country, provided it formed the sole cargo of the vessel. It was thought a little too much, that the enemy should not only obtain this article of which he stood in need, but should also obtain it upon his own terms; and therefore this measure was resorted to, in order that the enemy might be prevented from obtaining a supply of this article, unless he took with it British colonial produce, or British manufactures. He could not conceive, therefore, that this bill was liable to any of those objections which had been urged against it. A noble and learned lord had, on a former night, urged an objection to it on the ground of religion; but surely there could be nothing inconsistent with the dispensations of Providence in assisting and promoting human industry.

Lord Erskine, notwithstanding the arguments of the noble earl, still maintained the opinion which he before urged, that this measure was contrary to the dictates of religion and the principles of humanity; and so strongly did he feel upon this subject, that he intended, in case the house agreed to the bill, to embody the reasons which operated in his mind against it in the form of a protest, in order that they might remain upon the journals of the house, and go down to posterity. It could not be said to be analogous to the case of a siege, because there the object was, in forcing the besieged to endure privations, to compel them to surrender, by which they might put an end to those privations; but by this measure, sickness and disease were to be bereft of a medicine which was an effectual remedy, and this without any object to be attained, but that of distressing the innocent inhabitants of the continent. Such a mode of warfare was inconsistent with the dictates of the christian religion; and he rejoiced that, on this occasion, the reverend prelates, who usually attended that house, did not attend to vote in favour of this measure. As to the information stated by the noble earl to have been received, that house knew nothing of it, and therefore it could not form a ground of supporting this measure.

The earl of Westmoreland, lord Mulgrave, and lord Redesdale supported the bill. The earl of Albemarle, lord Holland, and the earl of Lauderdale, opposed it; as did also lord Grenville, who particularly cautioned the house to look well at the consideration they were to receive

as the price of the honour, justice, and humanity of the country. The assertion of the noble lord (Mulgrave) that we were entitled to resort to whatever species of warfare might be adopted against us, he confessed surprised him not a little. Were we, if at war with a nation of Indians, because they might scalp our men who fell into their hands, to retaliate on them by scalping their people in return? If at war with the Persians, and they poured poisoned weapons into our tents, were we to poison the weapons with which we fought? If they poisoned our streams of water, were we to retaliate by poisoning their fountains? If they employed assassination against us, were we to turn our swords from fair and honourable war, to match them in deeds of treachery and disgrace? Such, he thanked God, had never been our system of waging war; nor, till the present measures were introduced, had we ever sacrificed a particle of our national character. It had been remarked, that one of the greatest ornaments of the city of Lyons was an hospital for the sick and infirm: when that city was attacked by Robespierre, he ordered his cannon to be directed principally against this structure, as being an object the destruction of which gave peculiar delight to his sanguinary and inhuman disposition. In adopting the present measure, we endeavoured to assimilate ourselves to that monster of inhumanity; for what else was the present bill, but a cannon directed against the hospitals on the continent? The bill, however, had this additional disadvantage, that it was completely futile and inadequate. So all that we should gain by the measure would be, to evince the inclination, without possessing the power, to do evil.

The lord chancellor, lord Hawkesbury, and lord Rosslyn justified the measure.

The question was then called for, and the house divided on the third reading of the bill—

Contents	- -	54
Proxies	- - -	56
		110
Non-contents	- -	22
Proxies	- -	22
		44
Majority	-	66.

Lord Grenville presented a clause by way of rider, with a view to indemnify individuals who should be injured by the bill.

Lord Hawkesbury opposed the clause, as laying down a bad precedent, and it was rejected without a division. The bill was then passed without any further opposition.

On the same day, in the lower house, another reversion bill, which had passed through some of the forms, was debated at length: we shall give an abridged account of the speeches made by Mr. Bankes, and the chancellor of the exchequer, which will abundantly explain the nature of the measure.

Mr. Bankes rose, and reminded the committee of the situation in which they now stood, from the former bill having been rejected by the lords. They were therefore precluded, in point of form, from bringing forward exactly the same measure this session. It was on this account that he had brought in a bill, with a limitation in point of time. If this was carried, it would at least secure one object, namely,

namely, the prevention of any new grant during the limited period, which might affect the proceedings of the committee. With respect to the great measure of absolutely restricting the crown from granting offices in reversion, his object now was to proceed in the most conciliating manner possible, without sacrificing the principle of the measure. In opening his views as to the limitation of time, he thought it in vain to propose a longer period than that which had been proposed in the house of lords. This period (two years) was too short, in his opinion; but if he were to introduce a longer period, as ten years for instance, he rather feared it would cut off all chance of the passing of the bill, and disturb the harmony of the two houses. But it had been suggested to him, that this period of two years would be the most offensive that could be introduced, for it was exactly that which the lords themselves had rejected. This consideration had determined him to relinquish this period, and to propose one which he hoped would be equally useful, without subjecting the bill to so much risk. He intended, therefore, that the blank be filled up, with a provision that the bill should be in force for one year from the passing of the act, and from the close of that period to the end of six weeks from the commencement of the subsequent session of parliament. This would secure the remaining part of the present session, the whole of the next session, and six weeks of the session following. He hoped the house would be satisfied with this at present, with the understanding, that they gave up no part of the principle; but still looked forward to the further object of having the measure rendered permanent. The term would be sufficient for some of the purposes which the committee had in view, and therefore was applicable to the situation in which the house had been placed. He had heard that some objection had been taken on the ground that the reasons for the bill had been stated in the preamble. In the spirit of conciliation which he wished to preserve, he would move that it should be stated in the preamble, that the measure was connected with something at present pending in the house of commons, and that the words "suspended for a limited time" should be substituted for the absolute prohibition. He hoped his right honourable friend (Perceval) would see that he was disposed to go every possible length for the sake of harmony.

The chancellor of the exchequer was unwilling that the house, in pursuit of the measure which it thought necessary to be adopted on this occasion, should send back to the lords a bill so entirely similar to that they had before rejected, that their concurrence could not possibly, with any regard to their forms or consistency, be expected. On this ground, he had, on a former night, when his honourable friend proposed a bill similar, if not altogether the same as that so recently rejected in the upper house, intimated in what respects he considered the mode adopted by his honourable friend improper. He admitted then, as well as now, that the limitation in point of time, proposed by a noble friend of his (lord Hawkesbury) in the other house, had his entire concurrence. He therefore could have no objection to that feature of the bill now before

fore the house, otherwise than as being conveyed in a manner in which it could not be expected to pass the other house. He had at that time intimated his intention of proposing a clause, the object of which was entirely mistaken. Understanding that one great ground of complaint against grants in reversion was, that the want of notoriety attending them was likely often to give occasion to their being given to improper persons, he suggested as a remedy, that every future grant of the kind should be published in the Gazette. This proposition for regulating the mode of granting, was supposed to imply a determination that grants in reversion should be made, whereas the object of the committee of finance was to keep every office as free and open as possible to any reform they might think proper to introduce. His proposition was by no means intended to impede this object; but having been so misunderstood, and misrepresented, he should abandon it. He was glad to find that so far, at least, he proceeded with the general approbation of the house. With the alteration in the preamble, also, he gladly coincided, as it fell in with the wish of presenting a new measure to the other house. The former bills proposed to abolish grants in reversion altogether. The present proposed only to suspend the exercise of that part of the prerogative for a time to be limited. Thus the present bill was different from others in substance and form. Whether, after all, the measure was likely to be so supported in the lords as to pass that house, it was not for him to say; but he thought it incumbent on the friends of the measure, and on the friends of the cordiality of both houses, to avoid framing it so that there would be obvious ground of objection on the face of it, and consequently very little probability that it would pass. On these grounds he approved of the measure as it was now proposed by his honourable friend, and forbore to press the amendments he had on a former night suggested. He had had some other amendments also in view, all tending to the same effect, of making the measure more acceptable to the lords, by coming in a new shape; but he confessed that the course pursued by the honourable gentleman, on mature consideration of all the circumstances and all the reasons connected with the general principle, rendered these amendments unnecessary. His opinion of the bill itself was not changed. He neither saw those great benefits which some supposed likely to result from it, in point of public œconomy; nor did he see that danger to the prerogative which existed in the apprehensions of some of the lords. So far as it was represented to the public, that any great diminution of its burthens could be effected by the retrenchment of these offices, the promise was delusive, and would be attended with great disappointment; to that representation, therefore, he wished to be no party. On the other hand, with respect to the prerogative of the crown, though some alteration may be made by the bill for the present, by taking away the liberty of making grants in reversion, yet, when the offices so granted should fall in, the power of the crown, in that respect, would be increased rather than diminished. He was of opinion, that grants in reversion were often a cheap mode of rewarding public service, which would otherwise be to be rewarded by

by actual and immediate remuneration, at the public expense. Yet, with this opinion, he thought it desirable that the bill should pass both houses of parliament. A long conversation ensued, in which many of the most respectable members concurred in the opinion that the measure was good as far as it went, but that it was much too limited. The bill was finally passed in the house of lords on the 12th of May.

April 8. The next subject to be noticed is the bill for prohibiting the exportation of cotton; which having passed the commons, and having been brought into the upper house,

Earl Bathurst observed, that in consequence of the embargo in America, there had been some ground for apprehending that a sufficient supply of cotton would not be obtained for the consumption of this country: there was, however, he was happy to state, no ground for alarm upon this subject; there was a considerable stock on hand, and there was now every reason to believe that a sufficient supply would be obtained, even supposing the embargo to be continued. The quantity imported had been upon the average from 58 to 61,000,000 pounds; of this quantity about 18,000,000 came from our own colonies, and the conquered islands; about 8,000,000, from the Brazils, 24,000,000 from the United States, and the rest from the East Indies and other quarters. The quantity imported into Europe from the Brazils had been differently estimated, at 22 and 24,000,000 pounds; taking it at 23,000,000, the whole quantity would now come to this country. The continent of Europe had been cut off, by recent events, from its supply of cotton; and orders had actually been sent from Germany to procure cotton from Turkey, by land-carriage; a species of cotton of an inferior quality, which the manufacturers here would not use. Under these circumstances, he thought there could be no doubt as to the policy of securing to ourselves a sufficient supply of this article, by prohibiting the export.

Lord St. John contended, that the real ground upon which this bill had been sent to that house was, that it was the intention to injure the manufactures of the enemy, upon the supposition that our own would thereby be benefited by ensuring to them a monopoly. It was in this point of view one of those visionary measures, some of which had been already before the house, and which could only tend to the injury instead of the benefit of our manufacturers. If the cotton-manufactures of the enemy were destroyed, what would then be the consequence? All cotton goods in the territories of the enemy must then immediately be known to be British, and, instead of finding a sale, would meet with a prohibition. The variableness of taste was well known; and if the cotton manufactories of the enemy were destroyed, was there not reason to fear that taste might again vary, and some other articles be substituted for cotton? It was a most mistaken policy to suppose, that by destroying competition we should destroy our own manufactures. The contrary was the truth; manufactures thrived best by competition; this was proved in the case of our exports to the United States, which, in the article of cotton goods, had become nearly double, since America became a manufacturing

manufacturing country, of what they were before. He objected decidedly to the power vested in the crown of granting licenses, as it went to make every merchant in the kingdom dependent upon the executive government: added to this was the inconvenience experienced by merchants at the outports in procuring licenses.

Lord Auckland spoke on the same side.

Lord Redesdale supported the bill as a measure conducive to the interests of our manufactures, and as a check on the growing cotton-trade of the enemy.

The earl of Lauderdale remarked, that the noble earl at the head of the board of trade had given up the present bill as a measure of warfare, and had considered it solely in relation to its effects on our commerce. In this view of the case, he considered it as an extremely dangerous principle, to allow to the government for the time being, the privilege of saying, what individual should be indulged in carrying on a trade and manufacture, and who should not. To compel ships laden with cotton to come into our ports, while the export of that article was prohibited, and while our manufactures could not procure a market, was improperly to reduce the price of the raw material. Our manufacturers might wish to procure cotton at a cheaper rate; but they were at the same time aware of the impolicy of reducing the value of the raw commodity so much as to render it a matter of indifference to the grower of the article, whether he did or did not bring it to our market.

Lord Hawkesbury did not intend at present to enter into the merits of the orders of council, though he must protest against the interpretation put by the noble lord who spoke last, on what had fallen from his noble friends, as if they had given up the present bill as a measure of warfare. They had not done so. It was well known, that there was a deficiency of cotton in France, and, at the same time, that one of the most increasing trades in that country was the cotton manufacture.

Lord Grenville reprobated the idea as absurd, that the measure would have the effect of incommoding France by preventing the requisite supply of cotton. There were various tracts of country in which cotton could be grown, and did actually grow at this moment, of which it was impossible for this country, by any act it might pass, to deprive Bonaparte. In the Levant, considerable quantities of cotton were grown, particularly in Italy and Sicily, over which the ruler of France now had, or in all probability would soon have, the complete dominion. In fact, it was quite in the power of France, from the territory it now commanded, to procure cotton in whatever quantity it chose. If this country wished to preserve its cotton manufacture, and to command a constant and sufficient supply of the raw material, the plan was, to give a free and unlimited power of import and export. The advantages our harbours held out to the American grower would thus ensure us a constant supply, convinced as they would in that event be, that a ready market for their commodity would be found, if not with us, yet in some other quarter. The noble lord concluded with expressing his conviction, that the government would act the wiser part by forbearing to interfere in matters of trade, and leaving it to be regulated

lated by the natural influence of its own operation.

The question on the third reading being called for, the house divided:

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April 11. The house of commons having resolved itself into a committee of ways and means, and the account of the surplus produce of the consolidated fund having, on the motion of Mr. Huskisson, been referred to said committee,

The chancellor of the exchequer rose, pursuant to his notice, to submit to the committee the arrangement which he intended to recommend to parliament to adopt respecting the stamp duties, from which he proposed to derive a portion of the ways and means for the year. But before he should enter into that part of the statement which he was to submit to the committee, he felt it necessary, in order to justify the motion with which he meant to conclude, to recapitulate the amount of the supplies which had already been granted in the course of the present session. By enumerating the different items of supply already voted, and the ways and means available at present to cover them, he should point out to the gentlemen opposite, the ground upon which he brought forward the specific arrangement which he was to submit to the consideration of the committee. The right hon. gentleman here went through the various items of supply which had been voted in the present session, under the various heads of navy, army, barracks, commissary general's department, extraordinaries, ordnance, miscellaneous services, and Swedish subsidy; which having been already successively reported when voted, it is not necessary to repeat. The whole of the sums voted amounted in the aggregate to 48,658,170*l.*, from which was to be deducted the proportion that was to be furnished by Ireland, viz. 5,713,566*l.*, which would leave a sum to be defrayed by Great Britain of 42,939,604*l.* These sums he stated upon a rough estimate, which, however it might vary from perfect accuracy, would yet be found to correspond pretty exactly with the actual state of the accounts. Having gone through the supplies, it next became necessary for him to state to the committee the various ways and means which had hitherto been provided for covering these supplies. The house had already voted upon malt and pensions three millions. The sum usually voted was 2,750,000*l.*; but it was thought more expedient to take the amount of tax at the round sum of three millions, which it produced; the effect of which would only be to reduce the surplus of the consolidated fund by the sum of 250,000*l.*, the difference between the vote of three millions and the usual amount at which the malt and pension tax were estimated. The advances from the bank amounted to 3,500,000*l.* The unappropriated surplus of the consolidated fund, which his honourable friend would move in the present committee, was on the 5th of April 726,870*l.* Upon the rough estimate he was warranted in taking the war taxes at twenty millions. The committee would be aware, that the duties to be levied under the orders of council were applicable to the war taxes, and therefore he felt the more confidence in taking their amount at twenty millions. The lottery he should state

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at the sum of 350,000*l.*, which was undoubtedly less than it had produced in the present year; but he did not think he could estimate its produce higher than the amount he had stated. It would be in the recollection of the committee, that the sum of four millions of exchequer bills had been funded in the course of the present session; and that, in submitting that measure to the house, he had stated that it was intended to issue four millions of exchequer bills in place of those funded, as part of the ways and means for the year. By adding to these different items the sum of eight millions, which was the whole of what he apprehended would be wanted for the service of the present year, the aggregate amount would be 39,576,870*l.* To this aggregate was to be added the surplus of the consolidated fund, which he proposed to take at the amount voted last year, viz. 3,750,000*l.*, which would carry the ways and means to 43,076,870*l.*, yielding a surplus of ways and means, above the supplies, of 137,000*l.* The surplus of the consolidated fund, the committee would recollect, had been taken last year at 3,750,000*l.*, but had produced a further sum of 726,870*l.* —making all together 4,476,870*l.* Having stated the supplies, and the ways and means by which they were to be covered, it was, in the next place, his duty to state by what means he purposed to provide for the interest, charges, and sinking fund, of the exchequer bills funded, and of the proposed loan, which amounted to the sum of 750,000*l.* There existed at present a sum of 380,000*l.* applicable to that purpose, being the amount of the short annuities which had fallen in. There was likewise a saving upon the management of the public debt, of 65,000*l.* By the new arrangement with respect to the assessed taxes, a sum of 125,000*l.* would be produced; and the arrangement which he meant to propose, for an improved mode of collecting the duties on stamps, would be calculated to yield 200,000*l.* The whole of these sums would amount to 770,000*l.*, being a small excess above the sum actually required. He came next to state the view upon which he grounded the arrangement he had to propose with respect to the stamp duties. The committee were aware, that, in the course of the last year, a principle had been recognised by parliament, founded upon the suspension of all taxation for three years, and for resorting to the war taxes to cover the necessary charges of loans. The policy of this principle had met with the concurrence of all sides of the house, though some of the provisions of the measure founded upon it had been canvassed. Having stated this, he was bound to explain to the house why he had thought it necessary to depart from the principle in the present instance, by proposing to lay on additional taxes to the amount of above 300,000*l.*; and it certainly was not because he had considered the principle laid down by the noble lord who preceded him unwise. He had felt how desirable it was to consolidate the different acts relative to the assessed taxes and the stamp duties, and considered that a good opportunity, when making improved regulations for the collection of both, to make a small addition in certain items. He had already done so with respect to the assessed taxes, and he was now to propose a similar course with respect to the stamp duties. If by these means, with-

out adding considerably to the burthens of the public, they could contrive to provide for the present year, they might in the next and following years resort to the principle which had been so generally approved of; unless, upon a review of the state of the taxes, whoever might fill the situation he occupied, should be of opinion that, by regulation or modification, a supply could be obtained without increasing the pressure upon the public, and to relieve the war taxes. He then proposed some addition to the stamp duties. The addition, he said, to the amount of the duty would arise from an application of the *ad valorem* principle to other instruments than those to which it at present applied. It had on a former occasion been in contemplation to apply that principle to all conveyances of real property, by making the instrument invalid if the stamps were not of the legal amount: but, as it would be hard to render an instrument of no effect merely because of the stamp not being of the legal amount, the design was abandoned. He did not mean to carry his provision to that extent, but that a specification should be made of the amount of the consideration, and the duty on the stamp should be in proportion. And he proposed to apply this principle, not only to all conveyances of real estates, but to the admission to offices of courts and government. At present the duty was 20*l.* upon all offices of the courts, without regard to the income. He should propose to reduce the duty upon the lower offices, and to raise that upon the higher offices. Upon all offices the income of which should not exceed 60*l.* no duty would attach; upon all over 60*l.* and under 150*l.* the duty would be 8*l.*; upon all over 150*l.* and under 300*l.* it was to be 20*l.*; and so in proportion upon higher incomes. It was also proposed to make some alteration in the duty on indentures, but not to carry it higher than it was before the year 1804, and in some cases to reduce it lower. There was likewise some addition expected from the duty on attorneys' indentures. The duty at present, on articles of indenture, to an attorney of the superior courts, was 110*l.*, and of the inferior courts 55*l.* The same duty which applied to indentures to solicitors in chancery should also apply to proctors; for he could not see why, when the advantage was equal, the parties should not be subject to similar duties. He proposed that the duty of 55*l.* should extend to indentures to the writers to the signet in Scotland. In the duty on collations and donations, a small alteration was to take place; for where they gave the right as fully as induction and institution, the duty, which did not at present attach, was to apply. With respect to infeoffments, a small addition was to be made, the duty being at present only 1*l.* 10*s.*: it was proposed to raise it to 3*l.*, the duty applicable to another mode of conveying real estates by lease and release. An addition was also proposed to the duty on the grant of honours and preferments; the duty was at present but 20*l.* in all cases. In Ireland, the duty on the creation of a duke, marquis, or earl, was 200*l.*; on the creation of a viscount 150*l.*; and on the creation of a baron 100*l.*; and he could see no reason why this country should not adopt the same rate of duty which existed in that.

Upon the grants of money and pensions,

pensions, it was proposed that the duty should attach upon the *ad valorem* principle on the higher grants, though it would apply on a reduced scale to the lower. A duty was also to apply to policies of insurance on lives, which had been exempted in 1804, though there was no reason why they should be so exempted. Another head to which he wished to call the attention of the committee, was the case of promissory notes re-issuable, issued by persons calling themselves bankers. He proposed that every person issuing such re-issuable notes should pay twenty pounds a year for a license. The duty upon such notes was at present three-pence each, and he proposed to raise the duty upon all to four-pence each; but when the notes were payable only in one place, the duty was to be sixpence each. Another alteration was intended relative to the manner of transferring the shares of joint stock companies. At present the duty was collected only in proportion to the nominal value, but it appeared to him that it should be in proportion to the real value. As to law proceedings, they were already so highly burthened, that no addition could possibly be made to them. There were only some small instances, which we could scarcely consider but as omissions in the year 1804. Thus he proposed a duty of one shilling on all summonses before a master in chancery. With respect to probates of administration in Scotland, the duty was to apply in the same manner as in England. As to legacies, the duty applied on all above twenty pounds, except a residue, and then the duty did not attach till the residue amounted to 100*l.* It was proposed that the duty should apply indiscriminately to residue and legacies. It remained for him only to explain how the principle he stated was to apply to conveyances. The duty at present was thirty shillings on all conveyances of land. This duty he proposed to lower on conveyances of smaller property, and to raise it in proportion to the value on the higher degrees of property. In all cases where the consideration should not exceed 150*l.* the duty was to be one pound; between that and 300*l.* one pound ten shillings; between 300*l.* and 500*l.* two pounds ten shillings; between 500*l.* and 750*l.* five pounds; between 750*l.* and 1000*l.* seven pounds ten shillings; but in no instance to exceed one per cent. upon the consideration. Upon these instruments, and the re-issuable promissory notes, he calculated for an advance in the amount of the stamp duties to the extent of two hundred thousand pounds. The right honourable gentleman concluded with moving his first resolution, stating the unappropriated surplus of the consolidated fund, on the 5th of April 1808, to have been 726,870*l.*

Mr. Biddulph thought the arrangements for the service of the present year might and ought to be made without any additional taxes. He recommended the creation of a contingent fund by the sale of crown lands, to which the public may become tenants. The sums for which crown rents may be sold were almost inconceivable. One hundred pounds had been demanded of him for a rent of 8*s.* 9*d.* Such parts as may be sold to advantage may be disposed of, and the sum of 600,000*l.* may easily be created, so as to be available after the first dividend; the surplus of the consolidated fund to be brought in

aid, whenever any deficiency should require it.

Acts were afterwards passed to carry into effect the plan laid down by the chancellor of the exchequer.

April 12. Earl Stanhope, in the house of peers, called the attention of the house to a bill brought up from the commons, which has been denominated the indictment bill, which, he said, purported to be a bill to amend the law, but which in his opinion tended to make it worse. He thought that part of the bill particularly objectionable which related to proceedings on information; but as he did not mean to debate the subject now, he would move that the bill be read a second time on the 16th of May, and their lordships be summoned; which was agreed to. The discussion was however put off till the 19th, when

Earl Stanhope expressed his astonishment that so mischievous a bill should have been suffered to pass the commons. He considered the bill as an infringement of the trial by jury, and as tending to oppression. His lordship read great part of the bill, and laid great stress on the clause enacting that a copy of the indictment or information might be served upon the gaoler or turnkey where the party was in prison, and upon the subsequent enactments respecting putting in a plea by the prosecutor for the defendant, where the latter did not appear and plead; contending that, according to these enactments, a man might be tried in his absence; which was contrary to the principle of the common law, as was shown by the oath of a juryman, who was sworn to make a true delivery between our lord the king and the prisoner at the bar.

Lord Ellenborough observed that this oath did not apply to the trial of misdemeanors, and that in ninety-nine cases of misdemeanor out of one hundred, in the court of king's bench, the defendants were not present at their trials.

Earl Stanhope resumed, and observed, that the noble and learned lord on the woolsack only made parentheses in his own speeches, but the noble and learned lord who had just sat down made parentheses in the speeches of other persons.

Lord Ellenborough, said he considered himself as appealed to by the noble earl.

Earl Stanhope continued his argument against the bill, which he considered as tending to press in many instances particularly hard upon the poorer class, as the same process might be had for any offence, however slight; and as tending to impose in several instances a longer term of imprisonment than would be inflicted upon conviction.

The question was about to be put, when

Lord Holland rose, and observed, that he had expected some noble lord who supported the bill would have attempted to show its necessity. He had conceived that the noble and learned lord (Ellenborough) had intended to do so, and he was ready to give way to hear such necessity shown.

Lord Ellenborough said, he was ready to defend the bill, when any objection was made to it.

Lord Holland proceeded to comment upon the bill, which he considered as an innovation upon the sound and wholesome principles of the common law. The principle of part of the bill, with respect to requiring bail, was first adopted in the 26th of his present majesty,

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in a revenue act; and it was found so injurious, that a bill was brought in, in the 38th, to remedy the evil, it being found that many persons had remained in gaol for a considerable time without the means of bringing on their trials. He deprecated the principle of applying to other cases enactments found necessary for the better collection of the revenue, and still more as it was merely stated in the preamble to this bill as a reason for its enactment, that it had been found convenient. Was this a reason for altering the law generally? With respect to the process upon indictment and information, where was the necessity shown for such an alteration? This bill, besides, went to require bail equally upon an indictment presented by twelve sworn men, upon an information granted by the court of king's bench, and upon an information filed *ex officio* by the attorney-general. This was an innovation which he thought pregnant with the most injurious consequences; nor could he for a moment consent that a power of holding to bail should exist upon the mere filing of an information by the attorney-general. His lordship quoted some legal authorities for the purpose of proving the ancient practice of the constitution, contended that by this bill a man might be tried in his absence and without his knowledge, and called upon those who resisted a bill which they conceived to be an innovation upon the prerogative, to resist a bill which was an innovation upon the constitution. If no innovation was to be suffered in the one case, none ought to be allowed in the other, at least without proving some strong necessity.

Lord Ellenborough contended, that considerable misconception had taken place with respect to this bill, which did not alter the law as it now stood, or at least very slightly, but merely defined more accurately the course to be pursued. As the law at present stood, it was well known that persons might be held to bail not merely upon indictment, but by any justice of the peace, upon a charge of misdemeanor. With respect to informations filed *ex officio* by the attorney-general, he was a sworn officer: he never filed such informations without previous affidavits to substantiate the charge; and when an information was filed by the attorney-general, it was a presentment upon oath, as much as that of a grand jury. He did not see, therefore, that any injury was to result from holding to bail upon such informations. With respect to indictment and information, it should be recollected that a person accused had much better means of justifying himself in the latter case than in the former. Before a grand jury the evidence was *ex parte*, and the proceedings secret. A person accused had no means of punishing another for a false accusation before a grand jury, nor could he indict a witness who had given evidence before a grand jury for perjury; in the case of an information granted by the court of king's bench, the accused must be served personally with the rule to show cause, which was only granted on affidavit; he might then file affidavits, show cause, and have all the advantage of the argument of counsel. Information filed *ex officio* by the attorney-general being grounded on affidavit, a party falsely accused might indict the person making such affidavit for perjury. He thought the provisions of the bill were humanely

adapted to give relief to the prisoner. As to his being tried in his absence, that was out of the question: persons tried for misdemeanors in the court of king's bench were scarcely ever present at their trials. This bill would also prevent a person sent to prison for want of bail, from remaining there, as it might happen for years, without the means of bringing on his trial; another provision in his favour was, that the judge who tried him, although not a judge of the king's bench, might discharge him if acquitted. He considered the bill, therefore, as favourable to persons in the situation alluded to, instead of at all tending to make their condition worse.

Lord Erskine condemned the principle of extending regulations made with an immediate view to the collection of the revenues, to other cases. With respect to the bill, he admitted there was nothing in it affecting the trial by jury, as supposed by the noble earl (Stanhope), and that the objection of trying a man in his absence did not apply to it. He contended, however, that the bill did make an alteration in the law as it now stood, and for which no necessity had been shown, namely, in holding to bail upon informations filed *ex officio* by the attorney-general. These informations, it had been said, were filed upon affidavit; but the attorney-general was not compelled to file them upon affidavit, he might file them without any affidavit. It was not to be supposed for a moment that his learned friend, the present attorney-general, would do any act that was in the slightest degree improper; but he objected generally to the principle of holding to bail upon informations filed by the attorney-general, which might or might not be founded upon affidavit, and thereby giving to the attorney-general the power of a grand jury. No necessity had been shown for this bill, and he thought it much better that the law should stand as it did, than that they should run the risk of exciting discontent or dissatisfaction by altering it, and by giving power of holding to bail in slight offences, in libels, and constructive breaches of the peace, which might, at some period or other, be used oppressively against the subject.

The lord chancellor contended that the only question at present was, whether there was so much good in this bill as to authorize its being sent to a committee. He thought there was. With respect to informations filed *ex officio* by the attorney-general, it was fitting that it should be stated, that although he might not be compelled to receive affidavits previous to filing such information, in substance it was so, no information of that nature being filed except upon affidavits; and with respect to the informations of that kind filed by him when he held the office of attorney-general, the parties might have been held to bail by a magistrate upon the affidavits. He thought the provisions of the bill were favourable to persons sent to prison for want of bail, in preventing the necessity of their remaining there for a considerable time without the means of release, and that, with some alteration in the committee, it might be rendered unobjectionable.

Earl Stanhope was glad that some alteration was to be made in the bill, as in that case it would be sent back to the commons. His lordship proceeded to show the absurdity

surdity of contending, that because judges were sometimes honest men, or attorney-generals persons who could be trusted, therefore extraordinary powers should be vested in their hands. Were he to attempt to drive such a doctrine down the throat of the noble and learned lord, he was convinced he could not say Amen to it. Judges and attorney-generals were like other men, and he should give a specimen of them for the edification of the learned lord, who seemed to have forgotten of what sort of characters they were at times composed. His lordship then alluded to the opinion of the judges, when consulted by Charles the First, as to his right to exact ship-money, by which they declared that he had such right, and that he himself was the only judge of it; also to the answer of the judges in Charles the Second's reign, who declared it to be unlawful to publish any argument against government. His lordship next alluded to a case decided some years ago, in which the learned lord on the woolsack had laid down what he esteemed to be true law, that the decisions of the judges were to be regulated not by precedents, but by the written law of the land. This case he did not allude to from memory; he had seen it within these few days as it came from the short-hand writer. This the learned lord might not esteem evidence; but he certainly would do so, when he informed him that it was sanctioned by corrections made in the hand-writing of the learned lord himself. This his lordship esteemed sufficient to found him in maintaining that it was to the law of the land, and not to the opinion of the judges, that we were to look for protection.

Lord Lauderdale spoke decidedly against the bill, but it was passed by a large majority, and was finally carried into a law.

Lord Castlereagh, on the 12th of April, agreeably to notice, brought forward a measure for adding to the internal defence of the country. His object was to have a regular subsidiary force, amounting to six times the number of the militia, as proposed by Mr. Yorke some years ago. On this principle it would appear, from the last returns of the volunteers, that there was now a deficiency of about 30,000 men. But there were besides deficiencies of particular counties, which would render the whole number necessary to be called out, about 60,000. This he proposed should form a local militia, and should be balloted for, in their different counties, in proportion to the deficiency of volunteers in each, from among persons between the ages of 18 and 35. Persons might be allowed to volunteer into this force; but no substitutes should be allowed, nor any exemptions made but at a very high fine. To render this force as similar as possible to the existing militia, the officers should possess the same requisites as to property, except in one instance, that whoever had held the rank of field officer in the army might hold the same rank here, without regard to any such qualification. Volunteer corps might, if they chose, transfer themselves, with the approbation of his majesty, into this local militia. The period of service during the year to be 28 days, exclusive of the days for assembling, marching, &c., for which pay to be allowed. The expense would not exceed that of the present volunteer establishment. It would not be so great as that of Mr. Wind-

ham's training bill, and would not exceed 4*l.* a man for the year. A regimental force of 400,000 men would thus be kept up, ready at all times to act with the regular army and the militia—a force which he submitted was amply sufficient for any emergency, amounting as it would do in time of war to 650,000, and even in time of peace to 600,000 men, besides the trained population of the country.

Mr. Yorke approved of the proposition.

Mr. Windham begged of gentlemen on the other side to put two questions to themselves—1st, What necessity there was for the proposed measure?—2d, Whether it might not be traced to the motive of wishing to bring back the old system of having soldiers for life? Leave was given to bring in the bill, which caused many and long debates, but, with some alterations suggested chiefly by lord Castlereagh, was passed into a law.

The next subject that claims our notice is a new plan of finance proposed on the 12th of May by Mr. Perceval, the chancellor of the exchequer; the object of which was to enable the holders of stock in the three per cents. to purchase annuities by transfer of their stock. In introducing this subject to parliamentary notice, the chancellor of the exchequer declared that he had no idea, either directly or indirectly, to divert the sinking fund from its natural and proper object, the redemption of the national debt; and having premised this observation, he proceeded, first, to explain the nature of the propositions which he meant to submit to the committee; after which he should state the reasons why it appeared to him desirable that they should be adopted and acted upon. The purport of these propositions would be to enable persons possessed of three per cent. consolidated or reduced stock, to transfer such stock to the commissioners intrusted with the management of the fund applicable to the redemption of the national debt, in consideration of receiving, on such transfer, annuities proportioned in value to the quantity of the stock transferred, and the age of the persons to whom the annuities were given. He did not mean that this permission should be extended to persons under the age of thirty-five, or to persons transferring less than 100*l.* capital. The former limitation was adopted with a view to prevent impositions, the latter to save trouble, which was as great upon a small as upon a large sum. He stated that the effect of this proceeding would be not only to take out of the market the stock which was made the subject of commutation, but to secure the redemption of this stock, at the price of the day on which the transfer was made. It was well known that the operation of the sinking fund had contributed very much to increase the price of stock; and he had no doubt that its influence would continue to be felt in raising still higher the price of the funds. If the committee agreed with him in this opinion, it would not be denied, that could a measure be devised, consistently with the maintenance of the national faith towards the public creditor, to redeem the whole of the debt at the present price of the funds, it would be extremely desirable to carry such a measure into effect, because such a proceeding would prevent any future rise in the funds from retarding the operation of the sinking fund.

fund. The sinking fund had two different objects, the one of which was the redemption of the public debt, the other keeping up the price of stock. These two objects were manifestly, in some degree, inconsistent with each other. When the funds were high, the public borrowed on advantageous terms; but the progress in the reduction of the debt was proportionably retarded; and, *vice versa*, when stocks were low, the operation of the sinking fund was accelerated, while loans were made on terms less advantageous. The present measure combined the two advantages of tending to increase the price of stock, and of securing the redemption of the stock antecedent to its rise. The proposition was so obvious, that he did not conceive it needed explanation; but to render it, if possible, more plain, he put the case of a person making a transfer of stock, in consideration for which transfer he was to receive an annuity equal to double the present interest. The value of this annuity was calculated at compound interest, and with a view to the probable age of the person to whom it was granted; so that the additional interest should redeem the original sum. For instance: supposing a man possessed of 1000*l.* three per cent. stock made a transfer of this stock to the public, and that instead of 30*l.* he should be paid 60*l.* in consideration for this transfer, the additional 30*l.* would not only, on the principles of fair calculation, redeem the 1000*l.* at the present price of the funds, but the rise which may in future take place in the funds above their present price. He admitted that the whole merit of the plan rested upon the probability of a rise in the price of the funds; for, if the funds should fall, it would not only not be a disadvantageous proceeding for the public, but the public would absolutely be a loser by it. The point, therefore, which particularly called for the consideration of the committee, in order that they might pass a wise decision upon the plan, was, whether it was probable that the funds would continue progressively to rise. If they could form any inference respecting what was to take place, from what had already happened, there could be little doubt this would be the case. Since the last loan was contracted for, the funds had risen about six per cent. on every hundred pounds stock, which was equal to a rise of from nine to ten per cent. upon every hundred pounds of real capital. After a variety of other observations, Mr. Perceval concluded with moving the following resolutions:

1. "That it would tend to a more speedy and efficient reduction of the national debt, and would at the same time be of material accommodation and convenience to the public, if every proprietor of three per cent. consolidated or reduced bank annuities were at liberty to exchange, with the commissioners for the reduction of the national debt, such bank annuities for a life annuity during the continuance of a single life, to be named by such proprietor; or for a life annuity during the continuance of the lives of two persons, to be named by such proprietor, and of the life of the longer liver of such two nominees.

2. "That, in order to give effect to the aforegoing resolution, every proprietor of three per cent. consolidated or reduced bank annuities, who shall be desirous of exchanging any such bank annuities for a life annuity

annuity on the continuance of a single life, shall, on transferring to the commissioners for the reduction of the national debt any such bank annuities, be entitled, during the continuance of his or her life, or of the life of some other person to be named by him or her, to receive (under such regulations as parliament may deem it expedient to adopt) for every 100*l.* of such bank annuities, and so in proportion for any greater sum than 100*l.* of such annuities, transferred to the said commissioners, a life annuity of such annual amount, according to the age of the nominee, and the average price of such bank annuities on the nearest open day preceding the day of the transfer thereof, as is specified in the following table.

3. "That, in order to give further effect to the aforegoing resolution, every proprietor of 3*l.* per cent. consolidated or reduced bank annuities, who shall be desirous of exchanging any such bank annuities for a life annuity in the continuance of the lives of two persons, to be named by such proprietor (of whom such proprietor may be one), and the life of the longer liver of them, shall, on transferring to the commissioners for the reduction of the national debt any such bank annuities, be entitled, during the continuance of such two lives, and of the life of the longer liver of them, to receive (under such regulations as parliament may deem it expedient to adopt) for every 100*l.* of such bank annuities, and so in proportion for any greater sum than 100*l.* of such annuities, transferred to the said commissioners, a life annuity of such annual amount, according to the respective ages of such two nominees and the average price of such bank annuities on the nearest open day preceding the day of the transfer thereof, as is specified in the following tables.

4. "That no person shall be admitted to be a nominee, either for the grant of an annuity for the continuance of a single life, or for the grant of an annuity for the continuance of two lives and of the longer liver of them, who shall be under the age of thirty-five years.

5. "That the dividends payable in respect of the bank annuities, which shall be transferred to the commissioners for the reduction of the national debt, in exchange for life annuities, shall be received by the said commissioners, and shall constitute a part of the funds applicable to the reduction of the national debt; and that out of the said funds applicable to the reduction of the national debt, the said commissioners shall pay the respective life annuities granted in exchange for such bank annuities, during the continuance of the respective lives for which the same shall be payable; and that the said respective life annuities shall be payable half-yearly at the bank of England, on the same days on which the dividends on the stock transferred for the purchase thereof may be payable in every year; that the first payment of every annuity shall commence on the same day on which the first dividend on the bank annuities so transferred shall be payable to the said commissioners; and that upon the death of any single nominee, or of the survivor of any two joint nominees, a sum equal to one-fourth part of the annuity dependent upon his or her life shall be paid to the person entitled to such annuity, or his or her executors or administrators, as the case may be, provided the same shall be claimed within two years

years after the death of such single or surviving nominee; and that the annual sum payable for every such life annuity so ceasing as aforesaid, shall thenceforth revert to and constitute part of the funds applicable to the reduction of the national debt.

6. "That for the purpose of ascertaining the effect of the measure proposed in the aforegoing resolutions, with reference to the redemption of the public debt, a separate account shall be kept half-yearly, by the commissioners for the reduction of the national debt, of all bank annuities which shall have been transferred to them for the purchase of any life annuities, and of the dividends receivable by them in respect thereof, up to the period of such account; distinguishing therein so much of the said bank annuities as shall have been transferred in the course of the next immediately preceding half-year.

"Also, a half-yearly account of the amount of all the life annuities granted by them up to the period of such account, distinguishing therein the amount of the life annuities which shall have been granted in the course of the next immediately preceding half-year; and also of the amount of all the annual sums which, up to the period of the said account, shall by reason of the deaths of nominees have reverted to the funds applicable to the reduction of the national debt, distinguishing therein the amount of such annual sum as shall have so reverted in the course of the next immediately preceding half-year, together with an account of the amount of life annuities then payable; and that in every such account shall be specified the excess in the whole amount of all the life annuities then before granted, above the amount of the dividends receivable in respect of all the bank annuities then before transferred for the purchase of life annuities; and also the excess (if any) in the amount of the life annuities then payable above the amount of such dividends.

"And that a separate account shall also be kept half-yearly of the capital stock, which, up to the period of such account, shall have been redeemed by the application of the annual sums which shall, from time to time, have so reverted to the said funds, by reason of the deaths of nominees, and by the application of the accumulated dividends of the capital stock redeemed thereby.

"Also, an account of the whole amount of *3l.* per cent. capital stock, which, up to the period of such account, would have been redeemed by the excesses in the amount of the life annuities from time to time payable by the said commissioners, above the amount of the dividends from time to time receivable by them, in respect of the bank annuities transferred for the purchase of such life annuities, in case such excesses had been intermediately applied in the redemption of *3l.* per cent. stock, in the manner prescribed by the laws now in force for the reduction of the national debt."

Mr. Windham was afraid that too many parents would be found, that would be very willing to sacrifice the future interests of their children to their own immediate gratification. The system of annuities was too generally attendant with such consequences, and he saw nothing in the plan of the right hon. gentleman calculated to obviate such effects in the present instance.

Mr. Brand observed, that by as much

much as the price of stock exceeded seventy, by so much would the public be injured, as far as related to the operation of the sinking fund.

Mr. Tierney thought, that the objection of his right hon. friend was well worthy of the most serious consideration. The mischiefs resulting from persons in the lower orders of life having a market opened to them for the sale and disposal of the future interests of their families, were of a nature such as to contain in themselves no inconsiderable objection. This, however, was an objection of a specific kind; and perhaps he felt it the less, because he did not believe that the system, of which it was to be one of the consequences, would ever be carried into effect. The system was founded on a principle contradictory to the uniform habits of the country. The habits of the people of this country were almost universally influenced by a wish to save their capital to the decrease of the interest, rather than sink that capital for a greater interest, which must be the principle of any system of life annuities; nor would they in this point of view be content with the assurance of the chancellor of the exchequer, that his plan would not ultimately tend to the decrease of their capital; nor was it probable that, contrary to their constant habit, they would, in this instance, be suddenly brought to be more anxious for the increase of interest at the expense of their capital. Many of the right hon. gentleman's positions rested upon the presumption of the apparent prosperity of the funds; but he was inclined to think that this prosperity was but apparent, and owing to the general stagnation of trade, which had for some time back prevailed.

A bill was afterwards brought into the house on this plan, and passed into a law: tables of the different rates were published, and an office opened to transact the business connected with it.

CHAPTER VI.

Sir Samuel Romilly's Motion to amend the Criminal Law—Debate in the Committee on the Privately Stealing Bill—Lord Binning's Report and Motion on the Distilleries—Mr. Grattan's Motion in behalf of the Irish Catholics of Ireland—Lord Grenville's on the same Subject in the House of Lords—Mr. Sheridan's Motion on the Affairs of Spain—Mr. Whitbread's Speech on the State of the Nation—Sir Francis Burdett's Motion on the Discipline of the Army—Mr. Whitbread's Motion on the Affairs of Spain.

ALTHOUGH we must, from the limits prescribed to this part of the volume, abridge, more than we could wish, many important discussions which came before parliament, yet we shall endeavour to give the leading arguments used by the different parties, on the subject of amending the criminal law: of suspending for a limited time the use of corn in our distilleries; of the debates in both houses on extending the toleration act to Roman catholics. Nor shall

shall we wholly omit the motions of Mr. Sheridan and Mr. Whitbread respecting the affairs of Spain: or the motion of the latter, who yields to no man in true and dignified patriotism, on the state of the nation; or the motion of sir F. Burdett on the discipline of the army, which is, we are told, to be the ground-work of subsequent motions on the same subject next sessions.

May 18.—Sir Samuel Romilly rose to make his promised motion on the criminal law of the country. He was conscious that any person who proposed an alteration in the laws of the country stood in an invidious point of view; and the only apology he had to offer for doing so was, that he had not taken up the subject lightly or suddenly; but that the opinion which he had adopted upon it, was the result of long deliberation. For many years of his life, he had intended to submit it to the consideration of parliament, and he felt himself to be culpable rather for having neglected it so long, than for bringing it forward in the present instance. In common with many others, he had always lamented, that by the criminal law of the country, capital punishments were appointed to be inflicted for so many crimes. He said "appointed," because, in fact, they were not so frequently executed, although no principle was better established, than that the certainty and not the severity of punishment rendered it efficacious. This principle had long been proved and published to the world by marquis Beccaria; but the admiration which his work produced in Great Britain was unproductive of any change in our system, which was directly the reverse of that noble writer's; for with us punishments were most severe and most uncertain. It was notorious, that of the persons who were sentenced to capital punishments, few suffered death. In 1805, three hundred and fifty persons were capitally convicted in England and Wales, of whom only sixty-eight (being less than a fifth) were executed. In 1806, three hundred and twenty-five persons were capitally convicted, of whom only fifty-seven (being little more than a sixth) were executed: a considerable portion was composed of persons who had committed murders or forgeries, crimes rarely pardoned in this country; and of the remainder, a large part consisted of persons who had committed highway robberies and burglaries, crimes not much more frequently pardoned. It was evident that the numbers of persons guilty of felonies that had been executed was very small, and that he was justified in stating that not above one in twenty of criminals of that description underwent the punishment of death. Now, whether this, generally speaking, ought to be the state of the law in any country, namely, that a law should exist in theory, but be dead in practice, he would leave with the house to determine. At present, he would confine his observations and his motion to one class of those crimes, which, as he had before stated, seldom received the punishment which the law appointed for them; a class on which the law inflicted extraordinary severity of punishment, without any well-founded motive to that severity. He meant those cases where the capital part of the charge depended on the amount. By a statute of William and Mary, privately to steal from a person to the value of 5s. was rendered capital. In queen

Anne's reign, to steal to the value of forty shillings in a dwelling-house was rendered capital; and by a statute of queen Elizabeth, a theft of so small a sum as twelve pence was under certain circumstances made a capital offence. When one recollected the great changes that had taken place since the enactment of those statutes, one was astonished the law had remained so severe to the present moment. If ever it were a true assertion that time was the greatest of all innovators, that assertion was true on the present occasion. As the necessaries, the conveniences, and the luxuries of life had become dearer, the life of man had become cheaper. Many mischievous effects lurked under this evil which were not manifested at first. The severity of the laws occasioned the frequent non-execution of them: Juries were placed in the painful situation of choosing between the violation of two duties, their duty to their country on one hand, and the duty of humanity on the other. The consequence was obvious. It was well known how frequently juries against the most direct evidence declined finding a criminal guilty of stealing above a certain value. Blackstone noticed this circumstance in his Commentaries, and characterized it by two words which no one could wish to see associated, "pious perjury." Long also ought this evil to have been removed; and the necessity of removing it became every day more pressing and urgent. So small a number of persons were convicted of these crimes, out of the great number tried for them, that an encouragement was held out for their commission. Another consequence was, that with respect to those who were found guilty, the crown exchanged its prerogative of extending mercy for the painful task of selecting those who were to suffer as an example. The judges, to whom this authority was delegated in every county but Middlesex, found the exercise of it the most interesting part of their duty. To what uncertainty also did it not lead, both with respect to the circumstances by which the judge was influenced in his decision, and also with respect to his own opinion on the necessity of severity! On this subject he was anxious to proceed slowly; to do too little rather than too much; to alter, not to innovate. He should therefore content himself, in the first instance, with proposing the repeal of that most objectionable statute of the 8th of queen Elizabeth, chap. 4, the absurdity of which was as surprising as its severity. He read the preamble to this statute, and exposed its inconsistency. There was another circumstance to which he was desirous of calling the attention of the house. It was the case of the persons, who, being accused of crimes, suffered imprisonment, took their trial, and then proved their innocence. As the law now stood, there was no compensation for such persons, unless the prosecution could be shown to be malicious. He allowed that, under the best system of criminal law, suspicion must sometimes light on the innocent man, and that the good of the public might require his confinement until that innocence could be ascertained; but, when ascertained, he contended that the sufferer should be compensated as far as it was practicable to compensate him. In all parts of the kingdom, except Middlesex, a man might be confined eight months before his trial; and

in

in the four northern counties above a twelvemonth. The imprisonment, therefore, of a poor labouring man, under such circumstances, was ruinous to himself and to his family; it was the duty of the legislature to avert such ruin. Perhaps such extreme cases might not often occur, but they ought to be provided against. He admitted that a difficulty might here be started, and that it might be said it would be highly improper to compensate all persons who were acquitted, because that acquittal frequently arose not from the innocence of the party, but from some insufficiency in the evidence, or informality in the proceedings. This certainly was a difficulty, but it might be obviated. The merits of the person acquitted, and his right to indemnity, might be determinable by the judge before whom he was tried. Such a regulation would proceed on similar principles to that of 1302, relative to the prosecutions, by which the judge was empowered, taking all the circumstances of the case under his consideration, to order the treasurer of the county to make such compensation as justice demanded. He would introduce, therefore, a similar proposition in the bill which he intended to propose on the subject. In the first place, however, he would move for leave to bring in a bill to repeal so much of the act of the 8th of Elizabeth, chap. 4, as related to taking away the benefit of clergy from persons stealing privately from the persons of others.

Mr. Hibbert did not approve of innovation either in the civil or in the criminal code of the country. But if any individual could be put on his trial, a majority of twenty-three persons must decide on his presumpsive guilt. He conceived that the proposal made by the honourable and learned baronet to compensate acquitted persons would be productive of more inconvenience than advantage.

Mr. Wilberforce differed so completely from the gentleman who had just sat down, that he declared he had experienced the most unmixed satisfaction at what had fallen from the honourable and learned baronet opposite. He well remembered that a great and lamented public character (Mr. Pitt), at an early period of his life, had intended to have had a digest made of the whole of our criminal code, with a view of lessening, in a great degree, the number of capital punishments which it contained, and the objections to which it was impossible to confute. He congratulated the house and the country that an individual so well qualified for the task by his ability and experience as the honourable and learned baronet, had turned his attention to this most important subject.

The solicitor general declared, that every one must feel how highly indebted the public was to his honourable and learned friend, who, amidst the severe duties of his profession, had turned his enlightened mind to the consideration of such subjects as those on which he had that evening addressed the house. Whether the attempt to grant compensation to persons acquitted of offences imputed to them might not be productive of greater evil than good, was not now the question. He was certainly inclined to think, that, however plausible the theory, the practice would be very injurious.

Sir

Sir Francis Burdett thought the question of extreme importance. He was ready to pay every respect to the motives and abilities of the honourable and learned baronet, but he must at the same time say, that his proposition for giving to the judge the power of declaring, whether a person who had been acquitted by a jury ought to be considered innocent or not, appeared to him so contrary to the constitutional principles of the law of the country, that he could not allow it to pass unobserved. It would be a most grievous circumstance in the administration of justice, that the verdict of a jury should be deemed ambiguous, and that it should remain in the breast of the judge to determine whether the person acquitted by that jury had or had not been honourably acquitted. Before the subject should be again brought before the house, he should turn his mind to it with all possible attention.

After a few words from Mr. D. Giddy, leave was granted to bring in the bill.

Sir Samuel Romilly then again rose. He was sorry that he had been so much misunderstood by the honourable baronet, who seemed to conceive that, in the motion which he was about to submit to the house, any thing was included but the general question, whether persons accused, tried, and acquitted, should or should not be entitled to compensation for the injury which they sustained. The mode of deciding to whom this compensation should be awarded, or whether it should be given to all indiscriminately, (which he should prefer to withholding it from all,) would be open for discussion when the bill was brought in. He moved for leave to bring in a bill to provide in certain cases compensation to persons tried and acquitted in a criminal court, for the damages sustained by them, in consequence of having been detained in custody and brought to trial.

The solicitor general repeated, that in the view which he had of the subject, the evil would preponderate over the good. If the judge refused to give compensation, it would be indicative of the unfavourable opinion which he entertained of the innocence of the person by whom it was demanded; and he would thus be placed in a very invidious situation. Besides, suppose a person were acquitted on an error in the indictment, before the merits of his case were investigated, how could the judge then decide on a claim of compensation? As a novelty, this proposition ought to be watched with jealousy. It appeared to him to be impracticable to execute it, without much mischief. If the compensation were to be made out of the county rate, it might prove a great discouragement to prosecutions, or, in the event of a trial, that circumstance might operate on some minds against the accused. He should vote against the bringing in of the bill.

Sir Samuel Romilly declared his surprise that his honourable friend should resist the introduction of a bill, of the provisions of which he must necessarily be ignorant. With respect to the proposition being a novelty, it was to be regretted that there have not been more novelties of a similar description.

Several other members spoke on the subject, and leave was given to bring in the bill, which was accordingly done on the 20th. A bill was likewise brought in to allow benefit

benefit of clergy to persons convicted of privately stealing, which went through the usual stages to the commitment; when, on the motion of sir Samuel Romilly that the house resolve itself into a committee of the whole house on the privately stealing bill,

Mr. Burton said, that during the last twenty or thirty years it had been his lot to have some experience on the administration of the criminal law; he should therefore be wanting in his duty to the public, as well as respect to his learned friend, if he omitted to pay what attention he could to the present bill; and he was desirous to state a few observations upon it before the speaker left the chair, because they were connected with the principle of the bill. He confessed he was somewhat at a loss whether to look for the principle in the enacting part, or the preamble, because they seemed to be at variance with each other, or at least not co-extensive. The preamble laid down very general abstract positions, which far exceeded the object of the bill, and went to condemn a very large proportion of our criminal laws. Now in his opinion (without stopping to discuss the truth of the positions), nothing could be more objectionable than to pronounce by statute such a parliamentary condemnation of a great part of our criminal laws, and yet to leave those very laws in full force. To him consequently it appeared indispensable to expunge the preamble altogether, and introduce another suited to the limited object of the bill. The principle, as it was to be collected from the enacting part, was to abolish the capital punishment, and to reduce the offence, as well as the punishment, down to the standard of simple larceny. Now so far as it took away the punishment of death, he was inclined to approve it; because sentences of death, often pronounced in cases where they are scarcely ever fit to be executed, tended much to diminish their effect: but he could by no means agree to the propriety of leaving the offence punishable with no greater severity than simple larceny. His learned friend was reported to have introduced the bill with pretty severe comments on the statute of Elizabeth intended to be repealed; and any proposition of his was sure to come recommended by so much eloquence as to render it a difficult matter to consider it immediately with an unbiassed mind: yet upon reference to the statute, it would be found to contain a statement of facts verified by an experience of two centuries and a half, and equally applicable to the present time. It states that the offenders then called cut-purses were very numerous, confederated into fraternities of an art or mystery to live idly by secret spoil, even to the impoverishment of many, frequenting for that purpose places of public resort, such as places of divine worship, the court, courts of justice, fairs, markets, and places of execution, and being habited in such a garb as to elude suspicion. To this enumeration of places, the bank of England, and the approach to bankers' shops, might now be added: in every other respect the description suited the present time. He was well informed by magistrates of experience that the number at present exceeded hundreds, some thought to the amount of several; that many underwent a regular training to the art; that they plundered to such an amount, and were so far confederated, that large sums were ne-

ver wanting for the purpose of procuring the ablest assistance upon their trials, or of buying off prosecutors or witnesses: upon the whole, next to nightly housebreakers, no class of offenders were so pernicious. It was also observable that the circumstances described in this statute had always been deemed aggravations of the offence of simple larceny, and therefore deserving of an aggravated degree of punishment. Such were the number of offenders, and the extent of the depredations, that they were perpetrated with an art which denoted education, by gangs which are dangerous, and in a manner to elude all ordinary care and vigilance. That these practices prevailed to an alarming extent, and would not be repressed without severer punishment than transportation for seven years (the highest punishment for simple larceny), he could unfortunately testify from his own experience in the county palatine of Chester. What had there happened within these few years, he was sure must strike the benevolent mind of his learned friend. During four or five years preceding the spring of 1806, several boys had been there brought to trial; the numbers had been increasing, till seven or eight at one assizes appeared to be confederated in a regular gang, and to have frequented the neighbouring fairs and markets, executing their designs with all the same art and system that is to be found within the metropolis. The court, having before tried milder punishments, proceeded upon this occasion in two instances to transportation for seven years: but so little terror did this punishment inspire, that at the spring assizes in 1806, among forty prisoners, there was the melancholy exhibition of no fewer than seventeen boys between the ages of twelve and sixteen. They came from the manufacturing part of the county, and their offence was generally that of privately stealing, either from the shop or the person. Several were acquitted, either from accidental defects, or for want of prosecution through the tenderness of their prosecutors: but among those who were convicted, some received sentence of death; and the former punishments having proved ineffectual, it was judged necessary to make a severer example by transporting two for seven years, and recommending two of the capital convicts to the royal mercy on transportation for life. This increased severity happily produced a better effect, insomuch that, during the four last assizes, only four boys have appeared in the calendars, and none of them members of any regular confederacy. From all the foregoing circumstances he drew this inference: that simply to repeal the statute of Elizabeth, as the bill proposed, would operate, not to the prevention, but to the encouragement, of this species of theft, and that the power of transporting for life was indispensable. There existed likewise one difficulty in prosecutions under the statute of Elizabeth, which arose out of the construction which had been put upon the words "privily without his knowledge." This difficulty might in his opinion be removed with advantage, by annexing the severer punishment to any larceny from the person, under circumstances not amounting to robbery: because it was an old and just principle in the law, that the person as well as the house ought to be protected with more than common care. For a similar reason it was,

In his opinion, unwise to make any distinction as to the value of the thing stolen; no such distinction being made either in the case of robbery from the person, or in that of burglary; more especially likewise as it often happened, even where a large property was stolen from the person, that the money if found having, in the language of the law, no ear mark, could rarely be proved; whilst the purse, or the pocket-book containing it, though of trifling value, could easily be identified. For these reasons he strongly recommended, that instead of death should be substituted transportation for life, or any shorter time not less than seven years, or a long or short imprisonment, with or without hard labour, at the discretion of the court, as the case might require. If therefore his learned friend was disposed to allow that the bill should be thus modified in the committee, he was inclined to think that it might prove an amendment of the law.

Mr. Herbert likewise objected to the preamble of the bill. Human laws, he said, were made for preventing, not for avenging, crimes; and hence it often happened that punishments seemed to be disproportioned to the crimes. There were two different kinds of criminal legislation, according to archdeacon Paley: the one was that which assigned capital punishments only to the highest species of crimes; the other, that which had been adopted in this country, assigned capital punishments to a variety of crimes, but inflicted it upon only a few examples of each class by way of example. He had no hesitation in confessing that he agreed in opinion with the learned author to whom he had alluded, but he should not be so adverse to the bill itself were it not for the declaration in the preamble. He hoped, however, that at all events it would be postponed till another session.

Sir Arthur Piggott agreed that the criminal law of the land ought not rashly to be altered. But he contended that the law had not answered the great purpose of preventing crimes, and that its failure ought to be ascribed to its severity, which in many instances prevented persons from prosecuting those guilty of smaller offences. How far it might be proper to modify the severity of the punishment, was another question not now before the house, and which would furnish matter of discussion in the committee.

The solicitor general thought that there was at least so much good in the bill as to sanction the house going into a committee upon it, for the purpose of seeing whether it was possible to find a remedy for an evil of very great magnitude, or not. He did not mean, however, to pledge himself finally to give it his support, because he was not sure whether it would be possible for the committee to remove his objections to it.

Mr. C. W. Wynne confessed that the house ought not rashly to alter the criminal law of the country. The law, however, which it was now proposed to change, had never been executed in the recollection of any person now living. The consequence of this was, that its effect was lessened, because the probability of escape was great. He was of opinion, that it might be expedient to leave a discretionary power to the judges, of transporting for life persons guilty of the offences to which the bill applied; indeed he thought, that transportation for life was generally pre-

ferable to transportation for a limited time; because when the culprits returned, being wholly without character or protection, they were in most cases compelled to revert to their former habits.

Sir Samuel Romilly was desirous that the preamble of the bill should stand; but if there were any objections to it, he should not persist in pressing it. With respect to the bill itself, the simple question was, whether privately stealing should remain a capital felony, or be rendered a simple larceny. The law as it at present stood, had, he contended, shocked the humanity of prosecutors, of juries, and of judges. The offence which it was the intention of the statute of queen Elizabeth to prevent, had become more frequent than ever, because the punishment for the offence being too severe, it very often happened that no punishment at all was inflicted. He asked then, whether a law which encouraged, instead of preventing crimes, ought to be suffered to remain upon the statute book. To the authority of Dr. Paley he opposed that of Mr. justice Blackstone, who in his Commentaries asserts, that the severity of the criminal law increases the number of offences. It struck him as very extraordinary, that in a country and in a house so wise and humane as this, hundreds were ready to cry out against every attempt to mitigate the criminal law; but if any measure was introduced for the purpose of aggravating its severity, no person was found to object to it. He stated the difference in the value of money, to be another reason for making an alteration in the law. Any other observations which he might have occasion to make, he should reserve for the committee on the bill.

Having gone into a committee, the solicitor general proposed a clause, declaring that stealing without a person's knowledge, whether privily from the person or not, as contradistinguished from robbery, should be punished by banishment for life, to be reduced at the discretion of the judge to banishment for any period not less than seven years; leaving it, however, optional with the judge, if the case should seem to merit it, to commute the punishment into imprisonment for any period not exceeding three years. The learned gentleman also condemned the preamble of the bill, by which the law was declared to be too severe, while no other ratio of punishment was fixed on. The law which inflicted a capital punishment on persons stealing from a dwelling-house, in certain cases five shillings, and in other cases forty shillings, depended on the same principle; and yet it was not contended that these punishments ought to be abrogated.

The bill was at length passed with this amendment. And in a few days after this sir Samuel Romilly said, he did not mean to press the "acquitted person's compensation bill" further this session, but should bring it forward early in the next session.

May 19.—Lord Binning rose, pursuant to the notice he had given some time ago, to make a motion on the subject of the distilleries. Previous to moving that the house should go into a committee, he would explain the nature of the resolutions he meant to offer in that committee, and the nature and causes of the changes made in those resolutions since he had first announced them. The topics involved

volved in the report were important and momentous, and the highest authorities differed among themselves upon the principal points. The committee was appointed in the first instance to consider of the means of affording relief to the West India proprietors and merchants; and the order under which the committee assembled, directed the committee to inquire, whether the most immediate and effectual means of relief would not be, to confine the distilleries to the use of sugar and molasses alone. In the course of this inquiry, it became necessary to ascertain how far the agriculture of the country would be affected by such a restriction; and this investigation led to the knowledge of facts which established the wisdom and necessity of the restriction, exclusive of all consideration whatsoever of the interests of the West India islands. It was impossible to separate the two questions; but this he would say, that neither he nor the committee would have recommended the resolutions they had done, if the interests of the country, distinct from those of the West India proprietors, had not, in the opinion of the committee, rendered such measures necessary. The committee, finding that this country was generally dependent for a sufficient supply of corn and flour upon foreign countries, and that this supply was cut off in the present state of Europe, without any prospect of a sufficient resource in the last year's crop of this country, thought it right, as a precaution against famine, to stop the distillation from corn, with a view to a more ample and satisfactory supply of sustenance for the people. Here the noble lord went into a statement of the quantity of corn imported into Britain annually, and contended, that the saving, by the prohibition of the distilleries, would be 470,000 quarters, which would cover more than half the deficiency created by the stoppage of importation, and more than the whole importation of oats. Under these circumstances it seemed right to suspend the distillation from corn, with a discretionary power to the privy council, to extend or to put an end to the restriction, as circumstances may require. This was the substance of the resolutions of the committee; resolutions which they never would have come to on account of the West India merchants, if the circumstances of the times had not rendered them necessary with a view to the general interests of the country. Great Britain imported annually on an average seven hundred and seventy thousand quarters of grain from foreign countries. From some of these countries importation was now impossible. From America, in consequence of the embargo, corn could not now be received, and there was no prospect of the impediment being speedily removed. The supply of last harvest was not sufficiently abundant to have a surplus fund that may be relied on. The stock on hand was far short of the probable demand. In the south of England the crop was abundant, in other parts it was not. Here the noble lord cited the evidence of the witnesses before the committee, beginning with Mr. Arthur Young, in order to establish that the general crop of last year was short, and the supply in the country insufficient. The stoppage of distillation from grain would be adequate to the importation of 470,000 quarters. In the present circumstances it seemed essential to divert

so large a supply from luxury to necessity. It was objected to the measure, that it laid down a bad precedent, tending to encourage the perpetual interference of parliament in such cases. But the circumstances of the present case were peculiar, and unless the same identical circumstances existed, the precedent could not apply. The first resolution he meant now to propose, was, that after the 1st of July, and thence to the 1st of October next, all distillation from corn, grain, flour, meal, potatoes, and bran, should cease throughout the united kingdom; and secondly, that it should be lawful for his majesty in council, after the 1st of September, to continue the restriction till forty days after the commencement of the next session of parliament. Thus, if the ensuing harvest should be a good one, the restriction may expire at once: if it should not, his majesty may continue the restraint till parliament should provide such remedy as its wisdom may think fit. He moved that the report be referred to a committee of the whole house; and he anticipated, from the moderation and the good sense of the gentlemen present, that the wishes of the committee would be carried into effect.

Mr. Coke said there was nothing fell from the noble lord to which he could give his concurrence, save his suggestion of dispatch in the present very important case. He denied the assertion of a scarcity of grain in the late crops, as far as related to Norfolk. He knew that not very long since in that county, forty-eight shillings a quarter had been the current price for grain. Besides, in consequence of no kind of importation since September, the corn had never been so stationary as at the present period. He was ready to admit that the noble lord was perfectly right in stating that he had changed from his original intention, for there could be no doubt that he had shifted his ground very materially.

Mr. Curwen, considering the great importance of this proposition, thought that it ought at least to have come from one of the ministers of the crown, who must be in a peculiar manner responsible for the effects of it. He, notwithstanding, gave credit to the noble lord, for the manner in which he had brought it forward; but asked how he had come to change his opinion, and swerve from the report in one day? However, he would not argue from the report, but take the proposition as it now stood. With respect to the lodging these discretionary powers in the crown, he thought that this system was attended with very bad effects, and he was by no means fond of the idea of encouraging the practice. In order to show that the country might be sufficiently supplied with grain, he adverted to the excellent effects that had resulted from Mr. Western's act by the increase of agriculture. He was a wise minister that assented to that act, and resisted the clamour raised against it at the time. Though the immediate effect of that might have been to raise the price of corn, yet the ultimate effect was to render it cheaper, as it enabled the landholder to raise corn upon those acres upon which none could otherwise have been produced. He mentioned, as another reason, the improvement in the breed of cattle, by which, in Scotland and other places, double the quantity of meat was produced with the same quantity of animal provisions, so

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that much less land was necessary for pasture, and more was left for the production of grain, of which the prices had never before been so regular. In Devizes, and other places in that neighbourhood, more grain had been stored up than ever had been known at any former period; and the present rise in the price of grain was owing to the alarm of the distillers, who had been buying up and distilling as much of it as possible, from an apprehension of this measure. Still, however, if the proposition had come from the chancellor of the exchequer, or any responsible minister of the crown, he should not have been so much inclined to persist in objecting to a discretionary power of stopping the distillation from grain, if the circumstances of the country should require it, without reference to the case of the West Indian planters. But as the proposition came from the noble lord, it must be considered as founded on the report of the committee which had been appointed for the specific purpose of examining what method of relief could be adopted for the planters. If this discretionary power was required with the view of affording such relief, and not solely to be directed by the circumstances of the country abstracted from this consideration, the interests of agriculture must be shaken to the centre, without much benefit to the colonies. If, by the contest in which we were engaged, many should be turned from commercial to agricultural pursuits, it would be such a source of strength to the country, that so far from its proving fatal to us, we might come out of it in a better condition than before. He mentioned as a proof of this the great improvement that had taken place in the agricultural system of Norfolk, by which every seventh acre was employed in raising winter food for cattle, though in other places not more than one hundredth. If the same plan should be adopted in other places, a sufficient quantity of meat would be produced to afford half a pound of meat a day to 10 millions of people.

A great number of gentlemen spoke on the subject, and a very determined opposition was made to the measure. The house after a long debate divided, when the majority was only 14. The measure, however, being persisted in, there was for the second reading of the bill a majority of 51, and at length the bill passed both houses, and received the royal assent.

May 25.—Several petitions were presented from the Roman catholics in divers parts of Ireland, praying to be relieved from the disabilities under which the catholic body labour. These were all ordered to lie on the table; when

Mr. Grattan, having moved that the principal petition be read, rose, and addressed the house to the following effect: "After the petition which the house has now heard read, and the other petitions of a similar nature now lying on the table, which gentlemen have seen presented this day, it will not be thought that I ask too much in hoping, that it may be fairly supposed, that these petitions speak the sense of the catholic body of Ireland. I shall, therefore, take this point as granted. That they form a considerable part of the elective body, having the right of the elective franchise, though they are deprived of other essential privileges, will also, I have no doubt, be conceded to me. It will not, therefore, be denied, that they have

a right to come to the legitimate organ when applying for a legal object. I shall take care so to shape my course in submitting their case, and soliciting for them those privileges which they are still denied, that there shall be no occasion to look back to times past, and inquire where the balance of obligation lies. I shall not go back to the battle of the Boyne; I shall not go back to the year 1745; I shall not go back to those times when you were fighting against each other. If you go back in search of act of hostility against act of hostility, of man of blood against man of blood, the result will be, that the victory will only belong to the enemy of both. It is impossible that in such a contest there should not have been oppression practised, and that both parties should not recollect, that there was something to admire and something to forget. The result of the whole, therefore, should be to bury the past, and to endeavour to act in the spirit of love and friendship. I have seen scribbled on the walls, "No popery," as if it were to be held out, that the catholics were not fit to join against the common enemy; I have also seen petitions presented from different quarters, even against the shadow of indulgence to the catholics. The public mind, however, did not follow these cries; and I can now congratulate the house and the country, that there is at present only one petition of this kind. Indeed it would be strange that this prejudice should continue still to exist. We have friends and allies in Austria, Portugal, and even the pope himself. So little animosity or dread have we of the catholic religion, so far as Portugal is concerned, that we have even planted it along with the professors of it in South America. I say, that in this we acted wisely; but, should we see no danger in forming alliances with other countries who profess the catholic religion, and yet think it such a disqualification in our own subjects, as should induce us to deprive them, purely on that account, of the privilege of being united to us in heart and mind, as in form and appearance? The petition now under consideration, and which I shall move to have referred to a committee of the whole house, prays an inquiry into the cause of so incomprehensible a distinction; and in addition to the privileges which the catholics now enjoy, prays that they may be admitted to a communion in those also of which they are still deprived. To this boon I shall endeavour to show that they are entitled. I submit that the catholics of Ireland are a body of men not bound by their religion to bear allegiance to any other power than the sovereign of this country. They form a considerable part of our army and navy. It must be calamitous indeed, if on account of their religion they should be supposed unworthy to be trusted; and that religion, which is supposed to have the effect of rendering most men better, and more to be relied on in their various relations in life, should render them execrable. Their religion, let it be recollected, is the religion of the greater part of Europe; and to say that such is its tendency, is to say that christianity, instead of being a blessing, is a nuisance. The questions put to the foreign universities as to the power of the pope to absolve Roman catholics from their allegiance, and the other extraordinary powers attributed to him, were not only answered with de-

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cided negatives, but also with no small degree of indignation, at the idea of their religion being so grossly stigmatized. I maintain that the power of the pope to depose kings, or to absolve subjects from their allegiance, are not tenets recognised by the catholics of Ireland. If it be objected that it would be inconsistent with the Declaration of Rights to impart to the catholics those privileges for which they now petition, I will reply, that it is a most extraordinary position to lay down, that that which is the source of your happiness, shall, at the same time, be a principle of illiberality to a numerous class of your fellow-subjects. In 1642, the law of disqualification was an act of oppression; in 1662, it was still an act of oppression; and it was not till 1682 that it became the law of the land. The principle of this law is, that because one of the three estates must be of the protestant faith, the other two must be so also; or that, because the king must be a protestant, therefore the two branches of the legislature must be composed wholly of protestants. The inference, however, did not necessarily, nor even naturally, arise out of the premises. All that can be inferred from the constitutional enactment, that the king must be a protestant, was, that the prince must be of the religion of the people; but it surely did not follow from this, that the people must be of the religion of the prince, a doctrine which seems to be laid down in this law of disqualification. By the constitution, the commons form one branch of the legislature, and by the articles of union between the two countries, the catholics are permitted to vote for members of parliament, which would else be unconstitutional;—then after granting them a voice in the election of the legislature, in admitting them also to a seat in the legislature, is there more danger to be apprehended to the constitution from granting them this privilege, or from subjecting four-fifths of the inhabitants of Ireland to an exclusion from the rights which their fellow-subjects are permitted to enjoy? Is there more danger in extending to them the full enjoyment of the blessings of the constitution; or in leaving an opportunity for a foreign enemy to avail himself of your bigotry and illiberality towards them, to irritate their prejudices against you, and to convert them into an instrument in his own favour? Will the constitution be endangered by procuring for it the cordial and steady support of four millions of people? Will the church be endangered by the exercise of charity, moderation, and all those virtues which command the respect, and conciliate the affections, of mankind? Is the tree in danger of falling because it has a root, or is the capital the less secure because it rests upon a base? I hope that you will guard with vigilance the constitution both of church and state; but in order to do this with effect, you must make them the objects of veneration and love.

"So much for the civil dangers to be apprehended from admitting them fully within the pale of the constitution. Let us now see whether there is any thing more real in the dangers which it is feared would result to the ecclesiastical establishment from such a measure. It has been alleged, and seriously alleged by some, that this step would tend to the subversion of the church. This apprehension must be founded upon the supposition that the catholics

catholics are incapable of any virtue, and capable of every vice, and that, were they admitted to a full participation of civil rights, they would then withdraw the payments they now make to the church. But how is it that we argue? They now pay our church, and therefore we must exclude them from a share of those civil immunities of which we are in possession! And is not this to sacrifice our morality to our religion, or rather to sacrifice both our morality and reand religion to our church establishment? Is it not entirely to lose sight of the Deity, or to see him only through the medium of a profitable establishment; an establishment bolstered up by some contemptible test law, and which, instead of securing the happiness of many, seeks only the gain of a few? If the catholics, supposing that they were to be admitted to the privileges which they wish to obtain, are to destroy our religious establishment, they must do it in one of two ways; either by law or by force. But before they can do it by law, they must obtain the concurrence of a majority in this house; and if they are to do it by force, what prevents their employing that force now as well as then? Besides, is it not contrary to every principle of human nature, and to all experience of the motives which regulate human actions, to suppose that men will act with patience and resignation under oppression; and that as soon as they are emancipated from the yoke they will become turbulent and mischievous? Is it not a conduct totally the reverse of this, which both reasoning and experience would warrant us in expecting?

"Having thus shortly answered the objections which may be started against the measure, considered in relation to England, I shall now proceed to consider it in regard to Ireland. And in the first place it has been said, that the catholics hate you, and that they ought not to be intrusted with the possession of power. If it be true that they hate you, this hatred must either spring from the soil or from the religion. If it spring from the soil, then this hatred must be common to all the inhabitants of Ireland, whether catholics or protestants: if it spring from religion, this hatred must be felt by the catholics of England, as well as by those of Ireland. But the fact is, if this hatred exist, it does not spring either from the soil or from the religion, but from the laws. Do not say that the Irish are a generation perverse beyond all others, and apply this supposed perversity of character as a salvo to your consciences for withholding from them those privileges to which they have an equal claim with the rest of their fellow-subjects; do not shift the blame from your own shoulders, for the purpose of imputing it to the Deity. The evil does not arise from any perversity of disposition on the part of the Irish; it arises solely from the existing laws. Part of a most impolitic code of penal laws has been already repealed: the rest remain for your repeal." Here the hon. gentleman entered into an elaborate argument to show that there could be no moral nor political incompatibility between the two religions; that there was nothing in the privileges for which the catholics petition inconsistent either with the original principle, the present character, or the permanent duration of the British constitution; that with regard to the actual state of Ireland,

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no danger is to be apprehended from compliance with their wishes, either to the civil or ecclesiastical establishment of that country. Speaking of our continental alliances, he said: "The Austrian has deserted you, the Russian has deserted you, and the Prussian has deserted you; and is the petition to be lost in the moment of your danger? Do you think by means of schism and discord to support and prop up a falling world? Can any thing be more mad than this? Yes, the idea of danger! But of danger from what? of danger from admitting the Roman catholics of Ireland to a full participation of the rights and privileges of British subjects! You are to prop up a falling world by means of schism and discord, and the emancipation of a few Roman catholics will precipitate its fall! This is miracle upon miracle, prodigy upon prodigy. The mistake, however, strange as it may seem, is entertained by many, and by good men too. I would of all things at present be anxious to recommend to all classes the cultivation of a spirit of harmony and concord. The spirit of concord is a spirit of defence. This spirit I would recommend to the landed gentlemen, to display towards their tenantry; and in their intercourse with the lower orders to manifest a suavity and gentleness of manner, while they carefully avoid every expression and every look even which might irritate their prejudices or hurt their feelings. I must likewise appeal to the government, the members of which have it in their power either to do much good or much mischief. It is no justification that the people have been in some instances indiscreet. The government is to blame, which makes them indiscreet. Above all things, I wish that the present may not be considered as a party question, but that all parties may act upon the conviction that the way to have no French in the country is to have no bigotry in the government. Philanthropy begets philanthropy, and kindness will be sure to find a return of gratitude. Let the opinion be discountenanced that the lower orders of the Irish are selfish, and that the higher orders are extortioners. The first of the two ideas would make the lower class of the people hate the higher; and the second would tend to make the higher class despise the lower. In the course of the last twenty-five years, what has Ireland done? It has increased in population, it has improved its commerce and cultivation, it has meliorated both its social and civil condition: these are the barbarous accomplishments which it has acquired. The Roman catholics as well as the protestants have their trials by jury; they vote for members of parliament; they discuss political questions at public meetings with freedom. These are privileges worth defending; privileges, which I am sure they would not surrender to a king of England, much less will they surrender them to a foreign enemy. Ireland now stands by you with five millions of inhabitants, paying two millions of rents, and two millions of interest: she will guard against indulging in rancorous animosity or clamorous discontent; and you will see the absurdity of attempting to govern such a country by tyranny and bigotry, or any other means than the British constitution. Supposing that at this moment you saw all the navies of Europe going to invade Ireland, would you send over

over instructions to require all the catholics to take the oath of supremacy, or would you adopt some measure more likely to animate them for the struggle on which they were about to enter? And will you not now prepare them for the great battle which you have to fight? How would you blush to tell your ancestors, that you had lost the sacred inheritance of freedom which they bequeathed to you, because you were afraid of the canon of Trent, the Lateran decree, or the council of Constance! To save you from this disgrace, the catholics of Ireland apply to you with the boldness of freemen, now that you are deserted by the Austrian, the Russian, and the Prussian, to be admitted to lend you their support and assistance in the struggle in which you are engaged; and if the enemy prevail, to go to the grave along with you. I have only two wishes to express before I sit down; that you may long preserve your liberty, and that you may never survive it. I move, sir, that the house resolve itself into a committee for the purpose of taking into consideration the petitions of the Roman-catholics of Ireland."

Mr. Canning, after some interruption, observed, that if he and his colleagues wished to go to a silent vote on this question, it was certainly not from any want of disposition to show respect to the right hon. gentleman who had brought forward the business in so able, eloquent, and candid a manner; but rather from a perfect coincidence in some of the sentiments most particularly impressed by the right hon. gentleman, and a desire to give the vote he should feel it his duty to give, in the manner most consistent with the right hon. gentleman's recommendation. Whoever should come in aid of the right hon. gentleman, could certainly not be looked forward to as a more powerful antagonist. There were many strong reasons why the extension of this discussion should not be wished for. If his majesty's ministers saw no prospect of a successful issue to the question before the house, and but mischief in the discussion, was it unreasonable that they should be willing to avoid the debate? Was that course of proceeding new to the hon. gentlemen opposite? Had they forgotten, when they themselves were in power, and with the fair influence of government attempted to carry a measure somewhat connected with this subject, that they did every thing in their power to prevent the agitation of this general question before the house, which they now thought it impossible to defer a year, or a month, without infinite danger to the constitution and the country? If it was not the mischief of an unsuccessful agitation of the question that they deprecated, what other motive could they have except that of the meanest temporary and personal interest? If they would say that by considerations of fair and statesmanlike prudence they were induced to put off the discussion then, he should be glad to know what there was now in the state of Europe to render it a more proper period for agitating the question? Though he sought with the same anxiety as the hon. gentlemen opposite, no such favourable circumstances occurred to him. He would now state why it was desirable to bring that question to as speedy a decision as possible. It was impossible not to agree with the right hon. gentleman, when he represented how desirable it would be in the present state of the world to put

put an end to civil dissension, and to establish perfect harmony and concord between all parties. But it was fair, at the same time, to consider the practicability of the good that was proposed; and admitting the advantages that would flow from the establishment of unanimity at all times, to question whether that unanimity could in fact be attained. However desirable it was that persons professing christianity should be all unanimous, it was a melancholy truth, to which the history of all times bore testimony, that dissensions always existed, and that the greater pains were taken to reconcile them the wider the breach became. He concurred in the wish to extinguish religious animosities, he wished they had never existed; but he could not shut his eyes on the evidence of facts, so as to indulge in the hope of a consummation so devoutly to be wished for. It was not in the power even of speeches so wise, so eloquent, and so good, as that of the right hon. gentleman, to obtain this victory over the passions and prejudices of men. The attempt must be abortive. Thus, what in reflection was matter of justice was to be deprecated in discussion, as likely to afford no good practical result. He wished the right hon. gentleman had confined what he had to say to the last branch of his speech. If the result of the debate should not be favourable to the proposition of referring the petition to the committee, it was at least desirable that nothing should pass in the debate that could tend to inflame those animosities which every one must be anxious to see extinguished. The right hon. gentleman must concur with him in thinking, that the line of conduct he pointed out, viz. an interchange of good offices, and the practice of mutual conciliation, would do more, in the first instance, to remove animosities, than any motion that could be brought forward in this house. Such instruction, enforced by the weight of the right hon. gentleman's example, must be productive of the greatest practical good. The grounds on which the right hon. gentleman called for a committee were precisely the same that were urged without success on a former occasion, and they had received no addition of strength since. He could not look back to the recent decision on this point, the right hon. gentleman himself could not look back to it, without being convinced that an inoffensive refusal would produce less mischief in the state than a reluctant and forced assent. Let any body who knew the state of the public mind in this country, say, whether there was not a strong prevailing sentiment against concession to the catholics. If this was founded in reason, it was not easily to be overcome; but if it was even founded only on prejudice, the right hon. gentleman was well aware that such prejudices did not yield to repeated attacks of reason, any more than the prejudices on the other side to penal laws. It would be of little value to have a majority for the measure in the house, if there was an inflamed majority against it out of the house. If there should be a disappointment in the present instance, there would be a consolation in reflecting, that the object of the motion must ultimately, though gradually, prevail.

A most animated and interesting debate followed, in which the principal speakers for the motion were, Mr. Windham, lord Milton, Mr. Fitzgerald, lord H. Petty, sir J. C. Hippisley,

Hippisley, and Mr. Ponsonby. On the other side were lord Pollington, lord Castlereagh, Mr. Wilberforce, and the chancellor of the exchequer. It must, however, be observed that those who spoke against going into committee did it, generally, on the ground of the unfitness of the time to discuss the subject; and also on the presumption that the country at large was against extending toleration to the petitioners.

On the 27th the same question was brought forward in the upper house by lord Grenville, who concluded a most admirable speech of great length by saying, "The question then now is, whether you will persevere in a mild and conciliatory conduct towards the catholics for the purpose of more firmly and steadily attaching them to the constitution, and for the purpose of animating them to stand forward in its defence with increased zeal and alacrity in the present moment of peril. That you should do so, I have no hesitation whatever in giving my opinion; an opinion founded upon various grounds, but upon none more than the consideration of the system which you have pursued since 1778, and the beneficial effects which have resulted from it. Since that period you have sought by all the means in your power to raise the people of Ireland to opulence and wealth, and all the enjoyments of civil life, because you have thought that in so doing you were most likely to increase your own prosperity, and to attach them to the happy constitution and government under which they lived. In this course of indulgence and conciliation you have proceeded gradually, but uniformly, and never surely were wisdom and liberality more signally rewarded. Under the benign influence of this system, you have seen Ireland starting from a state of poverty, insignificance, and degradation, to wealth, consequence, and power; and to a wealth, consequence, and power, of which Ireland has not had the exclusive benefit; but which have increased proportionally the wealth, power, and consequence, of Great Britain. Had the present crisis in your fate happened thirty years ago, how ill prepared would you have been to meet it, when compared with the state of your actual resources! And has not the favourable change to a considerable degree arisen from your policy to Ireland during that period? When you look to your maritime strength, the great bulwark of your safety; when you look to the increase of your population; when you look to the flourishing state of your commerce and navigation; you must reflect with pleasure that they are in no inconsiderable degree the result of that policy which, by giving the people of Ireland an interest in the soil, has made them large contributors to the prosperity and defence of the country. In 1792, true to the same system of conciliation, you proceeded much further than you had done before. At the eve of the great and awful contest, which was then about to commence, and in contemplation of the succours which you might have occasion to call upon Ireland to furnish towards carrying it on, you extended the benefits already conferred upon her, uniting the additional ones which you bestowed to the improvement which had taken place in her situation. You considered that she had already acquired wealth, that respect had followed upon wealth, that her population

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no longer consisted entirely of a rude peasantry, but that education had polished the habits and improved the manners of the people, and that they were capable of enjoying the rights and performing the duties of the subjects of a free constitution; and with these considerations before you, you imparted to them the elective franchise. And why did you do this? Was it for the purpose of enabling the disaffected catholics more securely and more effectually to sap your religious establishment, and to overturn the government? No: you said, The people of Ireland are now capable of exercising the rights of freemen; with wealth, they have acquired attachment to the country and to the government; and therefore those privileges which at one time it might have been unsafe to grant, it would now be equally illiberal and impolitic to withhold. You went even further than that: you opened to the catholics all the professions, offices, and honours, of the state. And on what principle did you do this? because you supposed them to be the enemies both of church and state? No. It was because you thought they were capable of holding and worthy to aspire after them, and that they would discharge the duties of these several stations to the advantage, not to the detriment, of the commonwealth. All I ask of you now is to pursue this system, and to be faithful to your own principles, to proceed in the course in which you have begun, and to persevere till you have finished it. The offices from which Roman catholics are excluded are so few in number, that it is usual for the opposers of the measure to ground an argument against their admission to them upon this very circumstance. It cannot, say they, be an object for which they can consider it worth contending. The offices are indeed few in number, and may be granted with perfect safety: but it ought to be recollected that though they may be little for you to grant, they are not little for them to receive. The restriction is felt over the whole community, and every individual feels the oppression of being excluded from an office which, had it been open to all, he never might have attained. Think, my lords, of what would be the feelings of any one among you, if he were told that he might enter himself or bring up his son in any particular profession; but that whatever might be his talents, whatever might be his industry, whatever might be his perseverance, the highest honours of the profession were for ever and irrevocably inaccessible to him; were he to be told that he might, indeed, encounter all the toil, expose himself to all the dangers, and undergo all the disgusts, incident to the line, but that to its highest preferments he never could aspire. By such a measure of exclusion, the danger against which you guard is nothing, but the mortification which it occasions to those who are affected by it is extreme. The principle upon which it proceeds is even more galling than the thing itself. They are told not only that they must despair of ever attaining those high situations, but must despair of attaining them because they are unworthy of being trusted with them. It offers a stigma upon them as a body, and sets them as marks for the hand of scorn to point at. Whatever may be the result of their present application, I hope it will not have the effect of weakening their attachment either to the country or to the government; but if it shall prove unsuc-

unsuccessful, it is impossible but they must feel the disappointment, and feel it poignantly; if they did not they would not have the feelings of men, much less the feelings characteristic of freemen. My lords, you are now calling upon the people of Ireland for great sacrifices for a great object: you are calling upon them to risk their lives, and all they possess, to resist the invasion of a foreign enemy, to prevent our being numbered with the subjugated states of the continent, and to defend a constitution which is at once the source of our happiness and of our glory. The objects for which we are contending are sufficient to rouse the energies of every one who is sensible of their value. But can we expect that the catholics will make the sacrifices for which we call upon them, unless they are cordially attached to the constitution, unless this attachment is founded upon an equal participation of its benefits, and unless they are alive to those feelings of pride which arise from every man's being equal in the face of the law? These are the grounds on which I propose that the obnoxious restrictions shall be removed. I hope that I have not argued the case with any improper vehemence, and that I have not departed from that tone of temperance and moderation which I proposed to observe in setting out, and with which it is my wish that the present question may on both sides be discussed. Should your lordships concur in the motion which I shall have the honour to submit to you, I am convinced that you will contribute much to the safety of the empire, by uniting and knitting together the hearts of all descriptions of people. If it is your lordships' opinion that it would be going too far to grant the prayer of the petition to its full extent, I hope that you will at least manifest a disposition to lend a favourable ear to the petitioners, by going into a committee upon the subject. At all events, the discussion, if conducted with temper, may be productive of benefit. I am most happy that the catholics of Ireland have applied for redress to the parliament of the united kingdom, and I trust they will coincide with me in the opinion which I confidently entertain, that the period is at no great distance when their application will be successful. It is no small satisfaction to observe, that the hostility which was formerly felt to their claims is in some quarters decaying; and the probability is, that ere long it will be altogether extinguished. What I am now about to add, it is unnecessary for me to address to the respectable characters whose names I see at the top of the list of subscribers to the petitions, but I wish I could be heard by the whole population of Ireland. I hope they will continue to look for the gratification of their wishes to the united parliament, secure that in the end they will not be disappointed. For if they are foolish enough to turn their eyes to another quarter, and to look to France for relief, they may rest assured that not only will they eventually fail of attaining their object, but they will bring upon themselves a train of the heaviest calamities that any nation ever suffered. Let them view the states of the continent, crushed into one mass of oppression, subjected to one common yoke, and groaning under a tyranny far more merciless than the world ever witnessed, rendering the situation of each individual state ten times worse than that

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of the worst-governed country in Europe previously to the French revolution; and let them reflect, that there is not one of these nations whose sufferings are not light as a feather in comparison with those which would be inflicted upon them, were they once to fall into the power of France. Religious persecution, commercial ruin, and political degradation, would be accumulated upon them; their hopes would be extinguished, and their prospects shut up for ever. In order to save the country from these calamities, union is of all things to be recommended. This union it is certainly the duty of the legislature to promote: but it may be promoted still more effectually by a conviction that every individual, however low his rank, and however obscure his situation in society, is as much interested in the safety of the whole as the opulent and powerful; and therefore, whatever may be the decision of this evening, I hope it will have no effect in discouraging any class of men from employing their utmost exertions to defeat the purposes and resist the attacks of the common enemy.

"I shall now conclude, my lords, with moving, 'That your lordships may go into a committee to take into consideration the petitions of the Roman catholics of Ireland.'"

Viscount Sidmouth spoke decidedly against the motion.

The earl of Moira said, he was as much attached to the church as any noble lord, and he did think, with his noble friend who spoke last, that the church was so rooted in the state, that it was impossible to affect the one without injuring the other; but with respect to the penal code, he could not agree with his noble friend, that the principles which gave rise to that code were the result of religious differences. He had always looked upon them rather as the effect of political precaution. He severely deprecated the language of his noble friend, which, though not intended to be so, might be attended with mischievous effects. The present was not a time to alienate the hearts or damp the spirits of four millions of people willing to share our danger and our fate, and only wishing in return to share the common privileges of Britons. The crisis had been represented as an awful one: it was truly so, perhaps not to be parallelled in the history of the civilized world; and in the prevalent indifference, the smoothness of our passage, he feared, was owing to the rapidity of our descent; and at the first fatal shock our fears would be lost in our despair. Therefore he thought we should rouse, awaken from our lethargy, and apply the remedy before it was too late. An hour should not be lost in acceding to the just, equitable, and unanswerable claims of our catholic brethren. If it be objected to him, why, such being his sentiments, did he, upon a former occasion, express his regret that the petition had been at the present period introduced; he was ready to answer, that his regret then arose not from any disapprobation of the time of presenting the petition, nor still less of the prayer of that petition, but because he thought that at the present period there was not only no hope, but on the other hand a certainty, that their claims would be rejected: and his regret arose from his dread of the exasperation produced by such rejection; for it was not in the nature of men to be disappointed, and not manfully to feel that disappointment. At the

same time he was satisfied, that if the catholics had seen in his majesty's present government any wish to accommodate, any disposition to conciliate them, they would have waited more patiently; but from the ill-judged policy that had so recently been evinced towards that body, they were compelled to appeal to the constitutional organ for a legitimate object. In the late government, of which he had been a humble member, they had brought in a bill which, if its object had been literally translated into its title, might have been called A bill to prevent 100,000 men of his majesty's subjects from joining the French. This bill certainly was not meant to embrace any of the great objects had in view by the catholics: it was rather meant as a peace-offering, as a forerunner of better times; and might be said to have been sent forth as the dove with the olive-branch, to tell the persecuted catholics that the waters had subsided, and that the rising day would soon restore her original beauties to the face of Nature. He was grieved to find that such had not been the policy of the present government; nothing to allay, soothe, or reconcile, but every thing to incite and exasperate. Why was this? At any time, such conduct would have been impolitic; but, at the present crisis, it was such an union of folly and madness as never had been equalled. When the powers of Europe were wielded against us by one man, the most formidable, and at the same time the most inveterate foe England ever had to cope with, was it immaterial in such a contest, whether the people of Ireland were fired with all their native ardour in our cause, or sunk by our injustice into a listless dejection and a cold-blooded neutrality? With what face could the noble viscount ask the Irish catholic to brave every danger, to expose himself to the hazards of battle, for the mere purpose of securing to the Englishman what he refuses to share with him? The noble viscount could not make so selfish a proposal; and if he did, it would be met with merited indignation. He concluded with conjuring the house to think well of the fair and just claim that was made upon their justice, and to answer it in that manner that best became their character and the interests of the empire.

Bishop of Norwich. "I rise, for the first time in my life, to address your lordships, and I rise with unaffected reluctance; not because I entertain the smallest doubt respecting either the expediency, the policy, or the justice, of the measure under consideration, but because, to a person in my situation, it must be exceedingly painful (however firmly persuaded he may be in his own mind) to find himself impelled, by a sense of duty, to maintain an opinion, directly the reverse of which is supported by so many wise and good men, who belong to the same profession, and who sit upon the same bench with him. Important occasions, however, sometimes arise, on which an individual may be called upon to avow his own sentiments, explicitly and unequivocally, without any undue deference to the judgement of others. Such an occasion I conceive the present to be, and shall without further apology trouble your lordships with a few remarks. I have considered, with all the care and attention of which I am capable, the various arguments which are urged against the petition in favour of the catholics of Ireland, which

which has this day for the second time been presented and supported by the noble baron on the other side of the house, with his usual abilities, and at the same time with that well-known regard for the real interest of the established church, for its peace, its security, its honour, and its prosperity, which forms, and has always formed, so distinguished a part in the character of that noble lord. These objections, my lords, numerous as they are said to be, may all of them I think be reduced under four heads. In the first place, it is asserted, or rather strongly insinuated, that the religious tenets of the catholics are of such a nature, as, *per se*, to exclude those who hold them from the civil and military situations to which they aspire. It is next said, that if this were not the case, these situations are matters of favour, not of right, and therefore the catholics have no just cause to complain that they are excluded from them. In the third place, we are told, that if it were admitted that the measure was, abstractedly considered, just and right, it would be highly inexpedient to repeal statutes which were passed with much deliberation, and are considered by many as the bulwarks of the constitution in church and state. And, lastly, there are some who contend, that if there were no other objection, the words of the coronation oath present an insuperable bar to the claims of the catholics. I shall not detain your lordships long in the examination of these objections, because they have been repeatedly discussed; and, as it appears to me, very satisfactorily refuted, by far abler men, both in this house and out of it. With respect to the religious tenets of the catholics of the present day, it is not a little singular, my lords, that we will not allow them to know what their own religious tenets really are. We call upon them for their creed upon some very important points, and they give it us without reserve; but, instead of believing what they say, we refer them, with an air of controversial triumph, to the councils of Constance or Thoulouse, to the fourth Lateran council, or to the council of Trent. In vain they most explicitly and most solemnly aver, that they hold no tenet whatsoever, incompatible with their duties either as men or as subjects, or in any other way hurtful to the government under which they live. In vain they publish declaration upon declaration, in all of which they most unequivocally disavow those highly exceptionable tenets which are imputed to them, and not only do they disavow, but they express their abhorrence of them. In vain they confirm these declarations by an oath; an oath, my lords, framed by ourselves, drawn with all possible care and caution, and couched in terms as strong as language affords. In addition to these ample securities for the principles and practice of this numerous and loyal class of our fellow-subjects and fellow-christians, a great statesman, now unhappily no more, caused to be transmitted a string of very important queries to the principal catholic universities abroad, for the purpose of ascertaining, with precision, the sentiments of the catholic clergy, respecting the real nature and extent of the papal power, and some other weighty points. The answers returned to these queries, by those learned bodies, appeared to me, at the time, as they do now, perfectly satisfactory, and in the same light they were considered by most dis-

passionate men. Notwithstanding all this, a concealed jealousy of catholics still lurks about by far too many of us; a jealousy, in my opinion, as unworthy of a frank and enlightened people, as it is injurious and cruel towards those who are the objects of it. For, surely, my lords, if there be one position more incontrovertibly true than another, it is this: if an individual, or a body of men, will give to the government under which they live, such a security, upon oath, as that government itself prescribes; if, moreover, they maintain no opinions destructive of moral obligation, or subversive of civil society; their speculative opinions, of a religious nature, can never, with justice or with reason, be urged as excluding them from civil and military situations. The catholics, my lords, give this security, and, having given it, the legislature itself has declared that they ought to be considered as good and loyal subjects; as such, therefore, in my view of the subject, they are unquestionably entitled to the privileges which they claim. When I speak of merely speculative opinions of religion, I wish to be understood as meaning such opinions as begin in the understanding and rest there, and have no practical influence whatsoever upon our conduct in life. With this limitation, I am not sensible that there is any fallacy in the argument which I have made use of; if there be any, I shall be happy to have it pointed out; as I cannot possibly have any motive in view, but what, from my heart, I believe to be the truth. Should an unfortunate and deep-rooted prejudice prevail so far as to make us say, decidedly and openly, that we will not believe a catholic, even upon his oath, there is an end, my lords, of the discussion at once. But the argument, if argument it can be called, proves a great deal too much, and for this plain reason; no obligation more binding than that of an appeal to the Supreme Being by an oath has hitherto been devised in civil society. He, therefore, who can justly be supposed capable of setting at nought such an obligation, upon any pretence whatsoever, is not only unworthy of the privileges here contended for, but unfit for all social intercourse of every kind: *vetabo sub iisdem sit trabibus.* Harsh and horrid as the expression must sound in your lordships' ears, he ought to be exterminated from the face of the earth; or at least he should be banished for life to Botany Bay, and even when arrived there, he should be driven back into the sea; for there is no den of thieves, no gang of robbers, no banditti, so thoroughly profligate, and at the same time so devoid of common understanding, as to admit that man a member of their community, upon whose fidelity to his engagements no reliance can be placed even for a single hour. I come now to the second objection, my answer to which will be very short. Civil and military appointments are, it seems, matters of favour, not of right, and, therefore, the catholics have no just cause to complain that they are excluded from them. I can hardly, my lords, conceive any man in earnest who regards this distinction as applicable to the present case; because no one pleads for an abstract right to these situations, but for a capacity of holding them. No one contends for the absolute possession of civil and military offices, but for equal eligibility to them; and having

ing endeavoured to prove that all men are equally eligible, who give to the government under which they live such a security, upon oath, for their conduct as subjects, as that government itself prescribes, and who maintain no opinions destructive of moral obligation, or subversive of civil society,—I shall only add here, that they are so considered to be in almost all the governments of Europe, and over the whole continent of America; and I shall be sorry to see England the last to follow so good an example. "But it is inexpedient," we are told, "to repeal statutes which are passed with much deliberation, and are considered by many as the bulwarks of the constitution in church and state." How long, my lords, it may be thought expedient or necessary, that the remaining part of these restrictive disqualifying statutes should be enforced against the catholics, or at what precise period their operations shall end, is a question, not for a divine, but for lawyers and statesmen, to decide. I may, however, be permitted to observe, that under any government, however free, though peculiar circumstances may perhaps call for statutes of a very strict, and even of a very severe nature, for a limited period of time, yet no wise statesman would, I imagine, wish those statutes to remain unrepealed a moment after the circumstances which occasioned them cease to exist. Those who are acquainted with the history of the statutes here alluded to, and of the times in which they passed, will anticipate my application of this remark; the application of it is, indeed, made for me by a very eminent lawyer, and a very cordial friend to the ecclesiastical as well as to the civil constitution of this realm. This able writer observes, more than once, in his Commentaries, that "whenever the period shall arrive when the power of the pope is weak and insignificant, and there is no pretender to the throne, then will be the time to grant full indulgence to the catholics." That time, my lords, is now come; there is no pretender to the throne; and, with respect to the papal power, not a single person present apprehends, I am thoroughly persuaded, any danger from it. In respect to that once gigantic power, *magni stat nominis umbra*, and nothing more. Where then can be the objection to granting the petition of the catholics of Ireland? a petition founded on the immutable principles of reason and of justice; a petition also which worldly policy loudly calls upon us to accede to in the present very serious crisis; a crisis which demands the union of the wise and brave, of every description and of every denomination; that cordial union, I mean, which is most assuredly the best support, and indeed the only secure bulwark, of every government upon earth. It is unnecessary to add, that an union of this kind can be obtained only by confidence and conciliation. But if worldly policy did not thus loudly call upon us, a principle of gratitude should lead us to pay all the attention in our power to these numerous, loyal, and respectable petitioners, to whom we are, in a great measure, indebted for the noblest monument of wisdom and beneficence combined, which modern times have seen—I mean the union of Ireland with England; an union which, without their cordial cooperation, could never have

been effected. In reply to these observations, which appear to me to carry some weight with them, there are those who maintain that, if there were no other objection, the words of the coronation oath present an insuperable bar to the claims of the catholics of Ireland. Of all the arguments, my lords, which either principle or prejudice has suggested, or which imagination has started, there is not one which appears to me to rest upon so weak a foundation, as that which is built upon the words of the coronation oath. This oath, as your lordships well know, underwent some alteration at the period of the Revolution in 1688, at which period that great prince William the Third entered into the following solemn engagement when he ascended the throne of this kingdom: "I will maintain the laws of God, the true profession of the Gospel, and the reformed protestant church, established by law; and I will preserve to the bishops and clergy of this realm, and to the churches committed to their charge, all such rights and privileges, as by law do or shall appertain unto them, or any of them." If, my lords, even intelligent and honest men were not sometimes disposed to adopt any mode of reasoning, however weak, which coincides with their preconceived ideas upon a subject, it would be no easy matter to find out upon what principle of fair construction, the words which I have just repeated from the coronation oath, can be thought to militate against the claims of the catholics of Ireland. It will not, I trust, be said, for I am sure it cannot be proved, that it is either repugnant to the laws of God, or to the unconfined and benevolent tendency of the Gospel, or to those liberal and enlightened principles upon which the Reformation was founded, to admit to situations of honour, or of profit, in the state, men of talents and of virtue, to whom no objection can possibly be made, but their speculative opinions, of merely a religious nature. Nor can I conceive in what manner the rights and privileges of the bishops and clergy of this realm, or of the church committed to their charge, can be affected, by granting civil and military appointments to men cordially devoted to the civil constitution, and who have solemnly declared, upon oath, that it is neither their intention nor their wish to injure or disturb the ecclesiastical. For my own part, my lords, as an individual clergyman of the church of England, sincerely attached to the established church, and proud of the situation which I hold in it, I should be exceedingly sorry if I could think for a moment that I possessed any rights or privileges incompatible with the just claims of so many excellent subjects and conscientious fellow-christians. Be it however admitted, my lords, that the words of the coronation oath will bear the construction which has been put upon them; I wish to ask where was the objection drawn from this oath, when, in 1782, so many indulgences were wisely and justly granted to the catholics of Ireland; indulgences precisely of the same kind, though differing in degree from those which are now petitioned for? But I forbear to push this argument any further; various considerations restrain me: and perhaps enough has been said, to prove that the words of the coronation oath have been unadvisedly and inconclusively brought forward, during the discussion

cussion of that important question which has engaged the attention of the public for more than three years. I will now detain your lordships no longer; indeed, I should not have presumed to intrude so long upon your patience, had I not thought it incumbent upon me to assign the best reasons in my power for differing so widely from those around me, whose judgement I respect, though I cannot implicitly bow to it against the clearest conviction of my understanding, and the best feelings of my heart."

The bishop of Hereford hoped to prove to his right reverend friend, whose talents and virtue he very highly respected, that he was not actuated by any intolerant spirit in resisting the motion now before their lordships, as tending to take away some of the indispensable guards of the protestant religion and establishment. God forbid he should wish to interfere with the free exercise of the religion of any sect or class! Enlightened toleration was the distinguishing characteristic of the British church: but the catholics made no complaint of being disturbed in the free exercise of their religion, or of suffering in their persons or property on that account. He thought it absurd and unjust to visit on the catholics of this day the errors of their ancestors. He admitted the talents and virtues of a Fenelon, and of many other professors of the Roman catholic faith. There were many catholics in our days equally distinguished. He did not think any speculative opinion disqualified a man from discharging his duty to the state. But he could not consent to open to the catholics the highest offices of the state. He thought no limits ought to be set to toleration; but he thought the restraint on the high offices ought not to be withdrawn.

The bishop of Bangor followed on the same side. The other speakers were, in behalf of the motion, lord Hutchinson, earl Stanhope, the duke of Norfolk, lord Erskine, and lord Holland. And the noble lords who spoke against it were, lord Mulgrave, the earl of Buckinghamshire, lord Hawkesbury, and lord Auckland. When the house divided there were,

For the motion	74
Against it	161
Majority	87

June 15.—Mr. Sheridan, in the house of commons, rose to call the attention of the house to the affairs of Spain. He begged leave to correct an idea that seemed to have gone abroad, that he meant to make an harangue or exhortation to ministers on this subject. Nothing was further from his intention. He simply meant to call the attention of ministers, and of the house, to the subject, not to lecture them into it. All that he had to say, he had communicated some days ago to his right hon. friend. The right hon. and learned gentleman opposite (Mr. Perceval) did not give credit to this, and he had also had the misfortune to fall under the odium of his hon. friend near him, as if by his present notice he had meant to save government from all responsibility on the subject. Thus, on one side, he had been suspected of wishing to injure, on the other to save from any subsequent stigma, the existing government. In neither of these conjectures, however, was there any truth. He had no other desire but to bring under discussion a subject to which the attention of the people of England was called

at the present important moment. He did not ask ministers to embark in any foolish or romantic speculation; but he was satisfied that there never was a time, since the commencement of the French revolution, taking it for granted that the flame would spread, there never was, he was satisfied, so great an opportunity and occasion for this country to strike a bold stroke, which might end in the rescue of the world. Let Spain see, that we were not inclined to stint the services we had it in our power to render her; that we were not actuated by the desire of any petty advantage to ourselves; but that our exertions were to be solely directed to the attainment of the grand and general object, the emancipation of the world. He again repeated, let not our assistance be given in driblets. But he also again repeated, let it not be romantically and foolishly bestowed. Let it be seen, that the enthusiasm of the people had been fairly awakened; without that, our efforts could avail nothing. But if the flame were once fairly caught, our success was certain. France would then find, that she had hitherto been contending only against principalities, powers, and authorities, but that she had now to contend against a people. The right hon. gentleman said he brought nothing on for discussion; he only wished to call the attention of ministers to a subject in which the feelings of the people of this country were so deeply interested. If they acted properly, they might depend on having his most steady and sincere support. Would any man tell him that there was no use in agitating a question of this kind? Would it not be known in Spain, and would it not preserve and even rouse the spirit of the people of that country to know, that the unanimous voice of parliament, as well as of the people of Great Britain, was raised in their favour, and their cordial assistance and cooperation ready to be afforded them? Was he then to be told, if an opportunity should arise of affording effectual aid to Spain, that it was not of importance that the subject had been agitated in that house? He had entire confidence in the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Canning), that nothing on his part would be wanting. The crisis was the most important which could be conceived: the stand made in the Asturias was the most glorious: he hoped that the progress of it would be closely watched, and not a single opportunity lost of adding vigour and energy to the spirit which seemed to exist there. The symptoms could not be long in showing themselves, their progress must be rapid; probably the very next dispatch might be sufficient to enable a decisive opinion to be formed. If the flame did not burn like wildfire, it was all over. He hoped ministers would act as circumstances required; and if so, they should, as he had already said, receive his support. He concluded by moving, "that an humble address be presented to his majesty, that he will be graciously pleased to direct that there be laid before this house, copies of such proclamations as have been received by his majesty's secretary of state for foreign affairs, and which have been issued since the arrival of the French army at Madrid, whether by the Spanish government, the French commander in chief, or by persons since claiming to act on behalf of the Spanish nation."

Mr

Mr. secretary Canning.—" Mr. Speaker, I am disposed to give every credit to my right hon. friend for his motives in agitating this subject, and I can assure him, that he is very much mistaken if he imagines that it was intended to check or rebuke him, by any thing that was said on a recent evening from this side of the house. At that time, although I was in possession of my right hon. friend's communication, my right hon. friend near me was not so. Sir, I could very easily show my right hon. friend that it is impossible to produce the papers for which he has moved; some, because they have not reached his majesty's government in an authenticated form; others, because they are not accurately described in the motion; and all, because, if we were in possession of the information which they contain, it would be highly improvident in us at the present moment to communicate that information to the world. While I state this, however, sir, I hope my right hon. friend will not misunderstand me so much as to suppose that I impute to him any blame for this proceeding, or that I undervalue the pledge which he has given us of his support in any plan of active operations which it may be deemed advisable to adopt with respect to Spain; the more especially when it is considered, that in that pledge may be implied the support of those persons with whom my right hon. friend is accustomed to act in parliament, and of whose body he is so eminent and distinguished a member. It is therefore, sir, I declare to the house and the country, that his majesty's ministers see with as deep and lively an interest as my right hon. friend, the noble struggle which a part of the Spanish nation is now making to resist the unexampled atrocity of France, and to preserve the independence of their country; and that there exists the strongest disposition on the part of the British government to afford every practical aid in a contest so magnanimous. In endeavouring to afford this aid, sir, it will never occur to us to consider that a state of war exists between Spain and Great Britain. We shall proceed upon the principle, that any nation of Europe that starts up with a determination to oppose a power which, whether professing insidious peace or declaring open war, is the common enemy of all nations, whatever may be the existing political relations of that nation with Great Britain, becomes instantly our essential ally. In that event his majesty's ministers will have three objects in view: the first, to direct the united efforts of the two countries against the common foe; the second, to direct those efforts in a way which shall be most beneficial to our new ally; the third, to direct them in a manner conducive peculiarly to British interests. But, sir, of those objects, the last will be out of the question as compared with the other two. These are the sentiments with which his majesty's government are inspired. To the measures which these sentiments may dictate they confidently look for the support of parliament and of the country. It cannot, sir, be expected that I should say whether we think the crisis arrived, or whether we anticipate its speedy approach, when the sentiments which I have described must be called into action. It is sufficient that I have stated what we feel, and what we intend. For the reasons, sir, which I have before mentioned, I am compelled to dissent from my

my right honourable friend's motion."

Mr. Ponsonby could not support the motion: and after a long debate the mover agreed to withdraw it.

June 24.—Mr. Whitbread rose, and expressed himself to the following effect: "Mr. Speaker, as the session appears hastening to a close, I have for some time been desirous of putting to his majesty's ministers a variety of questions, with respect to the various internal and external relations of the empire, which, it appears to me, it is more convenient to state collectively, than to make them the subjects of separate questions to be submitted to debate in this house. For this purpose, sir, I should have availed myself of the opportunity which the vote of credit afforded me, had I not been apprehensive, from circumstances of which the house must be aware, that such a proceeding at that time would have led to a discussion which was to be deprecated. But, sir, by the usage of the house of commons, many occasions arise in which questions of the nature to which I have alluded, may be put to his majesty's ministers, and I believe that the reception of the report of the appropriation bill is one of these occasions. I shall therefore take advantage of it. In the first place, sir, I must observe, that the present session has been a very laborious one, and that is has extended to a very great length; as much business has been done in the course of it, as was perhaps ever done in any preceding session of parliament. Not only, sir, has the attendance of members in the house itself been most heavy and most assiduous, and at the same time most highly creditable to themselves, but also their attendance on commitees assembled upon matters of the deepest national importance. By the committee on West India trade, a report has been made, on which a bill was introduced into parliament, of which, as it has now become a law, I shall only say, that I hope and wish it may conduce to afford the relief to the West India commerce predicted from it; and I trust, sir, that the subsequent reports which have been presented from the same committee, will meet with a serious investigation, and that every effort will be made to remedy the evils which they point out. The committee on the affairs of the East India company have made a great progress in the execution of the task intrusted to them. I think the public has a right to expect that the accounts between the government and the East India company are finally closed; and that the latter can have no further claim on the former. Long as the session of parliament has been, it certainly has been somewhat shortened in consequence of the recommendation of the right honourable gentleman opposite to me (Mr. Dundas) to the company, not to press for any assistance by loan or otherwise during the present session. I trust, sir, the right honourable gentleman near him consented to this postponement on a deliberate view of the subject, and that he will not be disposed, during the recess, to give way upon any alleged motives of temporary convenience. Early in the next session the subject may be brought under our consideration, and it will then be for the house of commons to decide upon it. Sir, the result of the labours of another committee, of which I had the honour to be chairman (the lottery committee), has been this day presented

ed to the house. Sir, I call the attention of the right honourable gentleman opposite, and if it were possible, I would call the attention of all his successors in office, to that report. When the evidence shall be read, it will disclose a scene of fraud and misery, which it appears to me to be impossible that any chancellor of the exchequer can contemplate without a determination of abandoning that ruinous scheme of finance by which such evils are engendered. Another committee, sir, has this session, for the third time, been instituted, the committee of finance. From this committee I fear the public has little or no chance of deriving any information during the present session, if I may judge from the answer made on a recent evening by the honourable and worthy chairman of that committee, to a question which I took the liberty of proposing to him. Whatever may be the reasons which caused this delay, they are not now to be ascertained. The honourable chairman informed us, that, as far as lay in him, the report was in readiness to be presented; nay, that it had been so before the Easter recess. Sir, whether there is any thing in the constitution of this committee which renders useless the labours of the most assiduous of its members, or whatever mysterious impediments may exist to delay the delivery of their report, must in the next session of parliament be fully developed, in order that the causes which have produced so much public disapprobation may be effectually removed. Sir, I am happy to say, that there is one part of our situation which, at the present moment, we are fortunately enabled to contemplate with more satisfaction than at any period for a number of years past; I mean the state of Ireland. This is not owing, certainly, to any thing that has been done, but to the reception experienced in this house, during the present session, of a motion made by an honourable friend of mine (Mr. Grattan). That circumstance, sir, has diffused a calm over Ireland, which it has not felt for many years. It tends to show by what small efforts of conciliation it is possible to do away, in that country, all feelings of hostility, of distrust, of regret: and I trust, that by the measures of future sessions of parliament this favourable impression will be considerably increased. Sir, I wish to obtain some information with respect to the operation of the orders of council. At the conclusion of a session, in the commencement of which measures proposed for the improvement of our commerce, after repeated discussions in both houses of parliament, were carried by a large majority; after eight months have elapsed, it is natural to ask whether those measures have produced the beneficial effect which was predicted from them. This is an information which our constituents have a right to expect from us. It is desirable to know the result, that, if successful, those who opposed the measure may acknowledge their mistake, and those who supported it may congratulate themselves on their superior sagacity. One expectation held out by the right honourable gentleman opposite was, that the measure would act so oppressively on the enemy as to subdue his inveteracy, and incline him to make peace with this country on terms more advantageous than could otherwise be expected. I should like very much to know, whether in the right honour-

honourable gentleman's opinion this effect has been produced. I should also, sir, like to know, whether the right honourable gentleman has actually carried the orders of council into execution, or whether he has not rather allowed their tendency to be defeated by the system of licenses. It is necessary that this point should be ascertained, lest we should confound two things, and ascribe to the enforcement of the orders a consequence which has resulted from the violation of them. To all these questions, sir, I am fully sensible that I depend solely on the courtesy of the right honourable gentleman for an answer; I have always felt that I did so on former occasions. It appears to me, that it is for the convenience of the house of commons, that questions should be thus asked and thus answered, on subjects which might otherwise form the ground-work of separate discussions. I beg, therefore, that I may not be understood to be arrogant by this mode of proceeding. I will now therefore go on, sir, to observe, that the right honourable gentleman must know, that the pressure arising from the stagnation of trade has produced symptoms of inconvenience in some parts of the kingdom. I wish to touch on this subject lightly. I am aware that it is one not at all calculated to produce alarm, but very much calculated to produce commiseration. No one can doubt, sir, that every disposition to tumult, however excited, must be repressed; yet some distinction ought to be made with reference to the cause. Without entering into a more minute explanation, I may be allowed to express my hope, that his majesty's ministers will keep this consideration in their view; and that in any steps which the public good may render it necessary for them to take, they will exercise their power with lenity, where they perceive that the circumstances which call for the exercise of that power arise out of the depression of commerce; that they will afford all possible relief, where relief can be afforded; and that they will not attribute the conduct which may demand their interference, to any other motives but those which I have already mentioned. So much, sir, for the internal relations of the empire. I will now proceed to the external relations, and hope to receive an answer to such of my questions as can be answered with propriety. They will arrange themselves under two heads; Sweden and America. And first, with respect to America, I wish to know, as far as it can be disclosed with discretion, what is the real situation in which the British and the American governments stand with regard to each other. If, sir, I may trust that channel of information which is alike open to every man, the public papers, I see that congress has been prorogued for the session, but that the embargo still continues. Thus it appears that one of the effects anticipated from the orders of council has failed. England holds out; America holds out; nor does there appear any probability of a relaxation on the part of the latter. With respect, sir, to the expeditions which are about to sail, I neither wish to know nor ask their destination; nor, were I to make the inquiry, would the right honourable gentleman be justified in satisfying me. I hope that their object has been well considered; I am sure that they are under the command of able and experienced officers; and I trust that the result will

will be glorious and useful to the country. But, sir, I cannot avoid remarking, that a British expedition has for a long time been lying idle in the ports of Sweden. This is a point on which I wish for explanation. That expedition also is commanded by an officer of distinguished merit, and the public approbation fully justified his appointment to a situation of such critical responsibility. At the same time, sir, I must observe, that the accidental presence of that officer in England to take the command of the Swedish expedition deserves explanation; I say accidental, because, if public report is to be credited, the arrival in England of sir John Moore from Sicily was as unexpected by his majesty's ministers as by the country at large. It certainly appears extraordinary, that a force of 10,000 men, employed in the defence of such an important point as Sicily, should reach the English shores without the previous knowledge of government. Did this arise from any clerical error in the orders, or from any blunder of another description? Without dwelling any longer upon this point, I will proceed, sir, to the principal circumstance, which is, as I before observed, that there is now lying in the ports of Sweden a large British force, completely inactive; and that at a period of the year the most favourable for military operations. From the manner in which the right honourable gentleman opposite spoke of the sentiments of the king of Sweden, when the Swedish treaty was presented to the house, one might have been led to suppose, that, when the time of action arrived, some previous concert would be established with respect to the mode in which the troops sent by this country should be employed. It was therefore, sir, that the public became extremely surprised to learn, that immediately on the arrival of the troops under sir John Moore in Sweden, the quarter-master-general (an officer whose absence palsied an army) was sent back to this country for instructions; and that on his return to Sweden sir John Moore set off for Stockholm to concert a plan of operations. These are points which demand explanation. I wish also to be informed by the right honourable gentleman opposite, respecting the commercial relations between Great Britain and Sweden. Have arrangements been made that our commerce shall not be completely defeated by our best ally? The right honourable gentleman said on a former occasion, that he trusted to the justice, to the liberality, to the discernment of the king of Sweden, to have our commercial plans seconded by him. Have the expectations of the right honourable gentleman been fulfilled? Not any thing more, sir, occurs to me on which to call the attention of his majesty's ministers, except that most important subject which formed the basis of the motion that I had the honour of submitting to the house on the 29th of February last. I then stated, that it did not appear to me degrading to this country to propose a negotiation for peace with France. In the interval which has elapsed, at no period has it appeared to me that such a proposition would be degrading. Nor can I anticipate, during the recess which is about to take place, any circumstances, the occurrence of which can by possibility render it inexpedient or degrading, on the part of this

this country, to open such a negotiation. Having said thus much, sir, I shall sit down, trusting to the candour of his majesty's ministers, that they will afford to me and the country every satisfactory explanation with regard to those subjects on which they can communicate information without detriment to the public service."

Mr. secretary Canning.—The honourable gentleman needs no apology for making any observations, or proposing any questions to his majesty's ministers, which to him may seem advisable. I will endeavour, sir, as far as I am able, and with the utmost disposition to frankness on my part, to give to the honourable gentleman the satisfaction which he requires. In doing this I will begin with the same topics as the honourable gentleman. He expresses great surprise that the armament sent to the assistance of the king of Sweden has not yet commenced active operations. The answer to this remark, sir, is to be found in the proposition that this armament was sent to the assistance of the king of Sweden. It was sent to cooperate with the forces of an ally; to be subject to the plans of warfare which that ally might direct: if in the interval that has elapsed from the fitting out of the expedition considerable changes have taken place in the posture of affairs, and in the military councils of Sweden, that circumstance would sufficiently account for the inactivity of the British force. If any blame can be imputed to his majesty's government on this head, it must be for the decision which projected the expedition, and for the promptitude with which that decision was carried into execution, without waiting until all possible chance vanished of its remaining unemployed on its arrival. But the honourable gentleman expresses great surprise that the gallant commander of that expedition was found in England to be placed at the head of it. Sir, I have in a great measure explained this circumstance on a former occasion. The force under the command of sir John Moore, in Sicily, was removed from Sicily to Gibraltar at the eve of a considerable military operation in that quarter of the continent, and when it was highly important to afford the army engaged in that operation the double chance of receiving aid from home and from abroad. Sir John Moore arrived at Gibraltar in the latter end of November, two days after the emigration of the royal family of Portugal. Having waited for some time, of course in vain, for a communication with sir Sidney Smith, he, in pursuance of his orders, and not in consequence of an error, returned home. As to the impolicy of leaving Sicily with an inadequate garrison, I am ready to admit, that if it were possible it would be highly desirable to attend, at the same time, to every point of our military defence; but, sir, this is impossible: there are occasions on which a small risk must be run, for the hope of performing a great service. On this principle it was that his majesty's government thought it advisable to weaken for a time the garrison of Sicily. Whether in doing so they were or were not justifiable, it is for the country to decide. I now advert, sir, to the questions of the honourable gentleman connected with our commerce. He asks whether his majesty's government have any security for the cooperation of Sweden in their commercial arrangements.

Sir,

sir, I have no doubt that at this moment a treaty has been signed at Stockholm, not of indulgent, but of hearty cooperation in those arrangements. As soon as the Swedish government were told what was expected from them by this country, without waiting for the formalities of a treaty, they entered cordially into our views; but, sir, it was thought advisable that a regular treaty should be concluded; and I repeat that I have no doubt that ere this it has been signed. America, sir, is the next subject of the honourable gentleman's speech which I shall notice. Of nearly all that has passed between the two countries, the house and the public have been put in possession by the publications of the American government. I have now, sir, gone through most of the honourable gentleman's observations, except those which related to the different committees of this house, to the general course of parliamentary business, and to the laborious attendance of members during the present session. If the honourable gentleman reflects with complacency on his share of the proceedings of the session, we have also the satisfaction to reflect that we have done our duty in it, and we certainly anticipate its close with a feeling of satisfaction. I will not extend it still further by wasting the time of the house in descanting on the desire which it is rational to suppose that government must feel for the restoration of a peace, I will not say consistent with the honour of the country alone, but a peace by which her future safety and independence may be secured. The disposition which has ever existed in the minds of his majesty's ministers on this subject, and which was distinctly declared by us on the motion made by the honourable gentleman at the commencement of the session, remains unchanged. But, sir, I think that, under the present circumstances, the honourable gentleman will scarcely expect us to declare, whether or not we think there is any prospect of an opening for that event. The honourable gentleman may be assured, that we feel as much as he, or any man, can feel, the difficulties in which the country is involved; but we also feel, that she has energy and resources enough to contend, so long as it may be necessary to contend, for the maintenance of her power and independence. To say any thing further on this subject, to attempt to predict whether peace is probable or hopeless, would, in my opinion, sir, tend only, in the one case, to relax exertion, in the other, to aggravate evil.

June 30.—Sir Francis Burdett, with a view to lay a foundation for a motion which he intended to offer early in the next session of parliament, for the purpose of abolishing flogging in the army, moved, that there be laid before the house, regimental returns of all corporal punishments sentenced and inflicted in all regular and militia regiments for the last ten years, with the causes thereof, and the number of lashes inflicted on each occasion.

The secretary at war deprecated the motion, as going improperly to interfere with the prerogative of the crown and the discipline of the army, and as tending to no good consequence. In these times, above all others, it was necessary to have an army governed by distinct, direct, and decisive laws, to fight the battles of the country. He represented strongly the danger of agitating the minds of the soldiers, by

by discussions of this kind, at the present moment. He adverted to the mischiefs produced by false notions of rights in the mind of the navy not many years since. He insisted on the constitutional right of the crown, from time immemorial, to the entire control of the army, and contended that there was no ground now to limit that control. He did not deny the right of parliament to interfere, but he maintained that the regular control over the mutiny act was sufficient. Seeing no possible benefit from the production of the papers, which could not be produced without great difficulty, and being still more adverse to the use proposed to be made of them when produced, he would give his decided negative to the motion.

Sir Francis Burdett thought it would not be matter of any difficulty to make out the returns from the regimental records which he supposed were kept of all such matters. The great amount of our army at present, and the vast proportion of the population of the British empire which would be subjected to military law by the local militia, rendered it highly proper, at the present time in particular, that corporal punishment, so degrading in the eyes of all mankind, but so particularly obnoxious to the feelings of Britons, should be no longer continued. He cited the opinion of Mr. justice Blackstone, to show that the mutiny act was a hasty measure, requiring much revision, and by no means sufficient to afford the constitutional control over the power of the crown, with respect to the army, which it proposed to give, and which was attributed to it by the right honourable secretary at war. The house ought to have the information he required, in order to enable it to judge to what extent corporal punishments were inflicted, how far they were attended with beneficial effects, and whether the infliction of them may be diminished or got rid of. It would be of material advantage to satisfy the mind of the army, and that of the public, if the present system should be continued, that it was on consideration found that no other could with safety be resorted to. He knew that a high spirit of honour existed in the British army, and he wished to try how far that spirit, seconded by the corresponding principle of shame, could be made to answer all the purposes now ineffectually sought by the disgraceful system of corporal punishment. The inequality of the application of corporal punishment, proved it to be frequently matter of caprice in the individual, and this added materially to the bad effects produced by its shameful nature. He would state one instance, that of the 15th dragoons, in which, under one commander, only eight instances of the infliction of corporal punishment had taken place in six years; and under the present illustrious commander (his royal highness the duke of Cumberland), no less than eighty instances had occurred in half the time. The comparative effect, so far as he could learn, was this: that under the former system, the discipline and character of the regiment were at the highest pitch; and under the present system, the regiment was likely to be rendered good for nothing. It was of the utmost danger to have such a power vested so much in the caprice of the commanding officer. It was urged against him, that the maintenance of corporal punishment

nishment was essential to the discipline of the army. Why then was it not inflicted in any other army? Why was it not in the armies of our enemy, whose discipline or spirit was certainly not liable to any impeachment? He should persevere in taking the sense of the house on his motion, and he hoped the gentlemen opposite would feel the impropriety of withholding information so interesting and important to the house.

Lord Castlereagh could not conceive what motives of public advantage could have induced the honourable baronet to bring forward this momentous subject almost on the last day of the session; nor could he see that any practical benefit was likely to result from the interference of the house in this business. If the honourable baronet saw so general an interest to the constitution, to the character of the army, and the feelings and principles of the people, why did he not call the attention of the house to this matter at an earlier period of the session? Adverse as he was in every point of view to the motion of the honourable baronet, and the purposes for which it was avowedly brought forward, his opposition was confirmed by the fallacy of the arguments adduced in support of it. The frequency of the infliction of punishment was a presumptive proof, not of unnecessary severity, but of the prevalence of the offences that called for that punishment. He imputed no improper motive to the honourable baronet in agitating this subject, but he saw much mischief likely to result from rendering the army discontented with the system by which it was governed. There was no civil or military code whatsoever, that could in every point stand the test of a strict theoretic scrutiny; though there were certainly many which were found highly equitable and beneficial in practice. The honourable baronet particularly admired the French military code, and this was not the only instance in which he was disposed to follow the example of that nation. But it was not to be supposed that because Bonaparte had ordered one or two soldiers, who had been disarmed in the late affair at Madrid, a punishment founded on the principle of shame (that of carrying a stick on parade instead of their arms), that this practice, or the principle on which it was founded, was the universal rule of the French military system. The French generals, it was well known, had the power of ordering men from the ranks when guilty of any breach of discipline, and commanding them to be shot on the spot. In no instance was the slightest corporal punishment inflicted in this country, unless ordered by the sentence of a competent tribunal, judging on oath. He animadverted on the impropriety of the illustration adduced by the honourable baronet from a particular regiment (the 15th dragoons), without any regard to the difference that may exist in the state of the regiment in point of numbers, of the character of its men, or the prevalence of any offence which it was desirable to eradicate. It was very wrong to attribute the frequency of punishment to the caprice of the commanding officer, when it was known that no punishment could be inflicted without the sentence of a court martial. The noble lord then represented the injury that may result from misrepresenting and traducing the system under

which the British army had so long flourished; under which it felt itself so well situated, that it maintained the most exemplary loyalty in the most critical times; under which it acquired glory for itself and for the country, and under which, he would venture to say, it was matter of pride to every individual in the army to be a British soldier. From all these considerations he was of opinion, and he was sure the house would agree with him, that the present system of governing the army ought not to be disturbed.

Lord Folkstone supported the motion, which was opposed by sir G. Warrender, Mr. Windham, and lord Temple: and on a division there were,

For the motion	4
Against it	77
Majority	73

July 4th.—Mr. Whitbread began by observing, that he had with considerable anxiety waited till the last moment before the present session terminated, in the hope that his majesty's ministers would see the propriety of adopting some mode whereby the sense of that house could be obtained on a subject of such universal interest as that of the present transactions in Spain. He thought that nothing was more to be desired than a distinct expression of the sentiment of that house upon a subject of such importance, and he could not help expressing his surprise that no communication had been made to the house by his majesty's ministers, as it was upon such a communication that the declaration and the sentiments of that house could best be founded. When this subject was submitted to their consideration on a recent occasion by his right hon. friend (Mr. Sheridan), he (Mr. Whitbread) had felt it to be his duty frankly to state his objections to the impropriety and inexpediency of then agitating it, as he was apprehensive that the discussion at that time might have prematurely committed the whole Spanish nation with France: since that period, however, the case was materially altered; the Spanish nation was now committed with France; never were a people engaged in a more arduous and honourable struggle, and he earnestly prayed God to crown their efforts with a success as final as their efforts were glorious! He could not help thinking that, under such circumstances, it would have been well to have given an opportunity of manifesting to the brave Spaniards the sympathy that glowed in every British heart in favour of their cause, through the proper channel, the legitimate organ of the British people. He thought there had been reason to have expected that a message from the king would have been ere now brought down for a vote of credit, to enable the government more effectually to second the wishes of all ranks of Englishmen, by aiding and assisting the Spaniards. He had no doubt that, had such a message been sent down, it would have been met with the unanimous concurrence of that house, and he was equally certain that this concurrence would have been echoed throughout the country. He would, however, abstain from saying more upon this subject, or going the length his feelings on such a subject would naturally lead him, as he might be liable to misrepresentation; but he would repeat, that from the bottom of his soul he wished success to the patriotic efforts of the Spaniards, and that their present glorious struggle might

might be crowned with the recovery of their liberty as a people, and the assertion of their independence as a nation: and in thus expressing his own, he felt assured that he spoke the wishes of that house and the country.

Lord Castlereagh said, that upon a recent occasion, when the present subject was brought before the consideration of the house, he had felt it his painful duty to express his disapprobation of the tone and manner in which the hon. gentleman had thought fit to comment on certain circumstances, the recapitulation of which could not have been attended with any good consequences; it now, however, gave him considerable pleasure, that the grateful task had devolved to him of expressing his complete coincidence in the feelings manifested by the hon. gentleman, as to the issue of the great and glorious struggle in which the Spanish people were at present engaged. The reason why the government had not thought it necessary was, simply, that the provision already made by parliament had been so liberal, that the government were not without the means of giving to the cause of freedom and independence, by assisting the Spaniards, that aid which the public voice, and the wishes of every friend to liberty throughout the world, demanded should be promptly and unconditionally offered. He could assure the hon. gentleman and the house, that no means would be left untried, that no exertion would be wanting on their parts, to make all the resources which they had it in their power to apply, subservient to the great object, as much wished for by them as by his majesty, by the parliament, and by the country. It was not for him at present to anticipate the opinion of that house upon the manner in which the ministry should acquit themelves of the great and solemn obligations by which they might be said to stand bound to their country and to Europe: how far ministers upon this great occasion had done what they could do, and ought to do, parliament upon a future occasion would have an opportunity of deliberately judging and determining.

Mr. Wilberforce confessed that the sentiments he felt on this great subject were very similar to those of the hon. gentleman opposite. He could not avoid expressing his concern that no communication had been made to parliament, in order that a proper opportunity might have been afforded of giving a sort of authoritative publicity to the unanimous feeling of the nation, that all that England could do for Spain and her cause should be done with equal zeal, promptitude, and disinterestedness; and to show to Spain, and to the world, our generous sympathy in her sufferings, our anxious interest in her struggles, and our hearty and undivided wishes for her complete success. And he was at the same time particularly anxious that Spain should be satisfied, that whatever means we should resort to, to second her efforts, were not the result of any narrow self-consulting policy, any cold and interested speculation, but that they were the spontaneous effusions of British sympathy in the cause of that freedom and independence Britons valued beyond their lives: the cause of Spain was the cause of all those who, from enjoying, knew how to value liberty. But he was particularly anxious that the Spaniards should not be furnished with the slightest pretence to believe, that because of the state

of hostility which had but recently terminated between the two countries, there still lurked in the breasts of Englishmen any hostile disposition towards that country; and above all, it was desirable that the Spaniards should have good reason to confide in our assistance, and not distrust the manner of it, or question the motives that occasioned it: every possible means should be resorted to to convince them that, at such a crisis, we were not base enough to avail ourselves of their difficulty and danger, in order ultimately to render their noble efforts subservient to our own interests; and he could not but confess, that he thought an unanimous vote of that house to that effect would have materially contributed to the confirmation of such a disavowal on our part. But there was some consolation in reflecting that, though this vote had not been called for, the feeling in favour of Spain was so unanimous, zealous and decisive, that it was next to an impossibility that it could be mistaken; it was so notorious that every Briton joined in enthusiastic prayers to the great Ruler of events, to bless with its merited success the struggle of a gallant people in behalf of every thing dear to the Christian, the citizen, and the man; and indeed, the notoriety itself had been so extensive, as perhaps to supersede the necessity of any formal annunciation on the part of that house upon a subject concerning which the population of the empire entertained but one sentiment, great and generous as the glorious cause that gave it birth.

The deputy usher of the black rod then summoned the house to the house of peers. The speaker and all the members attended forthwith. On their return, the speaker read a copy of his majesty's speech from the chair at the table to the members assembled round him; after which they severally bowed and retired.

This speech will be found among the Public Papers in another part of the volume.

CHAPTER VII.

State of Europe at the End of 1807—Extent and Firmness of the French Power — Austria — Russia — Spain — Portugal — Prussia — Denmark — Views of France against British Commerce—Leeds' Petition for Peace—American Embargo—Liverpool Petition—General Whitelocke's Trial—Charges—Summary of Evidence—Defence—Sentence—Remarks on it—Observations on the State Papers laid before Parliament—Russian—Austrian—Observations on the Orders in Council—Bark Bill—Reversion Bill—London Address respecting it—Committee of Finance—Scotch Judicature Bill—Indictment Bill—Sir Samuel Romilly's Bill respecting Privately Stealing—Distillery Bill—Defence of the Country—Finances—Annuity Bill—Conduct of the Opposition—State of Commerce—Riots in Lancashire—Capture of Madeira, St. Thomas, and St. Croix—Deseada—Loss of Reggio and Scylla—State of India—Attack on Cumona Fort—Remarks—State of Europe just before the Revolution in Spain.

AT the end of the year 1807, the continent of Europe presented scarcely a single spot, on which the friends of independence and

and freedom could rest with the smallest satisfaction or hope. With the solitary exception of Sweden, every state had fallen before the arms, or yielded itself up to the influence, of France. The war between that power and Russia, from which, at one stage of its progress, a favourable result was expected, had, by its final termination, not only extended and confirmed the empire of Bonaparte, but had also been succeeded by the most blind and complete devotion of Alexander to the interest and plans of his conqueror. The emperor of the French could thus, after the treaty of Tilsit, boast of having achieved much more than even entered the flattered imagination of Lewis the XIVth in the zenith of his conquests and glory. And not only was his power more extensive than any former European conqueror had ever possessed, but it had every appearance of being more solid and durable. In France itself, every thing answered his expectations and was devoted to his interest. Even when he had withdrawn all his forces against Russia, and was at a great distance from his capital, engaged in a doubtful contest, there was not the slightest appearance of discontent or intrigue. Wearied out with change, sick of rapine and bloodshed, or watched with such minute vigilance and care, that no plans could be formed inimical to the interest of Bonaparte,—the people of France submitted to his civil government as peaceably and completely during the absence of himself and his armies, as they had done when guarded and oppressed by their presence. In his armies he had the most full and firm reliance: their interest and fate were interwoven with his own. By their very nature and constitution, they presented the most powerful motives that could draw forth talent, courage and skill. To the man of superior mind and views, the army held out the encouraging prospect of rising to the first power and honours of the state. Bonaparte and his generals had risen by means of it from the lowest origin; and the path by which they had arrived at their eminence, was still wisely left completely open for future candidates. The government of France thus secured a constant and regular supply of military skill, by the only effectual mode of securing it. To such as looked not so far or so high, the life of a soldier presented motives more level to the capacities and desires of the multitude; while they were engaged in actual warfare, an unchecked or encouraged liberty to gratify every passion, bound them to their officers and to their mode of life, and spurred them on to victory and carnage: while they remained in their own country, they were gratified by the superiority over the mere citizen, which the laws of France and the policy of Bonaparte allowed them.

With an immense army thus constituted and disposed, animated and skilled by the defeat of all the powers on the continent of Europe, Bonaparte would have had no reason to doubt the solidity and permanency of his power, even if the governments to whom he had still left the name and shadow of freedom had been inclined or able to attack him. But there was not one, from whom, after the treaty of Tilsit, he had any thing to dread. A short sketch of their state and their views at the conclusion of the year 1807, will convince us how unable or unwilling they were to

oppose the power and the plans of Bonaparte. The emperor of Austria may justly be regarded as the least induced of all those whom he has conquered, to enter into his views. But he was under the necessity of complying with the mandates of the conqueror. Weakened by a bloody, an ill-managed and unfortunate war; surrounded by states which owed their existence to France, and who from their position as well as from interest would defend her from attack, it would have been madness in Austria to have gone to war with France, either for the purpose of asserting her independence and resisting the commands of Bonaparte, or with a view to regain her lost territories. The internal state of Austria was as little favourable to hostile designs: her government had not been taught by the misfortunes she had suffered, to remove the causes which had produced them; intrigue, cabal and interest still influenced the determinations of her cabinets; her armies had been beaten by the armies of France, because the latter were commanded and led on by men, who had gained their appointments by their talents and skill; and yet Austria still persevered in the old system of giving officers to her armies from among such men only as could boast of a pure descent or of ill-gotten interest at court. The losses she had suffered rendered the cordial cooperation of all ranks necessary to her welfare; and yet her peasantry still groaned under such bondage as made them indolent, and indifferent under the misfortunes of their government. Her paper money forced into circulation, not called for by the extension of her commerce, nor supported by mutual confidence and credit, necessarily lost great part of its value on the mere rumour of a war with France. Besides these circumstances, which of themselves would be sufficient to render her country a matter of indifference to Bonaparte, the emperor of Austria had sufficient wisdom to perceive, that the only chance he possessed of regaining any part of his lost territories, was by husbanding his resources, and by re-establishing his finances and armies, by such slow and gradual methods as should not attract the notice and arouse the jealousy of Bonaparte.

The emperor of Russia, after the peace of Tilsit, was less disposed, and probably not more able, than the emperor of Austria, to oppose the plans of Bonaparte. The perfidy he discovered in agreeing to accept part of the territory of that power, in whose defence he had entered into the war, the ease with which, by the intrigues and flattery of Bonaparte, he had been converted from an enemy to a friend, proved at once how little he could be depended upon for the freedom of Europe, and how well he was suited to become the willing instrument of his conqueror. In the vain and delusive hope of extending an empire already too large and unwieldy, and which required in the person who governed it rather the legislator than the warrior; he gave himself completely up to that system of policy which, by engaging him in a war with Great Britain and Sweden, fully answered the purposes of Bonaparte, by blocking up the sources of his wealth, and weakening the strength of his armies. His immense empire, destitute of manufactures, and covered with the raw materials necessary to carry them

them on, obviously required an open and friendly communication with such a country as Britain: yet with her, at the instigation of Bonaparte, he engaged in war; and moreover undertook to prohibit the importation of her manufactures; forgetting that if he did succeed, he must at the same time put a stop to the importation of the produce of his own country, which was either given in exchange for those manufactures, or actually supplied them.

The situation and character of the minor states of Europe, at the period we are now considering, were in every respect favourable to the views of Bonaparte. In Spain it was probable that he meant to overturn the Bourbon family, and to place one of his own creatures; though from our imperfect knowledge of what was actually passing there, and of the precise means by which he intended to bring about his object, there appeared at one time reason to suppose that the royal family would be continued on the throne. He had driven, either designedly or by a premature disclosure of his hostile intentions, the house of Braganza from Portugal, and occupied it with his armies: the final destiny which awaited it, seemed to depend on the successful termination of his schemes with regard to Spain. It is superfluous to speak individually of Holland, Switzerland, Italy, Prussia, or Germany. They were all either occupied by his troops or governed by his obedient vassals. Prussia had severely atoned for her former perfidy and rashness. The king and queen were obliged to live in the most humble and retired manner, and to witness without a murmur, or even the expression of pity, the exactions that were wrested from their impoverished subjects by the French soldiers. Denmark, exasperated by our attack on Copenhagen, had thrown herself completely into the arms of France. Sweden alone, of all the powers on the continent, remained firmly opposed to Bonaparte, unseduced by his promises of a share in the spoil, and unsubdued by his menaces. The peculiar situation of her territories rendered them inaccessible to the power of France; and the ardour and heroism of the king was seconded by the zeal and affection of his subjects, now that the war threatened the provinces of Sweden, and that they again beheld their monarch in the midst of them. The possession of Sweden however, separated as it is from the rest of Europe, would not have been the object of Bonaparte's ambition, had he not been actuated by a personal hatred against its monarch, and by the wish to exclude Britain from the shores of the Baltic. For towards the destruction of this island his ambition and resentment were directed with more undivided thought, now that he had brought the whole continent under his power. Here however he found his talents and formidable armies of no avail. France and Britain had no point of contact in the common mode of warfare. Every fleet which the former had sent to sea had only increased the marine and added to the glory of England; while our armies, shut out from the continent, had no opportunity of meeting those of France. Bonaparte therefore had recourse to a new mode of warfare: his object was to annihilate the commerce of Britain, by shutting out her manufactures from the continent. Accustomed to find every obstacle give way to

the power of his armies, he forgot that commerce cannot be restrained; that the mutual wants of nations will be supplied in spite of decrees; and that the threat of blockading England, coming from a sovereign without a navy, can only show the impotence of his rage.

But though every attempt to injure this country by decrees against its trade must ultimately be unavailing, yet at first they will succeed in some measure, until successful modes of eluding the vigilance of those whose business or interest it is to prevent the introduction of our manufactures on the continent are found out. It is not therefore to be wondered at, if, at the beginning of this year, when every port in Europe, with the exception of those in Sweden, was shut against us, and when our amicable relations with America were in a very precarious state, our manufacturers should feel the pressure of distress. One of the first events we have to record is the meeting at Leeds for the purpose of petitioning for peace. It was held at the Mixed-Cloth Hall of that town on the 19th of January, and attended by nearly 10,000 persons. A set of resolutions were unanimously agreed to: in these the meeting pointed out the distress under which the manufactures of Yorkshire laboured, arising from the war; and a petition to his majesty was drawn up, praying him to adopt such measures as might be thought most advisable for restoring at an early period the blessings of peace. As the nation was by no means disposed to purchase a precarious and dishonourable peace, in order that the manufacturers of Yorkshire might be relieved from their distress, and as it was the general opinion, that, under all the circumstances of Europe, and the known character and disposition of Bonaparte, no other peace could be obtained, the Yorkshire petition produced no effect. Besides, it is too well known, both from the general character of those who are deeply interested in trade, and from the actual behaviour of the Yorkshire manufacturers at former periods of the war, that their objection to its continuance, as it arose solely from its being injurious to their interests, would entirely disappear, or even be changed into approbation, provided it increased the demand for their goods.

The attention and interest of the public were drawn more generally and strongly towards the news which arrived from America. This country was placed in a very singular and disagreeable situation: her ships were exposed to be captured both by England and France; the carrying trade, by which she had gained so much wealth, could no longer be engaged in without great loss or risk. Bonaparte, by his absurd decree from Berlin, had forced from us our orders in council, which, though meant to operate entirely to his disadvantage, unavoidably fell hard on the American States. Nor did they deserve much pity; for, instead of protesting against the first mover of the absurd plans for restricting commerce, they tamely acquiesced in his orders, and reserved their complaints to be levelled against us, who in self-defence had been compelled to have recourse to the orders in council. Thus situated and disposed, the American congress, on the 22d of December 1807, resolved, in order to avoid the losses and hostilities which were to be apprehended from the measures

measures respectively adopted by England and France, to lay a strict embargo on all the vessels of the United States. By the act which was then passed, their own vessels were prohibited from departing from any of their ports; and ships from all other nations were commanded to quit the American harbours, with or without cargoes, as soon as the act was notified to them. This act, so singular in its nature, and so important in its consequences, passed a majority of nearly two to one.

No person could question the right of the American States to lay up all their vessels and permit them to rot, rather than expose them to insult or capture: the policy of the measure however, and the disposition which it manifests towards this country and France, admit of investigation. Even when regarded as a choice of evils, its policy may justly be suspected. How many different classes of American citizens must it deprive of the means of gaining a maintenance, disposing of their superabundant produce, or employing their capital! Their sailors must either starve on shore, or enter into English vessels; and thus, in the latter case, they are preparing fresh sources of dispute and rancour between the two countries. With respect to the disposition it manifests towards England and France, there can be no doubt, that though both must suffer from it, yet as the former carried on a more extensive commerce with America than the latter, she must suffer in a greater degree. If America, by means of the embargo, looked further than the mere safety of her ships and seamen; if she hoped, by withdrawing from the ocean, to compel France or England to rescind their decrees, she certainly reckoned on a result not likely to be produced. Bonaparte pays too little regard to the sufferings of his subjects, to be turned aside from measures he thinks will injure England, in order to relieve them; and England, while she commands the ocean, and preserves her superiority in manufacturing skill and capital, can never be at a loss to find a market for her goods. At first, however, the embargo excited a great alarm among commercial men; especially in Liverpool, which depends more than any other port on its connexion with America. In consequence of the alarm excited there, and the belief that the embargo resulted from our orders in council, and would be taken off, if they were repealed, petitions were drawn up and presented to parliament, before whom evidence in support of the allegations contained in them was heard at great length: parliament however did not think proper to comply with their requests.

Hitherto we have noticed events that interested the great bulk of the people only incidentally and indirectly; but the trial of general Whitelocke, which began on the 28th of January, fixed the anxious attention of all ranks and degrees of the British nation. The character of the British arms had suffered so deep a wound in the unsuccessful attack on Buenos Ayres; the lives of many brave and valuable men had been sacrificed, with such an entire neglect of all the means of safety or success; and the ill-will and rancour of the inhabitants of the Spanish colonies had been roused in a manner so fatal to every expectation of our future amicable and advantageous connexion with them, that the trial

of

of the man, from whom all those evils were known to have proceeded, was looked to, with the gloomy hope, that by his fate some atonement would be made for them. Of an event of such interest and importance as this trial confessedly is, our readers will expect that we should present them with the substance. And we are induced to do this, not only because it points out the misconduct of general Whitelocke, and the causes of the failure of our arms under his command, but because in the detail of the operations during the attack on Buenos Ayres, as given in evidence on the trial, the cool and steady bravery of the British troops, and the presence of mind and military skill of the different subordinate officers, in the most distressing and embarrassing circumstances, are clearly proved.

Four charges were brought against gen. Whitelocke: the first accuses him of having pursued measures ill calculated to facilitate the conquest of Buenos Ayres; that when the Spanish commander had shown such symptoms to treat, as to express a desire to communicate with major-gen. Gower upon the subject of terms, gen. Whitelocke returned a message, in which he demanded the surrender of persons holding civil offices in the government of Buenos Ayres, as prisoners of war; that this offensive and unusual demand naturally tended to exasperate the inhabitants, to produce and encourage a spirit of resistance to his majesty's arms, to exclude the hope of amicable accommodation, and to increase the difficulties of the service. The second charge accused him of not having made, after the landing of the troops at Ensinada, and during the march to the town, the military arrangements best calculated to insure the success of his operations; and that having known, previously to his attack upon Buenos Ayres, that the enemy meant to occupy the flat roofs of the houses, he did, nevertheless, in the attack divide his forces into several brigades, and ordered the whole to be unloaded, and no firing to be permitted on any account; and in this manner ordered them to march into the principal streets, unprovided with proper means for forcing the barricadoes, whereby the troops were unnecessarily exposed to destruction, without the possibility of making effectual opposition. The third charge alleged that general Whitelocke did not make, although it was in his power, any effectual attempt, by his own personal exertions or otherwise, to cooperate with or support the different divisions of the army, when engaged with the enemy in the streets of Buenos Ayres; whereby those troops, after having surmounted a constant and well directed fire, and having effected the purport of their orders, were left without support or further orders, and considerable detachments were thereby compelled to surrender. The last charge alleged that general Whitelocke, subsequently to the attack upon Buenos Ayres, and at a time when the troops under his command were in possession of posts on each flank of the town and of the principal arsenal, with a communication open to the fleet, and having an effective force of above 5000 men, did conclude a treaty with the enemy, by which he unnecessarily and shamefully surrendered such advantages, totally evacuated the town of Buenos Ayres, and consented to deliver up the strong fortress

fortress of Monte Video, which had been delivered to his charge, and which at the period of the treaty, and the abandonment, was well garrisoned and sufficiently provided against attack, and which was not at such period in a state of blockade or siege. Such was the substance of the charges brought against general Whitelocke; and more deep and serious charges, charges involving more criminal neglect and inattention, or more gross incapacity, could scarcely have been alleged. It was proved in evidence, that on the 2d of July 1807, the advance corps of general Whitelocke's army defeated the enemy: that the main body, instead of being brought up in support of the advanced corps, were ordered to halt, after having marched only seven miles, though it appeared that they were capable of marching further. A cannonade was heard, but no means were made use of in order to ascertain from whence it proceeded, or what was the cause of it. The state of the country and the situation and force of the enemy's army were not reconnoitred. The main body of the British troops were better able to march than the advance corps; and if they had advanced on the 2d, it was proved, by the testimony of generals Gower and Crawfurd, that the town might have been taken on the west side, where the enemy, not expecting an attack, were totally unprovided against one. While, however, on the one hand, the main body of the army, though fresh and capable of pursuing their route, were ordered to halt; on the other hand the advance corps, though nearly exhausted with fatigue, were ordered to march to the Chullo. No directions were given, or means taken, to support this comparatively weak body: and they were exposed to the enemy, at a considerable distance from the main army, with whom no communication was kept up during the greater part of the march.

It was also proved that general Whitelocke could not plead that he was ignorant of the force of the enemy, or of their means and plan of defence, since he had received the fullest and most accurate information on these points from a person on whom he could depend: yet his own plan of attack was formed with little or no reference to the information which had been communicated, and even without any reconnoissance having been made. He did not, in orders or otherwise, give any intimation of the station he meant to occupy himself: he did not fix on any place, to which the troops were to retreat, or where they might assemble in case of failure: he did not consult the nature and situation of the town before he issued the orders for attack, though one of his officers was perfectly well acquainted both with the town and the suburbs. With regard to the latter part of the third charge, it appeared in evidence that the Plaza del Toros was taken by sir Samuel Auchmuty by nine o'clock; that by ten o'clock general Lumley, finding that he had no chance of succeeding in his point of attack, and having no communication with the commander in chief, was obliged to retreat and join sir Samuel Auchmuty: that in consequence of the want of communication with general Whitelocke, the troops under general Crawfurd and colonel Packe were obliged to surrender. In support of that part of the third charge, which alleged

that

that general Whitelocke did not make any attempt, by his own personal exertions or otherwise, to co-operate with or support the different divisions of his army, when actually engaged with the enemy; it was proved that during the whole of the day of attack he remained stationary at the Corul, from which place neither the leading streets of the town, nor the march of the invading columns, could be seen: that during great part of this time he was silent and reserved; and that he did not proceed towards the scene of action till noon the following day: that the cannon and musquetry began soon after the march of the troops; that all communication was soon cut off between the different columns of the army; that at eleven o'clock the general was informed that the riflemen were distinguished at the top of a church, and the king's flag in another part of the town; yet, under all these circumstances, he never left his situation, nor made any attempt either to direct or support the movements of the army.

With respect to the most material point in the 4th charge, it was admitted by general Whitelocke that, at the period of the treaty, the fort of Monte Video was well and sufficiently garrisoned and provided against attack, and was not in a state of blockade or siege. The remainder of this charge, resting rather on opinion than on facts, can hardly be said to have been completely substantiated. Some of the officers examined, thought that even after the disasters of the 5th of July, the British army was in such a formidable situation, and possessed such other advantages, as ought to have procured a more favourable capitulation; while others contended, that under all circumstances of the case no better terms could have been expected. Whichever opinion be adopted, the guilt of general Whitelocke must be regarded as nearly equal: if such terms as were actually procured, were the best that could be obtained in the circumstances of the British army, how extremely culpable must that officer be deemed, who, by his misconduct, had brought it into these circumstances, and thus rendered a disgraceful capitulation unavoidable! If, on the other hand, the strength and situation of the forces were such as ought, even after the disastrous and unsuccessful attack on Buenos Ayres, to have commanded more favourable and honourable terms, the incapacity of general Whitelocke, as a negotiator, must be censured, as well as his want of skill and courage as a commander.

The defence of general Whitelocke was by no means calculated to do away any of the charges that were brought against him. After an irrelevant and unjust personal attack on the judge advocate, merely for doing that which his official situation and his duty to the public imperiously called upon him to perform, and which he had performed in a manner totally free from severity or rancour, general Whitelocke went into a long and extraneous detail respecting the supposed commercial advantages which were expected from the capture of Buenos Ayres; and seemed inclined to rest his defence almost as much on the inutility of the conquest, if it had been effected, as on the proof that he had taken the proper measures to secure that conquest. He complained that the different divisions under general Crawford, colonel Duff, major

major Vandeleur, colonel Packe, and colonel Cadogan, on entering the town, had turned to the left instead of the right, and had thus been cut off from the support of the other columns, and encountered the loss they had sustained. General Crawfurd, he asserted, had taken an injudicious position, where he could not maintain himself, and from which he could not retreat; and, besides, had withheld from him a knowledge of his situation. The evidence, however, which he called for the purpose of thus shifting the blame from himself, and throwing it on the inferior officers, by no means made out the case.

The court martial sat 31 days, the whole proceedings being finished on the 15th of March. On the 24th of the same month the sentence, as approved by his majesty, was officially communicated, by the secretary of the commander in chief, to general Whitelocke. It declared the judgment of the court to be, "That lieut.-general Whitelocke be cashiered, and declared totally unfit and unworthy to serve his majesty in any military capacity whatever." In the sentence it was expressly declared, "That the court attached no censure whatever to the precautions taken to prevent unnecessary firing during the advance of the troops to the proposed points of attack: they, therefore, declared general Whitelocke not guilty of that part of the second charge which relates to the order that the firelocks of the columns should be unloaded, and that no firing should be permitted on any account."

The public in general were by no means satisfied with the sentence of the court martial: in such a case, where the honour of the British arms had been tarnished in a most shameful, and almost an unprecedented, manner; where so many brave and valuable lives had been sacrificed by the neglect, the incapacity, and the cowardice of their general; where they had fallen, not by the hands of a regular army in open battle, but by an undisciplined rabble; shut up in the streets of a town, separated from each other, and not knowing either how to advance or how to retreat: in circumstances of such aggravated dishonour and loss, it is not to be wondered at, if the people looked rather to vengeance than simple punishment; if they were not content with a sentence, which had for its object rather the prevention of such defeats for the future, than an adequate atonement for the dreadful mischief which had already taken place. The sentence was blamed also, as by no means adequate and proper, when considered simply (as all punishment ought to be) with respect to the probability of its preventing similar misconduct in future. Few persons, who attentively peruse the evidence produced on the trial, will be inclined to doubt, that cowardice, or a desire to preserve his life, even at the expense of his duty and honour, was the principal and paramount cause of general Whitelocke's behaviour, at least of his continuing during the whole day of the action, apart from his troops, in a situtation of perfect security, and of his not advancing even when he must have known that the troops required his support. Now what punishment to such a man, must that sentence be, which spares his life; that life, which, by his whole conduct, he appears to have

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prized above every thing that is dear to a man of honour and courage! Is it to be expected that men of a similar character and constitution as general Whitelocke, will, under similar circumstances, act differently from what he did, when they are assured, that, if tried for their misconduct and found guilty, their sentence will not affect their lives? To talk of the dishonour and disgrace of such a sentence to such men, is absurd: they shook off all feelings of this kind, when they determined to preserve their lives at the expense of their honour and duty. The sentence, so far as it deprives such men of their emoluments, may be felt, and it may operate, but very feebly, as a prevention of similar misconduct; but in every other point of view, it must be regarded as totally inefficient and inadequate, even as a measure of prevention.

Hitherto we have regarded the transactions at Buenos Ayres, that appeared in evidence on the trial of general Whitelocke, as the source only of indignation and shame; it is, therefore, with pleasure we add, that, from the very clear and interesting detail given by sir Samuel Auchmuty, general Crawfurd, and the other officers who commanded the divisions that were personally engaged with the enemy, the soldiers of Britain maintained their character for courage, cool, collected, and firm, in circumstances that would have disheartened and confused most troops. No doubt had ever been entertained of the gallant conduct of the British soldiery, where they were opposed to their enemy in open battle, or where they saw or knew the precise difficulties they were expected to surmount; but it was certainly a new situation for British troops to be placed in: marching they knew not whither, nor for what purpose; galled on every side by the fire of an unseen or inaccessible enemy; obliged frequently to halt for want of orders; ignorant of the direction of the march of their comrades, and uncertain as to their success or defeat; and under all these harassing and discouraging circumstances, convinced that if common prudence had been used in forming the plan of attack, they must have succeeded. If all these things be considered, they will be found amply to deserve the commendation bestowed on their intrepidity and good order by his majesty in his confirmation of general Whitelocke's sentence.

The session of parliament, which opened on the 21st of January, was looked to with considerable interest and expectation. Referring our readers to the full account we have given in our preceding pages of the various important debates that occurred in both houses, we shall in this place confine ourselves to a few remarks on some of the voluminous papers which were produced by ministers, and on such of the measures adopted by parliament as are of permanent and general interest. The papers relative to the proffered mediation of Russia and Austria are curious and important, not so much from their actual contents, as from their pointing out the abject subserviency in which those powers were held by France; and the flimsy pretexts of pacific overtures, proceeding from no sincere wish to put an end to the war, and pointing to no clear or definite object, by the rejection of which Bonaparte evidently wished to throw on our court the odium of

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continued hostilities. The communications between M. Alopeus and Mr. Canning terminated very abruptly, by the latter very properly requesting to be put in possession of the articles of the treaty concluded at Tilsit, and of those equitable and honourable principles upon which the emperor Alexander expressed his belief that France was desirous of concluding a peace with Britain,—before his majesty accepted of the proffered mediation of Russia. No answer was returned to this note; and the inability or unwillingness on the part of Russia to comply with such reasonable requests, proves how unfit that power was to become a mediator. In the correspondence between Mr. Canning and prince Stahremberg, the Austrian ambassador, there appear the same evasion and indirectness on the one side, and the same determination to draw forth a specific and decisive answer on the part of Mr. Canning, as we have noticed in the Russian state papers. Prince Stahremberg offers the mediation of Austria, without stating whether he is officially authorised by his own court; and, what is still more extraordinary, in the subsequent part of his correspondence, he quits the character of the ambassador of a mediating power, and writes and argues as if he were directly empowered by France. This correspondence, carried on from the 18th of April 1807 to the 13th January 1808, (with a considerable intermission during the time of the battles in Poland and the subsequent treaty at Tilsit,) was terminated as abruptly as the former, by the Austrian ambassador demanding his passports.

The next series of state papers laid before parliament, consisted of the correspondence between lord Granville Leveson Gower, our ambassador at the court of Petersburgh, and Mr. Canning. They relate to the impression made on Alexander by our attack on Copenhagen, and to the endeavours of our ambassador to procure the secret articles of the treaty of Tilsit. It appears that our attack on Copenhagen was the cause, or, more probably, the pretext, of Alexander's breaking off all connexion with this country, and of his proclaiming anew the principles of the armed neutrality. The character of the emperor of Russia by no means appears to advantage in the conferences he held with our ambassador. Provided he had not given himself up to the interests and plans of Bonaparte; interests and plans avowedly hostile, not merely to the repose of Europe, but to every thing hitherto deemed honourable and sacred in the code of international morality; his displeasure at our attack on Copenhagen might have been regarded as proceeding solely from affection to his ally, and from his love of justice. But a rebuke at our conduct in this instance, coming from one who had sold himself to Bonaparte, must be traced to any motive rather than a desire to avenge the injured rights of neutrality. Though, however, our attack on Copenhagen did not appear, from the letters of lord Gower, to have been the sole or the principal cause of the war with Russia; yet it cannot be denied, that it tended to increase the irritation of Alexander. The conferences at Tilsit had offered too favourable an opportunity to be neglected by Bonaparte, of infusing into his weak and credulous mind a disadvantageous suspicion of our national character and

and councils. Our maritime superiority is regarded with a watchful and jealous eye by the continent; and the display of it exhibited at Copenhagen, so near the dominions of Russia, could not be viewed without fear and resentment by a sovereign who was conscious that he deserved, as the punishment due to an enemy, the stroke which Great Britain had thought herself under the painful necessity of inflicting on the neutral state of Denmark.

The measures of parliament, upon which we shall remark, are such as relate to the orders in council, and the maritime communication between this country and France, carried on by neutrals;—to the reversion bill, and the reforms proposed by the committee of finance; the bills to amend the law of indictment, and to soften the criminal law in cases of privately stealing, and that for the better administration of justice in Scotland; the defence of the country; the distresses of the West India merchants; and Mr. Perceval's plan of annuities.

As the orders in council had been passed during the recess, it was necessary to apply to parliament to approve and sanction the measures by which they were to be carried into effect. Few subjects have been debated with more keenness, or regarded by both as likely to be efficient, either by weakening and injuring our enemy, or by hurting our own commerce. The advocates, and the opponents of the measure, were too warm and too much interested in the opinions they held, to believe that in its effect it might possibly be nearly harmless; and yet, now that the orders in council have been in operation upwards of a year, it would be difficult to show either that they have materially injured our own commerce, or created any serious evils or disturbance in France. It was argued by the ministry that the inhabitants of the continent, deprived of colonial produce, and of our manufactures, or able to procure them only in small and inadequate quantities, and at a high price, would no longer endure the tyranny of Bonaparte: that by thus inflicting a serious evil at once on the whole mass of the people of the continent, we had reason to hope that their sufferings would either shake the power of our enemy, or oblige him to rescind his anticommercial decrees. But those who calculated on such effects seem not to have reflected, that the mere dearth of colonial produce and British manufactures would be little felt by a people who had so long suffered, without resistance, the more dreadful evils of a military despotism and continual warfare. Besides, there was no little reason to apprehend that the suffering people would trace their sufferings no further back than to their immediate and obvious cause; and thus what was intended to excite hatred and insurrection against Bonaparte, might only produce enmity against ourselves. Some of the advocates of the measure, who did not look for such important consequences, contented themselves with alleging, that, by the provisions in the orders in council, we should be able to levy a contribution on our enemy; and that, since he could not possibly do without colonial produce, it was a wise and politic measure to oblige him to receive it only through our ports, and at our own price. This, no doubt, the orders in council could effect, and thus secure a revenue derived from our enemies; but as the demand for such articles as

were affected by the orders would unavoidably diminish, in proportion to the difficulty with which they were procured, and the price at which they were sold, it is by no means improbable that the increase to our revenue merely balanced the deficiency in the sale. As Bonaparte had begun the plan of blockade, we had certainly a right to retaliate; but perhaps it would have been as wise and politic to have despised his ridiculous and inefficient threat, and not to have been aiding ourselves in carrying his measures into execution. At the same time it must be allowed, that those who foretold from the orders in council the ruin of our commerce, viewed them rather in the spirit of party, or through the exaggerating medium of mercantile fear, than with coolness and sagacity. The formidable consequences which both parties expected, and the trifling result that has actually followed, sufficiently prove how inadequate and inapplicable, partial and interested theories of political œconomy are to suggest and direct commercial practice.

Many of the preceding observations will apply with equal propriety and force to the bill brought in by Mr. Perceval, to prohibit the exportation of bark into France. Besides, this bill bore so much the appearance of having recourse to an unprecedented and inhumane mode of warfare, that, unless the benefits likely to result from its operation were almost certain to be of the first importance, the odium necessarily resulting from the measure ought to have been avoided. We may allow that France deserved no mercy at our hands; that, after the whole tenour of her conduct, we were perfectly justifiable in having recourse to the measure in question: we would argue respecting it solely on the ground of its comparative inutility, and the certain odium it must excite. It was urged in defence of it, that it was justifiable on the same ground on which the cutting off supplies from a besieged town is defensible: but the cases are certainly not by any means parallel: a besieged town is sure to fall, provided the supplies are cut off for any length of time; it is solely on this account, and with a view to this effect, that such a measure is resorted to: but if there were no probability that the place would fall, in consequence of the measure, would it be resorted to? or, if resorted to, could it be defended, on any of the acknowledged and received laws of war? The mere inflicting of misery and distress on an enemy, independently of the favourable consequences it is likely to produce, by shortening the duration of the war, can never be justified. And as we avowedly are at war with France principally because she has broken through the law of nations, we should be careful not to imitate the conduct we condemn, and thus make our pretensions suspected, the continental nations indifferent about their fate, and virtually acknowledge that the weapons of justice are of no avail, when opposed by violence and treachery. In another point of view, the bill for prohibiting the exportation of bark, and other measures of a similar nature, are objectionable: the licenses by which their operation may be lawfully suspended, put an undefined and unchecked power into the hand of the ministry, of serving their friends.

The next proceeding of parliament, on which we mean to offer a few

few remarks, in the same spirit of free, but temperate and candid animadversion, relates to the bill on reversionary grants. The fate of this bill was singular, and of a nature to alarm, not only the friends of œconomical reform, but also those who suspected a secret and powerful influence behind the throne. It passed twice through the house of commons; the first time unanimously; the second time, after a very trifling opposition, and with a very large majority in its favour. When it reached the house of lords, during the session of 1808, most of his majesty's ministers supported it; it did, indeed, lay a long time neglected, and apparently forgotten on the table; but when it was taken into consideration, the friends to the measure in the country (and they were numerous and respectable) augured a favourable issue from perceiving the ministry ranged on its side: and yet it was lost. But without pretending to penetrate the secret and unhappy cause of its rejection, let us examine its nature, its merits, and the alleged objections to its being passed into a law. Its merits, if it be regarded by itself, unconnected with a regular plan of œconomy and retrenchment, are not perhaps very prominent, or of the first magnitude: and yet they are by no means trifling. Even supposing it were not to be followed by any more important measures of financial reform, it certainly would be of some consequence to have limited the duration of improvident or improper grants. The objection to the measure was almost single, and it was urged with a pertinacity and a frequency of repetition, that gave it a weight it would never have derived from its intrinsic strength. The bill was held up as trenching upon the king's prerogative. It is certainly most consonant to the true and genuine spirit of the British constitution to maintain, that the king can possess no prerogative, which in its nature and exercise has not for its sole object the interest and happiness of his people. To suppose that the king of England can have any interest repugnant to, or separate from, the interest of the people over whom he reigns, and that he possesses a prerogative which secures this interest, is certainly to libel that constitution, which is so justly the boast of Britons. The king, no doubt, has prerogatives; but they are possessed by him solely because he thus can better guard the sacred deposit of liberty and happiness which is lodged in his hands. The king's prerogatives may also be attacked or weakened; but the proof that they are so must be derived from a clear and express fact, showing that the means he possesses through them, of guarding the liberties and securing the interests of his people, are attacked or weakened.

Few internal events, at the beginning of this year, created a stronger sensation of disappointment and alarm, than the rejection, in the house of lords, of the bill on the subject of reversionary grants. The common council of the city of London, which for many years had been extremely slow and unwilling to censure the conduct of any administration, or to sanction any measures of œconomy or reform, presented a very firm and bold address to the house of lords. After declaring that they had, during a long course of events, productive of so many calamities, patiently submitted to unexampled burthens, and that they were

were willing to make further sacrifices, if they were found necessary to maintain the honour and independence of the realm; they proceeded to state, "that these burthens had been much augmented by gross abuses in the management and expenditure of the public money, and by a profusion of sinecure places and pensions, which have not only greatly added to the sufferings of the people, but created a pernicious and dangerous influence, corrupting and undermining the pure and free principles of the British constitution: that after the enormous abuses brought to light by the various commissions of inquiry, it was a matter of deep concern to them, that the offenders thereby discovered had not been brought to justice, and that those who so grossly misapplied the public money had hitherto escaped with impunity; that they did, therefore, rely upon parliament that speedy and effectual measures would have been adopted to reform such abuses, and to detect and punish the offenders in future; that they viewed with much satisfaction the measures adopted by the house of commons, both during the last and present session of parliament, for preventing the granting of places in reversion, which they hailed as the first step towards a reformation of existing abuses, and as a pledge of their future exertions: that they had observed with grief and disappointment the intentions of their representatives unhappily frustrated by their lordships' rejection of this necessary and salutary measure, depriving the people, while labouring under such accumulated difficulties, of all hope of seeing any progress made in remedying such great and acknowledged evils; that they begged most seriously to impress upon the right honourable house, at a time when it is declared 'that this country is at the crisis of its fate,' and the united exertions of all ranks are necessary to resist the dangers with which they are assailed; that a disposition in either branch of the legislature, to withhold from the people a redress of public grievances, must be productive of most serious consequences, necessarily damp their ardour, and impede their exertions in the important struggle in which they are engaged: that they therefore prayed the right honourable house to take these matters into their consideration, and that their lordships would be pleased to adopt the speediest and most effectual measures for reforming all abuses in the receipt, management, and expenditure of the public money, and preventing such abuses in future; and for abolishing all unnecessary places and pensions, as well in reversion as otherwise, as the best means of consolidating the strength of the empire, and calling forth the united energies and exertions of the people, at a time so necessary for the safety and security of his majesty's dominions."—We have thought it proper to lay this petition at full length before our readers, as well on account of the salutary truths which it contains, and the necessity and advantage of the measures which it recommends, as on account of the spirit and boldness of the manner in which it is drawn up. A petition, similar in its leading representations and prayer, but necessarily varied in its manner, was also presented to the house of commons.

By many persons, the opposition to this bill, and the mode in which the opposition was conducted and

rendered eventually triumphant, were regarded as levelled not so much at it, as a final and insulated measure, as in its character of a bill originating with the committee of finance, and intended principally as the forerunner of more important and radical plans of œconomical reform, which they were expected to recommend. The report of this committee was therefore looked forward to with considerable expectation, not unmixed with doubt and anxiety. The character of the chairman, Mr. Bankes, seemed to ensure a fair and full exposure of abuses in the management and expenditure of the public money, and the suggestion and enforcement of temperate but efficient means for the future prevention of them. The extent, minuteness, and intricacy of the inquiries and investigations necessary to be made; the difficulty of pointing out the least objectionable and most effectual methods of introducing and carrying through the different plans of reform; and the extreme probability that the members of the committee would not easily or readily concur in sentiment on the various topics under their discussion, satisfactorily accounted for the length of time which the committee took in preparing their report for the inspection and approbation of the house of commons. Yet when it appeared, that though the committee had been appointed in June 1807, Mr. Bankes, twelve months after that time, was uncertain whether the report could be presented during the session of 1808; those who were interested in the measure began to apprehend that other causes, beside those connected with the difficulties of the subject, or arising from comparatively trifling differences of opinion among the members, chiefly tended to keep it back so long. These apprehensions were confirmed, when it further appeared from the answers of Mr. Bankes, that the report which he appproved of, and which at first had received the sanction of a majority of the committee, was afterwards altered at a meeting, of which (according to Mr. Thornton, one of the members) all the gentlemen who had agreed to Mr. Bankes's report were not apprised. When it did appear, it was found that the alterations were of great moment, as they particularly had been introduced into that branch of it which related to sinecure places. In many points of view, besides those which directly relate to the œconomical expenditure of the public money, it is of importance that the reports of a committee of finance should fully answer the purposes for which it is appointed, and the just and well-grounded expectations of the public. Where less is performed than the nature and character of a public office evidently pledge the execution of, especially where that office has been appointed for a particular purpose, suspicion is apt to arise, which extends itself to all future measures or appointments of a similar kind. Those who are so eager to persuade the nation that all parties are alike inattentive to the public interest, or peculators of the public money, catch at the plausible arguments and proofs they can draw in support of their doctrines, from the rejection or failure of measures of retrenchment. It must particularly grieve the real friend of his country, that the opinions of such a man as Mr. Bankes were not ultimately sanctioned by the majority of the committee; he could not be considered

considered as a party-man; and the whole tenor of his parliamentary conduct proved that he was by no means disposed to enter into outrageous or impracticable schemes of reform. The sentiments of Mr. Bankes on this important topic are probably those of every real friend to the prosperity of his country, and the stability of the British constitution; measures of reform, in other points, may meet the approbation of the visionary, or the mere theorist; but on this point, every one who knows the importance of œconomy to a nation, in all seasons and upon all occasions, and more particularly when the public service necessarily requires that severe and unprecedented pecuniary burthens should be borne with cheerfulness, must feel a sincere and anxious wish that no waste, extravagance, or misapplication of the public money, should pass without due censure and effectual and speedy reform.

Before we quit this subject (upon which we should not have dwelt so long, if we had been less impressed with its importance and interest), we shall point out another ground for regret and amendment. The committees appointed by the house of commons are frequent and numerous: from the nature of the business that comes before them, and the interference of their duties as members of the house, they are generally a considerable time before they can prepare their report; in almost every instance the gentlemen composing them are paid for their attendance and labours during the sitting of the committee; of course the public from this circumstance, as well as from the professed object of their appointment, naturally expect to receive considerable benefit from their reports, and yet in too many instances these reports can be regarded only as a dead letter; they do, indeed, point out abuses, recommend that they should be remedied, and suggest the methods by which this desirable purpose might be effected; while after all the labour and investigation of the committee, after their report has been laid before the house of commons, and received their approbation and sanction, how seldom do we find that the public are benefited by measures adopted, and carried effectually through to a complete and radical change, in consequence of it!

Before, therefore, committees of the house of commons, instituted for the purpose of detecting and destroying individual or general abuses and delinquencies, can be satisfactorily efficient, it seems necessary, in the first place, that they should proceed in their investigations and suggestions, with a full determination to attack the improper application or the peculation of the public money, fearlessly and in its strongest and most hidden recesses; and in the next place, that it should be considered as equally their duty, and within the proper and authorized range of their power, to see that the measures they recommend are carried into speedy, effectual, and permanent execution. While we are offering these remarks, we would by no means be considered as advocates for the indiscriminate and rude rooting up of every office, which cannot be proved to be absolutely necessary for carrying on the measures of government; or for the retrenching of expense to that extreme degree, which in the œconomy of a private family might be deemed expedient and proper; and had

Mr. Bankes been a person of such a character as to create a well-grounded apprehension that he would have recommended extreme or improper measures, we should certainly not have felt it the call, either of our inclination or our duty, thus to lament the alteration of his report. But convinced as we are that the public burthens should be lightened by all means consistent with the due execution of the business of government—the ample but not extravagant rewarding of those who perform that business, or who have worn out the health and vigour of their lives in their country's service, and the glory and splendour of the British throne;—and persuaded that Mr. Bankes would propose or sanction no measure, that could in the smallest degree affect those objects, we must lament that his report was altered.

The measures of parliament, which had for their object an alteration in the mode of administering the law of the country, or in the criminal laws themselves, relate to the constitution of the court of session in Scotland—the practice of the law in cases of indictment and information, and the abolishing of capital punishment in cases of privately stealing. The necessity of some alteration in the constitution of the court of session in Scotland, and in the mode of carrying on civil processes before it, had attracted the early attention of lord Grenville during his administration. In a business, however, of such intricacy and importance, it was found impossible to proceed without the most scrupulous caution: in consequence of this lord Grenville's bill had not passed into a law when the new administration was formed. The present lord chancellor, however, (lord Eldon) took the business into his hands, and introduced and carried through a bill, differing in several of its enactments, but having the same object in view, viz. a beneficial and necessary alteration in the constitution of the court of session. In Scotland all civil causes are tried in the highest court there by fifteen judges, without the assistance or intervention of a jury. That part of the united kingdom has, within the last half century, increased so rapidly in commerce and wealth, that a single court would not have been adequate to the examination and decision of the civil cases likely to come before it, even if they had been conducted in the same manner as they are in England. But in Scotland the mode of proceeding differs in some very material respects, tending not only to increase the labour of the judges, and of course to procrastinate their final decision, but also to defeat, in some degree, the strict and full administration of justice. The witnesses are not examined before the court which is to decide upon the case, in elucidation or support of which they are brought forward, but by clerks of session, or their assistants, in any private house they may appoint. The disadvantages and bad effects of this mode of collecting evidence are obvious and numerous: the propriety and decorum of a court of law, in some measure, and its solemnity entirely, are done away; those, whose business it is to take down the depositions of the witnesses, may easily be conceived to overlook, through inattention, or to neglect, from their apparent irrelevancy or insignificance, facts and circumstances, which, when taken in connexion with subsequent parts of the deposition, are of the utmost

utmost moment and magnitude. Such people can hardly be supposed to be so anxious to get at the whole and exact truth as judges, acting in their official capacity, on a public tribunal; and much less can they be deemed so capable of extracting the truth from a confused or immethodical deposition. Besides, the mere words of a witness often tell less than the manner in which he delivers them, and the tone of his voice, and changes of his countenance. Even supposing that those whose business it is to take down the evidence, do that part of their business in a clear, distinct, and complete manner, they cannot convey to the judge those presumptive proofs, and strong symptoms of credibility or falsehood, which his own attention and skill would enable him to draw from the witness, when solemnly placed before him in his official capacity. In another, but inferior, point of view, this mode of collecting evidence is objectionable; when taken down and printed, of course it must be attentively perused by each judge: this circumstance, and the conducting of all civil causes by written pleadings, necessarily made the business of a judge exceedingly laborious, when, by the increased prosperity of the country, civil actions became much more numerous than formerly. To this must be added, that each party was allowed to put in so many replies and rejoinders, all printed, and to be perused by the judges, that the mere reading of the papers is calculated to have required nearly the whole portion of time that could be regularly given to study. One obvious remedy for this great and increasing evil, was to divide the single court of fifteen judges into two or more distinct chambers: a division also promised other advantages, besides the expedition of busines: fifteen judges sitting at one time on one cause, were evidently too many; causes would be decided as well, and probably with more dispatch, before half the number of judges. But by dividing them into two or more courts, a much more important and desirable effect would likewise be produced—the impression of duty and responsibility would attach itself more directly and strongly to each individual—since, where duty and responsibility are divided among many, they are too apt to be neglected or forgotten. If there were two or more courts, the public also would have a choice; and the desire to attain the character of greater dispatch or impartiality, would operate along with a stronger individual impression of responsibility, in producing these desirable qualities in each court. By lord Grenville's bill, the court of session was to have been divided into three chambers; there was also to have been a court of appeal, intermediate between these chambers and the house of lords, in order, it was hoped, to lessen the number of final appeals; the voluminous and protracted nature of the proceedings was to have been altered, or greatly modified, and the trial by jury was to have been at the option of the parties under certain circumstances. By lord Eldon's bill, the court of session is divided into two chambers; the plan of a chamber of review is dropped: and a commission is appointed to determine on the best mode of shortening and contracting the form of process, and on the propriety and utility of introducing jury trial. Lord Grenville's bill is, perhaps, preferable to

lord Eldon's, in affixing greater responsibility, and creating more rivalship in dispatch, and impartiality among the judges, and in affording a greater choice to the people, by his proposed division of the court into three chambers instead of two, as is actually done. Lord Eldon's plan is certainly preferable to lord Grenville's, in omitting the chamber of review—a branch of very disputable utility, and which bore too much the appearance of a job. In appointing a commission to determine on the proper changes in the form of proceedings, and on the practicability and utility of introducing jury trial, lord Eldon's bill proceeds with more caution towards the same end, and in the important case of altering the mode of executing the laws of a country, the previous investigation can hardly be too minute, in order that, if the alteration is determined upon, every facility may be given to its quiet and complete introduction, and to its thorough and intimate union with those parts that are to remain unchanged.

The bill for amending the practice of the law in cases of indictment and information passed through the house of commons without attracting particular notice, or exciting any debate or division on its utility or necessity; but in the house of lords it was keenly and warmly opposed. This bill provides, that a party accused only of a misdemeanor, and prosecuted by indictment or information, may be held to bail by a judge's or even a justice's warrant, in the same manner as the law of the land authorised and required in cases which concerned violations of the revenue laws. As it is the peculiar boast and glory of the system of English law, that, presuming every accused person to be innocent till he has been proved by a verdict of his peers to be actually guilty, it offers no restraint either of a corporal or pecuniary nature, but such as is deemed absolutely necessary to prevent him from evading a fair trial by escape, this bill was viewed with considerable jealousy, as tending to inflict a punishment before conviction, in cases, it was alleged, where there was no occasion or necessity to secure against the evasion of the law. The objection to the bill, however, on this score, will be found on examination not to be of much force. It certainly is not inconsistent with the spirit and practice of the English law, in cases similar in nature, though differing in the magnitude and criminality of the offence; and, while excessive bail is guarded against, there seems no sufficient ground for not extending the precautionary punishment of the law (if the phrase may be allowed) to misdemeanors, as well as to violations of the revenue laws and cases of felony. It was urged, with a considerable degree of plausibility, that this bill, by putting it in the power of a judge, or justice of the peace, to hold to bail, gave them too much power over the liberty of the subject: this no doubt is an evil: but the question is, whether in the present state of society it is an evil so much to be guarded against, as certainly the more probable evil that would result from persons guilty of misdemeanors escaping from the punishment of the law. Persons of fixed abode and connexions may justly be regarded as held by their interest secure for the cognizance of the law; but how numerous are the description of persons, especially in the overgrown metropolis, who unless held

held to bail, or kept in custody, where they cannot find bail, would elude the pursuit of justice and the punishment of their misdemeanors! Here then are two evils, between which a choice is to be made: the abuse of power by the judges and justices, or the evasion of the law by a numerous class of persons, upon whom society has no hold. If the subject be viewed in this light, it will probably be found that much less evil is inflicted by securing the just punishment of the law, and enlarging the power of the magistrates, than must necessarily result from the frequent violation of the law with impunity. The evil in one case is certain and great: in the other it is very problematical; and for one instance where a magistrate would abuse his power, we may, in the present state of society in this country, look for numerous instances of the transgressors of the law possessing both the will and the power to elude their due punishment.

The great blemish in the laws of England, especially in the eyes of foreigners, consists in the numerous crimes for which the punishment of death is ordained. They allege this circumstance as a proof of the barbarity and cruelty of our criminal code; but the objection to it may be considered in a different and more forcible point of view. If, indeed, the punishment annexed by the law were always, or generally, inflicted, our code and manners might justly be equally condemned as barbarous and cruel; but the most pernicious consequence arises from the punishment appointed by the law, and the punishment actually inflicted, being so frequently at variance. It is a sound maxim in criminal jurisprudence, that the proper end of punishment is much more effectually secured by its certainty, than by its severity. The English law, in too many instances, seems to proceed on the converse of this proposition; it enacts severe punishments, but, the execution seldom following the enactment, their object and end are not answered. Laws, too, do not follow, so often and so speedily as they ought, the variations in the state and circumstances of society. Those that relate to property necessarily become obsolete, or disproportioned to the actual guilt, as the value of money declines. Sir Samuel Romilly, therefore, introduced a material improvement, when he obtained the repeal of the act of Elizabeth, which made privately stealing a capital crime, without benefit of clergy. The principle upon which this alteration was made, ought to be applied to every case which proportions the degree, or kind of punishment, to the value of the property taken away. Either the nominal sum ought to be retained, and the punishment lessened, or the nominal sum ought to be raised, so as to make its actual value equal to what it was when the law was first passed, and the old punishment should be retained. But there are also many cases in the criminal law of England, where capital punishment is annexed to crimes of fixed and stationary guilt, by no means deserving of it; these cases ought to be carefully and cautiously investigated; and, if possible, no vestige should be left in our criminal code of any punishment so disproportioned to the nature and degree of the guilt, as to require from the justice of the country, the expected, uniform, and regular conversion of it into one of a less severe kind. It is to be hoped

that

that sir Samuel Romilly will proceed in the course which he has begun, and render our criminal jurisprudence more consonant to the present state of society, and more conducive to the true ends of justice. The other object he proposed, viz. to grant a compensation to persons unjustly accused, and who were acquitted of crimes at the discretion of the judge, was not carried into effect. It certainly is extremely desirable, in many instances, that persons in such a situation should be compensated for their loss of liberty and their sufferings; but the difficulty of drawing the line, and the extreme liability of abuse, to which such a law would be exposed, form perhaps objections and obstacles to the measure hardly to be overcome or removed.

In consequence of the distresses to which the West India planters and merchants were reduced, from not being able, for some considerable time, to dispose of their sugar, a committee of the house of commons had been appointed to inquire into the most effectual and least objectionable mode of affording them relief. This committee, in their report, recommended that the distillers should be permitted to make use of sugar instead of grain: a measure, it was alleged, that would at once relieve the West India planters, and benefit the country, since, from the comparative scantiness of the crop of grain of 1807, the prices of it had arisen considerably above what they had been for some years, and in some districts of the northern part of the island, an actual scarcity was apprehended. The agricultural interest immediately took the alarm, and represented the proposed measure of substituting sugar for grain in the distilleries, as hurtful to the interests of the farmer, and as certain of ultimately proving injurious to the country. Much irrelevant matter, and many inapplicable arguments were brought forward. The agriculturists very unwisely dwelt more on the injury they themselves would suffer, than on the mischief the proposed plan would bring on the country. They thus not only exposed themselves to the charge of selfishness, but neglected their strongest and most favourable agument. The measure may be regarded as either of a temporary or permanent nature. The committee recommended the temporary adoption of it. In this light the principal objection to it arises from its necessarily rendering the demand for grain uncertain and fluctuating: this, in every kind of business, is highly prejudicial, but more so perhaps in agriculture than in any other kind. Government, therefore, ought never, if it can possibly be avoided, to adopt or sanction any plan, which will make the demand vary; and least of all, any measure that will tend to diminish the demand. It was urged, that the price of grain would fall, by allowing the distilleries to use sugar; that the public must be gainers by this reduction, and that the agriculturists themselves could not consistently censure this measure, because it lowered the price of grain, while at the same time they strenuously recommended the improvement of waste land, which must produce the same effect in a much greater degree. But the solid objection to the measure, if continued for any length of time, or if frequently repeated, is, that it deprives the agriculturist of that market, which, by creating a demand for more grain, than the mere

mere support of the population requires, induces him to grow more; to which superfluity, in case of a comparative failure of the crop, recourse could be had for the more important and imperious necessity of the people. This view of the subject, then, brings us to the proper object of inquiry: Was the measure adopted, because the sugar was too plenty and too cheap, or because grain was scarce and too dear; or because both these circumstances occurred? In the second and third cases the measure would evidently be a proper one; but by no means so in the first case. The agriculturist is granted a monopoly of the distillery market, in order to encourage the growth of a greater quantity of grain, than would otherwise be grown, for the purpose of throwing it into the meal market, in the event or apprehension of a scarcity: when, therefore, a scarcity either happens, or is reasonably apprehended, the agriculturist has no right to complain if he is deprived of his monopoly of the distillery market, since he enjoyed it in common seasons for the express purpose of inducing him to do that, which would render the depriving him of it, in a year of scarcity, of advantage to the public. But to deprive him of it, not because corn is dear and scarce, but because sugar is plenty and cheap, is eventually to injure the public. It destroys that reserved fund, to which the public ought to look for some share of relief and supply, under the pressure of a bad harvest. If the subject be regarded in this light, the argument that the farmer will grow the same quantity of grain, even though the distilleries be opened to sugar, will be found of no avail. The true state of the case evidently is, that when the farmer has not the monopoly of the distillery market, all the grain that is grown, let the quantity be increased ever so much, is consumed as food: if a scarcity happen, no less necessary mode of using it can be prohibited: if he have the monopoly, the reverse is the case—the grain, that in years of average produce would have been used in the distilleries, is brought into the common stock of food. Before, therefore, the policy of the measure, adopted in consequence of the report of the sugar committee, can possibly be placed on a firm footing, the produce of the crop of 1807 must be ascertained. Here a fresh source of dispute occurs; the fact of considerable distress in the Highlands of Scotland cannot be doubted; the prices of grain, even in the rest of the kingdom, were also comparatively high: hence the necessity of having recourse to the distillery-grain was urged: but the agriculturists contended, that the scarcity was only partial and temporary; and that the price of grain was not more than adequate to the rent, the labour, and the fair profits of the farmer. As, however, the first and most obvious consequence of a scarcity is a rise in price, government are certainly justifiable in referring the one from the other; if the rise be produced by other causes, it is not to be expected that the public are to suffer from it, while the remedy of depriving the farmer of one of his markets, or of introducing foreign grain, is within their power. The investigation and interest that the measure alluded to occasioned at the time, and the importance of the general principles upon which alone it can be thoroughly sifted,

have

have led to these remarks. We shall conclude this subject by observing, that the struggle and difficulty with which this measure was carried through, discovered the agricultural interest in the legislature to be much stronger than it was generally suspected to be.

The supposed and the probable advantages of lord Castlereagh's plan for a local militia, are so fully detailed in the debates on the subject, and the short time that has elapsed since it was put into execution is so inadequate to try its actual result, that it seems unnecessary or improper to offer any observations on it, as a particular mode of defence; but the frequent changes which are introduced into our military system, are a more legitimate topic for remark. The bad consequences resulting from this vacillation of system are obvious and lamentable. Without taking into account the effect on the army, and on the military resources of the country, the subject may be regarded in another point of view, as proving the total want of general principles, among the statesmen of this country, on the important subject of national defence. We must either suppose this radical ignorance, since different ministers disagree, not merely on particular points and subordinate branches of the military system proper to be pursued, but even on the great outline and leading features of it; or we are reduced to the alternative, not less distressing and injurious to the country, that the spirit of party is so very powerful and predominating among our leading men, as to prevent their agreeing on a subject capable of being reduced to its first principles for which, observation and experience present such definite and ample illustrations, and which above all lies at the very foundation of the safety and independence of the country.

The finances of the country, this year, were found to be in a very flourishing condition; and the different taxes had been so productive, and promised to be so regular in their result, that the chancellor of the exchequer did not find himself under the necessity of increasing the public burthens, except in a very trifling degree. By an arrangement with the bank of England, he procured from it half a million of the unclaimed dividends for immediate use; a reduction in their charge for superintending the pecuniary concerns of the public, by which government saved nearly 64,000*l.* out of 150,000*l.* which had been formerly paid for this purpose; and the loan of three millions sterling, void of interest, till six months after the termination of the war. The public loan, also, was negotiated on terms highly advantageous. The paying off the national debt proceeded without interruption: one bad consequence, however, was likely to result from the plan: every succeeding year, or quarter, the commissioners appointed for this purpose brought a larger sum to purchase stock, while at the same time the quantity of stock was regularly and constantly diminishing; from these two concurring circumstances, of an increased demand on the part of the commissioners, and a diminished supply of stock, it necessarily would result, that every time a new purchase was made, a higher price must be paid; and thus the public would be obliged to redeem a great part of the national debt at an extravagant and continually increasing rate. By holding out to the

the national creditors the option of exchanging their stock for annuities, it was hoped that many of them would prefer the latter; and thus an additional quantity of the national debt, to the amount of the annuities actually exchanged for stock, would be paid off, at present while the stocks were low, instead of being paid off by the slow and regular operation of the sinking fund, at a distant period, when, from the causes already stated, stocks must be much higher.

The session of parliament, upon some of the measures of which we have offered the preceding observations, was, notwithstanding the important and almost unparalleled crisis of the times, distinguished perhaps more for the length of its debates, and for the retrospective view, which by the production of state papers, it took of the transactions of the latter part of 1807, than for its own enactments. Indeed it would be difficult to name a session, during which more motions for the productions of state papers, or resolutions founded on them when produced, or on the measures of ministers, had been brought forward. It seemed the fixed determination of the opposition to try their strength, if not in respect to numbers, at least in respect to argument, with the ministry, on every measure that had been adopted during the recess of parliament. In whatever point of view this conduct of the opposition be regarded, it will be found to be extremely ill-advised and impolitic: even allowing that on many of the ministerial measures they could bear away the victory in respect to argument; yet by attacking the most trifling as well as the most important of their measures—those which bore on the very front of them the stamp of their necessity and utility, as well as those which were of a questionable character—those which had met the unfeigned approbation of the thinking part of the community, as well as those which merely caught the temporary applause of the multitude; in short, by attacking indiscriminately all the measures of ministry, the opposition rendered their own motives and objects suspected, weakened their own cause in points where it would otherwise have been strong, and, by exciting a kind of compassion for the ministers thus beset and harassed, as well as contempt or hatred against themselves, for their want of discrimination or mercy, found at the close of the session that their conduct had benefited those whom they meant it should have injured, and had injured none but themselves.

In detailing the history of such a country as Britain, considerable attention ought to be given to the state of its manufactures and commerce. These not only supply the sources of our power and wealth, and put into our hands the fate, or at least the comfort, of great part of the civilized world, but they also afford employment and support to a very numerous and valuable class of the community. In the prosecution of all wars, these sources of employment and wealth must be partly dried up, and occasionally suspended; but in such a war as we are at present engaged in, they are more peculiarly liable to be so affected. We have already stated, that at the very commencement of the year, the manufacturers of Yorkshire had suffered so much from the war, as to induce them to petition for peace. This state of depression and suffering, however, soon gave way to better

hopes

hopes and prospects. The Brazils offered an advantageous and extensive market for British goods.—Our generous behaviour to the prince regent of Portugal seemed to ensure to us the ready and unencumbered sale of whatever we should send to his South-American territories. In a country like this, where capital so much abounds, that the mere possession of it raises a merchant but little above his competitors, almost the only paths to quick or superior profit are those which are open to activity and speculation. The misfortune of having a large stock lying useless and unproductive, gives a keener edge to these characteristics of a British merchant. As soon, therefore, as there was even a remote and slight probability that their goods would be admitted to the Brazil market, the manufacturers of Yorkshire found themselves relieved from their accumulated stock: the demand increased, and those, who a short time before were without employ or profit, and clamorous for peace, became fully engaged in work, found their capital circulating and increasing, and were no longer discontented or displeased with the war. But unfortunately the other manufactures of Britain did not equally partake of this renovation of trade, employment and profit. The cotton trade in Manchester, and the neighbouring parts of Lancashire, consists of two distinct branches: by those engaged in one, the cotton-wool is merely spun into yarn, or twist: in the other branch, the business is to weave the yarn into cloths of different kinds. Till within these few years, most of the spun cotton was worked up in this kingdom; latterly, a deal of it has been exported. Our communication with the continent being cut off, both these branches suffered considerably. An absurd attempt to fix the *minimum* wages of the weavers was made in the house of commons; the bill was rejected, and soon afterwards disturbances, rather distressing, when viewed as proceeding from want of employment, than alarming in their nature or extent, broke out at Stockport, Manchester, and other manufacturing towns in that district. The military were called in; but though by means of them the rioters were generally prevented from collecting in very great force, and from committing any violent outrage, yet they were of little avail in preventing small parties of the mob from attacking such weavers as had agreed to work below the wages which it regarded as just and proper. The merchants and master-weavers had recourse to various plans for settling the differences, and bringing the multitude back to their work. On the 31st of May, within a week after the first commencement of the riots, it was agreed, between delegates appointed by the weavers and the merchants, that an advance of 20 or 25 per cent. should take place immediately, and a further advance of eight-and-a-half per cent. on the 1st of August. But this agreement did not produce the desired and expected effect: and had not a favourable change taken place in the demand for Manchester goods, it might have been extremely difficult to have arranged the disputes amicably and permanently. Many of the rioters were tried at the ensuing assizes for the county; but as the extreme distress by which they had been driven to their improper and illegal conduct, made its just impression on government, the prosecution

secution was very leniently conducted, and the punishment inflicted by no means severe.

It is impossible to record the circumstances of this misery, and consequent violation of the law, without reflecting on the only means which seem to offer an adequate prevention. In every trade, which is apt to fluctuate, the wages of the labourer must vary extremely at different times. This is the case with the Manchester trade. When it is in a flourishing state, a cotton weaver, or spinner, can earn more wages than are sufficient for the support of himself and family; but he never thinks of providing for a depression of wages, or for sickness and inability to work. He has no prudence, œconomy, or foresight: on the contrary, when trade is brisk and wages high, he works hard for a few days in the week, in order to spend the remainder of it in riot, idleness, and debauchery: hence, when trade declines, and wages are low, he is destitute of money to supply even the necessaries of life, while his habits demand the indulgence of his former extravagance. The only remedy seems to be, a good education: if this is necessary to preserve the mind from the contagion of vicious example, it is much more necessary in circumstances, where, beside the existence of temptation and evil example, there occurs so frequent and often so sudden an alternation of fortune. To endure this with firmness, and to disarm it of its evil consequences, cannot be expected from minds without grasp and foresight. It is said to be one of the most distinguishing properties of man above the brute creation, that the past and the future have influence over his mind, and conduce to his happiness as well as the present, and he to whom his happiness in prospect and for a permanency is always, and in a high degree, more valuable, than the present and fleeting impression of pleasure, proves that the characteristic of his nature has been strengthened and improved by education. While in proportion as we descend in the scale of human society, we find man more nearly alike to the brute creation in this respect; hence we may naturally infer that education, which necessarily makes us acquainted and interested with what is past, and leads us to speculate on what is to come; and which, moreover, impresses the advantage and the duty of œconomy and foresight, would, if properly conducted, instill into the labouring manufacturers that prospective regard to their own welfare and happiness, from which alone we may look for the removal of one of the greatest evils of the manufacturing system.

The military operations undertaken by the British arms, during that portion of the year, to which we are at present confining our attention, were few and unimportant. Towards the end of 1807, soon after the departure of the prince regent from Portugal, sir Samuel Hood and major-general Beresford were sent to Madeira. The governor immediately acceded to the terms proposed by these officers, and our troops were put in possession of the island. By the articles of capitulation it was agreed on our part, that we should evacuate the island and re-deliver it to the prince regent or his heirs, whenever the free ingress and egress to the ports of Portugal and its colonies should be re-established, and when the sovereignty of Portugal should be freed from the usurpation

usurpation of the French. This measure of occupying Madeira must be considered as advantageous both to the prince regent and to ourselves: although the French maritime power is almost annihilated, and the small and divided remains of it are blockaded by our squadrons with great vigilance; yet opportunities might occur of sending a sufficient number of troops to conquer the Portuguese in that island;—or, at least, if our forces had not taken possession of it, French influence and intrigue might have wrested it from the hands of the prince regent:—on the other hand, while we retain it, it will afford greater facilities of assistance and refreshment to such of our vessels as may call there, than it has hitherto done.

In consequence of our war with Denmark, it was thought proper to take possession of St. Thomas and St. Croix, the only West India islands that power possesses: accordingly, towards the end of December 1807, they were summoned by sir A. Cochrane and general Bowyer; and the Danish governors, after having gone through the form of satisfying themselves respecting the extent of the force by which they were menaced, obeyed the summons, and delivered up the islands. The Danish settlement of Tranquebar, in the East Indies, was also conquered by the British forces. While, however the consequence of the war between Denmark and Great Britain on the one side, was the loss by the former of her foreign possessions, the occupation of part of her European territories by the French troops, and the threatened attack of Norway by the Swedes; on the other side, she exerted herself with great diligence and spirit in fitting out privateers and gunboats, by which our trade in the Baltic was considerably annoyed and injured.

The war between England and France, having, during the first part of the year, no place of combat, necessarily languished so far as military or naval operations were concerned. The small island of Deseada, in the immediate neighbourhood of Marie Galante, surrendered, on the 30th of March, after a slight opposition, to the British ships, under the command of captain Selby.—The capture of these West India islands must, no doubt, be felt as a considerable loss by our enemies, especially by Denmark; but in any other point of view, than as injuring our enemies, our obtaining possession of them cannot be regarded as of much importance. Indeed, so far as this is followed by the transmission of their produce to England, it may be viewed as prejudicial, at least to our own West India merchants. The revenue may probably be increased in a small degree; and employment given to a few more of our merchant vessels in bringing home the produce. In almost every other light, their capture is a point of little moment.

The southern extremity of the kingdom of Naples was the only other spot, where our troops and those of France had an opportunity of being opposed to each other. We still retained possession of Reggio on the continent, and the island, or rather rock, of Scylla. In the beginning of February, these places were invested and attacked by the French forces, under the command of general Regnier. Reggio was taken by assault, and, in the resistance that was given, we unfortunately lost several men.

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The castle of Scylla, after being invested for seven weeks, and battered for six days by 14 pieces of heavy ordnance, was evacuated by the Calabrian and British troops.

Our operations at sea were almost entirely confined to a long and unsuccessful search after a French squadron:—this squadron escaped from Rochefort about the middle of January. Sir Richard Strahan, partly from stress of weather and partly from the want of provisions, was obliged to leave this port for a few days: the French took advantage of this short relaxation of the blockade; and when sir Richard returned, they had escaped. As it was uncertain what was their object or destination, some alarm was at first excited. The Mediterranean or the West India islands appeared the most probable places to track their route: Sir Richard Strahan accordingly entered the former; and sir T. Duckworth swept the whole of the West India islands and the coast of North America; but the pursuit of both was fruitless. No certain information could be obtained of their course; till at last, after having been out for several weeks, it was ascertained that they had got safe into Toulon. They had, however, accomplished nothing; and probably the exercise of the sailors, and the hope of picking up a few valuable merchantmen, were the sole reasons for their putting to sea. The circumstance, indeed, trifling as it was, of their having so long kept the sea, unattacked and undiscovered by the British fleets, formed a fine subject for the declamatory congratulation and triumph of the French. So low was their opinion of their own maritime skill and prowess, that it seems they scarcely indulged the expectation that a single squadron, which had once left their own ports, would be able to find its way back to them.

The British empire in the East Indies remained, on the whole, very tranquil. Whatever plans or hopes of revolt or resistance the native princes might entertain, they had, from the fatal experience of divided and premature attempts to recover their conquered territories, been taught the necessity and the prudence of yielding to our superior power and unabated vigilance. On the other hand, the massacre at Vellore had taught our officers the impolicy and danger of rashly interfering with the strong and reverenced prejudices of the native troops: it was found that the power, which had successfully resisted or attacked the armies of the East, might find itself unequal to a conflict with opinions and practices, which, however trifling or minute in their object, had, after the lapse of more than 2000 years, become infinitely dearer to the natives than their liberty or their lives. One instance, however, occurred, towards the end of 1807, of an attempt to elude the vigilance and to resist the power of the British government in India. Doonden Khan, a zemindar in the district of Alyghur, (part of the conquered provinces,) had for a length of time betrayed an implacable disposition towards the British government; and, trusting to the rapidity of his movements or the strength of his fort, had committed many acts of violence. After being subdued by lord Lake, he had been pardoned for his offences, and restored to his territory, on condition that he should discontinue his predatory excursions, destroy the ditch and the guns

of the fort of Cumona, and disband his troops. These conditions, however, he seemed determined not to fulfil; nor did he refrain in the smallest degree from his attacks on the persons and property of those in the adjoining districts, who were under the government and protection of the British. On the contrary, he appeared emboldened by the comparative clemency that was shown him; manifested still greater rancour and hostility towards the British; and made use of every means in his power, in order to harass and obstruct the operations and measures adopted by the magistrates for the peace and security of the inhabitants. Instead of demolishing his fort, according to his agreement, he proceeded to add to its strength, and to increase his army. In consequence of his violence, and of the perfidy he had discovered, it was determined to punish him in such a manner as would, at once, render him incapable of future mischief, and inspire terror into those chiefs who might feel any inclination to imitate his conduct: for this purpose a force supposed adequate to its object, without enabling him to make much resistance, was sent against him, under the command of major-general Duckens and colonel Husford. When the fort of Cumona was reconnoitred, it was unexpectedly found to be so strong that the general thought it expedient and prudent to lay regular siege to it. The siege was continued from the 23d of October, 1807, the day on which our troops arrived before the fort, till the 14th of November, when, a breach having been effected, a vigorous assault was made. The resistance, however, proved so obstinate, and the advantages the enemy possessed from their situation and the strength of the fort were found to be so great, that the attack was obliged to be discontinued, without having accomplished its object. Our troops retired to rally, and renew the attempt; when they were happily prevented, by the enemy evacuating the fort on the 18th. After this success, the general proceeded to invest the other strong holds of the rebellious chiefs. The carnage before Cumona was dreadful. Doonden had collected there his whole force, which more than trebled that of the British army: of the latter, nearly 500 were killed and wounded, while upwards of 1000 of the enemy were slain.

We should not have dwelt at such length and with such minuteness on this instance of petty warfare, had it not been, in the reflections to which it gives birth, of much more importance and interest than when simply viewed as an insulated and subordinate fact in the history of the British empire in India. It tends strongly to confirm the unpleasing apprehension that must have forced itself on the mind of every reflecting and unbiassed reader of the details of our Indian warfare. Till within these very few years, the resistance of the native princes presented nothing formidable: provided our troops could bring them to an engagement, the victory was purchased after a short struggle, generally with little loss. They might harass our army by the rapidity of their movements, or overwhelm detachments of it by the immense numbers of their troops; but they seldom displayed much firmness and perseverance: and our army generally suffered more from the fatigue and length of the

march, or from the flying attacks of the enemy's cavalry, than from the slaughter of a pitched battle. It was to have been expected, that as our power increased and our name became more formidable, and as the more disciplined and numerous forces of the greater Indian princes fell beneath our attack, the remainder, inferior in strength, and spared because of their apparent insignificancy, would not have dared to have opposed even the wishes of our government. On the contrary, however, they seem to have become not only more bold and courageous, but to have opposed us with more skill, firmness, and success. It has not unfrequently happened, that the conquered, by frequent defeat, have at length been taught and enabled to overcome their former conquerors. This consequence, however, must result with much more difficulty, and after a much greater length of time, in India, than in most other countries. The difference in point of skill, discipline, firmness, and even personal courage, between the European and the Indian troops, is much greater than exists between the forces of any two European powers: the habits and manners of the Indian states; the state of society, and the strong hold which prejudice and habit possess over their minds, must not only widen the difference arising from the former causes, but preserve it, without being broken in upon or weakened, for a considerable length of time. As nearly, however, to the military qualities of the European troops as we have brought our Seapoys, so nearly, in the course of time, may we justly apprehend that the native princes, profiting by what they have seen and felt of our armies, and urged on by the desire of revenge and the hope of regaining their territories, will bring their forces. It is to be hoped, that the effects of the disparity will not be weakened to our disadvantage, or the resemblance itself hastened, by the arrival and assistance of French troops.

Hitherto, the history of the year has presented nothing either interesting in itself, or which promised to be followed by important consequences. Bonaparte saw his plans succeeding on every side: in the North he had engaged the emperor of Russia in a tedious and protracted warfare with Sweden. Whatever ultimate or permanent consequence this produced to the two rival monarchs, he was certain of being a gainer by it. Sweden might be conquered; at any rate she must be considerably weakened, and rendered a more easy and secure prey for him to seize, whenever he had leisure, and it suited his plans to march his army against her. Whether Sweden was conquered or not, Russia was exhausting her forces, and rendering herself less able to oppose his designs, either on herself or on what remained of the freedom of Europe. In the south of Europe, he seemed to be proceeding with equal or more certainty of final success to the accomplishment of his wishes. In his attempt on the throne of Spain, he had, indeed, rather changed the character of his means: contrary to his disposition and his former conduct, he proceeded with slowness and caution, instead of rapidly and with open force. He seemed also unsteady and changeable in the policy he pursued. No doubt could be entertained that he meant to possess himself more completely than he had hitherto done of the

power and resources of Spain; but it did not seem easy to determine whether he would permit the Bourbon family to remain on the throne, or place on it, as his puppet king, the prince of peace. Still, notwithstanding the mystery in which he involved his measures:—the slowness and hesitation with which he proceeded; and the unnatural predilection which he had taken up for intrigue and duplicity, where the object of his ambition appeared so easily attainable by open force:—no doubt was entertained that Spain would fall under his power, and become whatever he had determined it should be. Against Britain alone, of all the powers on whose destruction he had resolutely bent his mind, his force and his policy were completely impotent. Possessed of all the sea coast on the continent of Europe, from the entrance of the Baltic to the shores of Greece, he yet felt his inability to exclude her manufactures. Every decree that he successively issued, proclaimed new restrictions and denounced additional vengeance; yet the wants of Europe were still supplied by the vigilance and activity of British commerce. But, though Britain could bid defiance to the impolitic acts of his impotent rage, she possessed no means of assisting the continent to recover its freedom. The elasticity of independence seemed almost worn out by the constant and unintermitted pressure of French despotism; when, on a sudden, Spain presented the unexpected appearance of general and formidable resistance to the plans of Bonaparte. As this event gave a new tone to the feelings and hopes of Europe, a new character and direction to the counsels and operations of Britain, and called again into action the genius and the forces of Bonaparte, it must be regarded as a leading and paramount object in detailing most of the future events of the year.

CHAPTER VIII.

Affairs of Spain—Necessity of a Retrospect beyond the Commencement of the Year—Sources of Information—Cevallos's Exposition—Advantages enjoyed by its Author—Objections to the Credibility of the Exposition, considered and answered—Devotion of Spain to France—Bonaparte's Scheme against that Country digested at the Treaty of Tilsit—Measures pursued to accomplish it—Spain deprived of her best Troops—Proposal to the Prince of Asturias to marry a French Princess—Pretended Conspiracy of the Prince against his Father—Different Accounts of it—Treaty and Convention between the King of Spain and Bonaparte, for the Dismemberment of Portugal—French Troops introduced into Spain under this Treaty—Mode in which they got Possession of Barcelona—Number of French Troops that entered Spain—Proposed Emigration of Charles to America—Disturbance at Aranjuez—Arrest of the Prince of Peace—Abdication of Charles, and Accession of Ferdinand—Inquiry into the Nature of the Abdication—Protest

test of Charles against his Abdication—Arts by which Ferdinand is persuaded to leave Madrid to meet Bonaparte—Bonaparte's Letter to Ferdinand—Ferdinand arrives at Bayonne—Informed of Bonaparte's Determination that he must renounce the Throne of Spain—Conference of Cevallos and Champagny on the Subject—Interrupted by Bonaparte—His violent Behaviour—Charles brought to Bayonne—Conditional Renunciation of Ferdinand in favour of his Father—Refused—Correspondence on the Subject—Resignation of Charles in favour of Bonaparte, and his Mandate to the Supreme Junta—Ferdinand's Resignation—His Address to the Spanish Nation—Recapitulation of the Arts employed by Bonaparte to get Possession of the Throne of Spain—Bonaparte's Decree for assembling the Spanish Deputies—His Address to the Spanish Nation—Proceedings of Murat at Madrid—Demands the Sword of Francis I.—His Influence over the Junta—Ferdinand's Orders to them intercepted—Insurrection at Madrid—Murat appointed President of the Junta—Its Address, and that of the Inquisition, on the Insurrection of Madrid—Charles's Address on the same Occasion—Forlorn and deserted State of the Spanish Nation.

IN order that we may be enabled to lay before our readers a clear, full, and connected view of the circumstances and events which produced or preceded the revolution in Spain, it will be necessary to go back beyond the commencement of the year; and, setting out as nearly as possible from the period at which Bonaparte digested and matured his plan against the liberties of that country, to trace in their proper order the different steps by which he endeavoured to accomplish his purpose. The importance and magnitude of the event we are about to record would render the adoption of this course desirable and proper, in order that the narrative might possess that unity, method, and completeness, without which it must lose much of its interest and impression, even though the events that occurred in Spain, towards the close of 1807, had been known to us then with such accuracy and certainty, as to have enabled us to have presented them to our readers in our last volume, in a clear, but necessarily unfinished narrative. But at that time almost every thing was obscure with respect to Spain, except the distraction and weakness of her councils, and the determined but undefined purpose of Bonaparte to avail himself of these circumstances. Much that actually took place in the capital did not reach this country, except through the suspicious medium of the French papers, or the unauthenticated reports of private letters; and when, after much scrutiny and comparison, what seemed to be the exact and real truth had been separated from exaggeration or falsehood, the circumstances appeared so ill-connected, and so completely without purpose or object, that though the evidence on which they rested commanded our assent, their driftless or contradictory nature obliged us to give up the task of tracing them back to their cause, or speculating on their probable result, with feelings of weariness and perplexity. Had they, indeed, at that time, offered to the hope or imagination the most indistinct or fleeting promise of what they afterwards realized, they would

have been watched with more earnestness; and the future advantage to which they pointed might have invigorated our patience and understanding, so as to have enabled us to have developed the mystery in which they were involved. But presenting nothing clear during their progress, but the weakness and humiliation of the royal family of Spain; and promising nothing probable in their consequence, but the accomplishment of the wishes of Bonaparte, without resistance or difficulty, the mind felt unwilling to undertake the laborious and unpleasant task.

Besides the transactions which reached this country in an unauthenticated form or involved in mystery, it was evident that many events must have occurred to fill up and connect the series:—of these it was probable that some were known to many on the spot; while, from the nature of others, and the secrecy in which they happened, and the rank and character of the persons to whom they related, there seemed little reason to expect that they would ever fully be laid open to the world. The attention and interest of Europe, never attracted to these events singly or strongly, were soon afterwards called to the unlooked for resistance of the Spanish nation. The astonishing and unexpected nature of this resistance; the alternate dread and hope with which it was viewed; and the rapidity and magnitude of the events to which it gave birth, left no room for the indulgence or exercise of that curiosity, which could dwell on the subordinate but intimately-connected facts that preceded and occasioned it. Had not the cause of Spain called for their full development, it would most probably have been left for the research or ingenuity of future historians; and the first and feeble causes of the revolution in Spain might have remained as obscure and perplexed as those which have preceded the struggles of other nations for their liberty and independence.

In order to rouse to its highest pitch the indignation of the Spaniards against their oppressor, and to hold him up to the rest of the world and to posterity in the perpetration of one of his most foul and tyrannical acts, it was thought proper to publish an authentic document of his behaviour to the royal family of Spain. This document was entitled, An Exposition of the Practices and Machinations which led to the Usurpation of the Crown of Spain, and the Means adopted by the Emperor of the French to carry it into Execution. The author of it is don Pedro Cevallos, first secretary of state and dispatches to his Catholic majesty Ferdinand VII. From this document we shall draw most of the materials for that part of the history to which it relates; incorporating in their proper order and connection the narrative of those events which, though happening within the same period of time, are omitted by Cevallos, as being sufficiently known, or not immediately bearing upon his subject. Before, however, we make use of this document, of the *genuineness* of which not the smallest doubt can be entertained, it seems proper to inquire into the *credibility* to which it is entitled.

The period of time during which the transactions took place of which don Pedro Cevallos gives an account, reaches from the peace of Tilsit in 1807 to the middle of May 1808, when Bonaparte had succeeded

succeeded in his views against the royal family of Spain. In every circumstance that occurred during this time he was consulted as first secretary of state to Charles IV, and subsequently to Ferdinand VII. With respect, therefore, to the opportunities and advantages he possessed, there can be no doubt that he is fully qualified to give a full and authentic narrative of the transactions he records. It is proper, however, to remark, that when Joseph Napoleon was advanced to the throne of Spain on the forced resignation of the royal family, don Pedro Cevallos accepted under him the same situation he had enjoyed under Charles and Ferdinand. This circumstance, at first sight, may seem to throw a doubt on the credibility of his narrative; but if it be examined coolly and impartially, it will be found that, however it may affect his character for consistency, or cast a shade over the purity and firmness of his patriotism, the effect it ought justly to produce on the authenticity of his statement will be very slightly, if at all, disadvantageous. In one point of view indeed it is suspicious:—looked on by his countrymen with a watchful and distrustful eye, as having entered the service of Bonaparte; the hope of replacing himself in their confidence and good opinion may have led him to soften or misrepresent the part he himself took in the transactions he records. This conjecture, however, whether true or false, is of comparatively little moment, since it is for the detail of practices and machinations of Bonaparte, not for a view of the conduct of don Pedro Cevallos, that we consult his document. As we wish to meet and obviate every probable or specious objection before we begin to use the work, we shall notice another that has been urged, lying more directly, if not with more force, against the use of the narrative as a historical document. The objects of Cevallos in his publication avowedly were, to defend or exculpate his own conduct in accepting a situation under Joseph Bonaparte, and to rouse the hatred of the Spaniards against the emperor of the French. The most effectual and certain mode of attaining both these objects, it may be said, would be by exaggerating the crimes of Bonaparte:—this would evidently rouse the Spaniards to indignation and vengeance; and these feelings would so completely occupy their minds, that they would have no leisure to weigh the consistency and patriotism of Cevallos, even if they had been disposed to regard with suspicion the man who had laid open the crimes of Bonaparte.

The most obvious and satisfactory reply to this objection may be drawn from an attentive and candid perusal of the narrative itself. Had the idea of exculpating his own conduct, and painting Bonaparte in the most odious and criminal colours, been so powerfully present to his mind as to have influenced his narrative, the effect would have been evident in the tone of its style, as well as in the inconsistency of its story. Instead of relating the circumstances as they occurred, with even less animation, and fewer breaks of invective against Bonaparte, or appeal to the Spaniards, than would naturally have been looked for—the narrative would have been abrupt and declamatory. If effect had been the sole, or even the principal ob-

ject, to which a cold and impartial adherence to truth was to have been sacrificed ;—and this would have been his leading object, if in his publication he had looked forward to the exculpation of himself, by using every method to inflame the Spaniards against Bonaparte ;—how many opportunities has he lost of producing it, by simply heightening, in a manner not unusual nor without license among historians, the colouring of those scenes in which the royal family of Spain are treated with neglect or insolence by the minions of Bonaparte. No such passages however occur ; and, as has already been remarked, the tone of the style is so much below the interest of the narrative, and unsuitable to the expression of those feelings by which even the reader is agitated, that don Pedro Cevallos, instead of having worked up his materials to the best advantage for the justifiable purpose he had in view, has fallen far short of giving them that form of which they were capable. Indeed if it were perused without any knowledge of the circumstances under which it was drawn up, and the immediate purpose it was intended to answer, it would have been classed with the narratives of such statesmen, as coolly in their closets, at a distance of time from the events they are recording, commit to writing a detail of the transactions in which they were engaged. Though this character of its style and manner, however, may have rendered the narrative less powerfully impressive than it would otherwise have been, yet in another point of view it stamps on it a greater value. It must give it with posterity a stronger weight of credibility, and a just title to class, not with the loose and partial declamations of the rhetorician, but with the calm and dispassionate documents of the statesman.

Having removed that part of the objection which seems to press against the credibility of don Pedro Cevallos's exposition, from the strong temptation under which he might be supposed to labour, of heightening the colour of his story, we shall briefly consider that part which attacks the actual truth of the facts themselves. The narrative of Cevallos, like every other historical document, must depend for its being received as authentic, partly on the probability of the events it records, and partly on the character of its author. It has already appeared that Cevallos had every opportunity of being accurately and fully acquainted with the events which he narrates : and we have endeavoured to prove that though his former behaviour might have rendered exaggeration antecedently probable, yet his narrative bears no marks of it, at least in its style and manner. The probability of the events remains to be discussed. It should be recollected, that some of the circumstances recorded by Cevallos were known, though imperfectly and obscurely, at the time they happened. Others were so public and notorious, that though they could not, at the time, be explained, connected, or traced to any probable and satisfactory cause, yet no doubt could be entertained of their truth. Before the publication of Cevallos's exposition, then, we were acquainted with some parts of a series of events, which, however, for want of the remainder, could not be understood or reconciled. Cevallos publishes to the world a narrative, in which he

he undertakes to supply what was wanting. If the parts he has supplied are evidently of the same materials, and if they *fit in* with one another and with what before were known, so as to form a compact, well-proportioned, and uniform whole, there appears no just reason to doubt that he has exhibited the truth to the world.

Another test still remains. Is the conduct of the principal persons engaged in the transactions he records exactly suitable to their known character, and to the necessary influence of the circumstances in which they are placed upon that character. Do Bonaparte, Charles and Ferdinand appear, in his narrative, the same as they are known actually to be, not in the general and rough outline of their conduct, but in the nice play of their feelings, and in the discriminating touches of their talents and disposition? Bonaparte may be drawn ambitious, selfish and unrelenting; aiming, with a single and undivided blow, at the honour and interest of his royal victims; and pursuing his object with equal policy and perseverance. But whoever undertakes to adapt actions exactly to this character, and especially to exhibit it under a dramatic form, must fail, unless his skill and knowledge of the person be remarkably great:—the latter don Cevallos had no opportunity of gaining; and yet, through the whole narrative, and in a very particular and striking manner in some parts, the most characteristic features of Bonaparte's character are drawn to the life. We have already remarked, that in carrying into execution his plans against the throne and royal family of Spain, Bonaparte seems to have kept under, in a great measure, his predilection for violent measures, and to have substituted, occasionally and more frequently than usual, measures of deceit or gross falsehood, when to all appearance his object might have been obtained by threats or force. This sufficiently appeared from the circumstances that were known before the publication of don Cevallos's document; and as these traits in Bonaparte's behaviour were neither so common nor so striking as those of a more violent and open nature, the latter would have been exhibited rather than the former by any person who had not drawn from what he actually witnessed.

Such then is the state of the evidence on which the credibility of don Cevallos's narrative rests. Placed in a situation where he must have been intimately and fully acquainted with those events, of which the world knew but indistinctly and imperfectly, he has published a narrative of them, which supplies what was defective, reconciles what appeared contradictory, connects what was loose, and satisfactorily accounts for those consequences which, though known before, could not be traced to any distinct and sufficient cause. In his narrative also, we perceive no conduct in the principal or subordinate actors, but what is perfectly consistent with their respective characters. Nothing is related as having been done by Bonaparte but what we should have expected from his ambition, assisted to the possession of its object by his talents, his intrigues, and violence. The command which his superior mind and power, and his total abandonment of every principle of truth or honour, give him over the weaker minds and unsuspicious dispositions of Charles and Ferdinand, are equally

equally consonant to their characters and to the influence of the circumstances in which they were placed. We may wonder that Bonaparte did not prefer the shorter and more congenial means of violence, to the employment of so much deceit and cunning; but we should recollect that what we know of these transactions, independently of the narrative of Cevallos, exhibits him in this unusual character; and that therefore his thus appearing in the narrative, instead of making against its credibility, is a strong presumption in favour of its truth.

It may have appeared needless to have entered at such length and minuteness into the examination of the authenticity of a pamphlet, which few, if any, have thought of suspecting of exaggeration or falsehood, even in its subordinate and less important details. But it should be recollected that the evidence, which at present will gain a cheerful and strong credit to the authenticity of the narrative, must, when the events that lend it its great interest are past over, be viewed with a more cool and scrutinizing eye. Then it will be looked upon probably with no more interest than the already almost unheeded documents of the American war; and be sought after not on account of the temporary purpose for which it was written, or the impression which it made, but merely to supply a chasm in the records of history. Before therefore we allow ourselves to make use of it for this purpose, it becomes us, setting aside as much as possible the feelings with which it was first perused, and separating it from the hold which it has already gained in our belief, to sit down to the examination of the grounds of its authenticity with as much coolness and impartiality as if it had belonged to the history of ages long past. And we trust that by this investigation we shall not only be introducing into our own volume this interesting document, in a manner that shall satisfy the most severe and cautious inquirer of its anthenticity; but that, by examining and stating the evidence on which it rests, so near the period of its appearance, we shall prevent the objections of future historians, and preclude the necessity of later and consequently less complete and satisfactory inquiries. Having thus cleared the way for the proper and legitimate admission of don Cevallos's document, we shall commence our narrative of the affairs of Spain.

The favour which don Manuel Godoy enjoyed with Charles IV. is well known to have arisen, or at least to have been much strengthened, from the peace and alliance he concluded with France in the year 1796. Don Manuel (or the prince of the peace as he was called from that treaty) found it necessary, both for the purpose of preserving his favour with Charles, and in compliance with the interests and wishes of the French government, by whom his power and influence were in a great measure supported, to adhere closely and in all circumstances to the alliance formed between France and Spain in 1796. The demands of the French were generally very exorbitant, and the system she insisted on Spain pursuing was evidently destructive of the power and welfare of that kingdom: yet to preserve the prince of the peace in the situation and favour he possessed, every thing was sacrificed. The demands and plans of the French government seem not to have gone beyond the complete subserviency of Spanish interests

terests and measures to its pleasure, and to have stopt short of the annihilation of that kingdom as an independent state, till Bonaparte attained the supreme power. It is probable, that when he first formed his ambitious project of substituting his own family for the royal families of many of the European kingdoms, Spain presented itself as, both by its situation and by the imbecillity of its government, extremely well suited to become one of the first objects of his attack. As however he held it apparently and completely within his grasp, ready to be seized whenever he chose to issue the command, he proceeded to more urgent and difficult enterprises. At last, after the treaty of Tilsit, he found himself at leisure and at full liberty to turn his thoughts to Spain: his scheme of getting possession of that throne may have been mentioned to Alexander on that occasion, though the only motive that could have induced Bonaparte to have stated it to Alexander must have been, by seeming to ask his consent, to flatter him into a more ready and complete subserviency to his views. Whatever truth, however, or probability there may be in these speculations, it is certain that immediately after the conclusion of the peace of Tilsit, the machinations of Bonaparte against the royal family and the throne of Spain began to appear.

It is not consonant either to the policy or the disposition of Bonaparte to hesitate or delay, when he has once formed his plan, about the execution of the measures necessary or likely to accomplish it. Accordingly he soon found a pretext for drawing out of Spain 16,000 of her best troops, and sending them to such a distance that it was not probable they could interfere with his views. The next stept he pursued is not so obvious in its object or motive. He appears to have proposed to the prince of Asturias a marriage with a relation of his own, whom he had created a French princess. Don Cevallos assures us that Ferdinand agreed to this proposal with much reluctance, and only from the dread of incurring the displeasure of Bonaparte if he refused it; and with the faint hope that his compliance would strengthen the friendship and alliance then subsisting between the two crowns. In the official paper published in the Madrid Gazette, on the 31st of March 1808, immediately after the prince of Asturias succeeded to the throne on the abdication of his father, it is asserted "that with a view of promoting the prosperity of the Spanish empire, he wished, in October 1807, to marry a French princess of the blood, and that the steps he had taken for that purpose were perfectly his own and without compulsion." This latter declaration, however, first published to the world at a time when the favour and protection of Bonaparte might appear essentially necessary to secure and protect his newly acquired dignity, cannot be suffered to weigh, in favour of the voluntary nature of this step, against the positive declaration of Cevallos, that he was overpowered by the persuasions of the French ambassador at Madrid, and the dread of Bonaparte's displeasure. The object Bonaparte had in view, it is not easy to conjecture. It is by no means probable that the marriage of Ferdinand with a French princess would have preserved to him the throne of Spain. The removal of the Bourbon family appears to have

have been determined upon before the proposal of this marriage was made. This circumstance, and the known policy of Bonaparte, strengthen the opinion of Cevallos, that the proposal of marriage was intended merely to execute and foment discord in the royal family of Spain, and probably, at the same time, by holding forth a measure that promised to secure a community of interest, to blind Ferdinand to his real designs.

Soon after Ferdinand had agreed to the wish of Bonaparte on this point, a conspiracy was said to have been detected at Madrid against the life of Charles. The prince was accused of having formed this: a decree was issued in the name of the king, charging him with this conspiracy; and the prince was imprisoned in the monastery of St. Laurence. It is impossible to gain a clear and full knowledge of this strange and mysterious business. According to the accounts published at the time, Ferdinand softened the just resentment of his father by a written confession, in which, however, he certainly did not by any means appear to acknowledge the guilt of which he was accused. In this consisted no inconsiderable portion of the mystery. Ferdinand is accused, in a royal decree, of having conspired against the life of his father; he writes a humble and penitent letter to his royal parents, which, though unsatisfactory on the alleged cause of his imprisonment, procures him his liberty and restores him to their favour. As soon as Ferdinand ascended the throne, in March 1808, a brief official account of this obscure transaction was published in the Madrid Gazette. According to this statement, on the 28th of October 1807, Charles IV. sent to the secretary of the several departments of justice certain papers, said to have been found in the possession of the prince of Asturias. One of these papers contained different figures, designed to form a system of ciphers: another and the only one of importance, or at all connected with the transactions that followed, was a memoir, written in Ferdinand's own hand-writing, the object of which was to represent to his father the real character and unjust proceedings of the prince of peace. This memoir concluded by Ferdinand entreating his father, if he did not approve of the proposal, to inquire into the truth of the allegations against the favourite, to keep it a secret, in order to avert the dangers to which he would otherwise be exposed. The following day the prince was arrested, agreeably to a determination of the secretary general of the cabinet and the provisional president of the council, who had met, by order of the king, in his apartments, to deliberate on the subject. Immediately after the arrest of Ferdinand, the royal decree was issued, declaring him and his servants traitors to their sovereign. This order, according to the deposition of the prince and four secretaries of the departments of war and justice, was entirely written in the hand-writing of don Manuel Godoy. While Ferdinand was in the act of making a judicial exculpation of himself to the marquis de Caballero, secretary of the general department of justice, the prince of the peace entered the apartments of the Escurial where he was, and presented to him a copy of the letter, by which he was made to ask pardon of his royal father.

This account naturally leads the mind to suspect the prince of the peace

peace as the accuser of Ferdinand. He doubtless was informed by Charles of the memorial found among the papers of his son; and the accidental circumstance of the paper covered with ciphers presented too favourable an opportunity to be neglected, of turning aside the suspicions of the king from himself to Ferdinand, and at the same time of wreaking his vengeance, and perhaps of removing the only obstacle which opposed his views. To this opinion Cevallos strongly inclines. He also offers the most satisfactory reason for the prince of the peace having so soon changed his plans. Perceiving that the imprisonment of Ferdinand, so far from answering his expectations, produced a directly opposite effect; that the accusation, so far from gaining any credit, was universally ascribed to the calumny and intrigues of Ferdinand's enemies; and that he himself was not free from suspicion, while the royal prisoner drew a more than common share of attention and interest; he had recourse to the means already detailed, for procuring the prince his liberty. There is also strong reason to believe, and Cevallos favours the opinion, that Napoleon was concerned, as well as the prince of the peace, in the whole of this business. As Ferdinand certainly presented a much more formidable obstacle to his views than Charles did, he would not hesitate about adopting any measures that were likely to remove him; but perceiving that the accusation and imprisonment of Ferdinand roused the interest and indignation of the people, he thought it more prudent to forgo the violent measure of his destruction. Bonaparte found a more ready instrument in the prince of the peace; in as much as the latter, while forwarding the views and excuting the commands of the former, blindly thought that he was advancing his own interest.

Nearly at the same time that this pretended conspiracy was agitating Madrid, a secret treaty of a very singular nature was signed at Fontainbleau, by don Eugenio Isquierdo, as plenipotentiary of his Catholic majesty, and marshal Duroc, in the name of the emperor of the French. By this treaty the division of Portugal was agreed upon. Part of it was to be bestowed upon the king of Etruria, with the title of king of Northern Lusitania: part was allotted to the prince of the peace, with the title of prince of the Algarves: the remaining provinces were to remain undisposed of, till a general peace; with the hope, it appears from the 8th article of the treaty, of being then able by means of it to purchase the cession of Gibraltar, Trinidad, &c., by delivering them up to their rightful sovereign, the house of Braganza. By the 12th article of this extraordinary treaty, the emperor of the French agrees to acknowledge his Catholic majesty as emperor of the two Americas, "when every thing is ready for his majesty's assuming that title, which may either be at the general peace, or at furthest within three years therefrom."—The king of Northern Lusitania, and the prince of Algarves, as well as the sovereign who should acquire the remainder of Portugal, were to acknowledge as protector the king of Spain, and in no case to make peace or war without his consent.

It might have been imagined that this extraordinary treaty, so much at variance with Bonaparte's grand

grand object, of bringing the kingdoms of Europe immediately under his own power, and so extremely favourable to Spain, as well as flattering to her monarch, without much apparent counterpoise of advantage to France, would, even by itself, have roused suspicions of the sincerity and good faith of Napoleon. No such suspicions, however, appear to have been excited, although a convention was executed at the same time with the treaty, which puts beyond all doubt the reason why Bonaparte acceded to the latter. In order to prepare the way for his attempts on Spain, it was necessary not only that a large proportion of the best troops of that country should be drawn from it, but likewise that, under a plausible pretext, French troops should occupy some of its strongest places, and spread themselves over the country. The pretext of taking possession of Portugal, which was to be held by its new princes as a kind of fief on Spain, and which moreover was to be divided by virtue of the same treaty, which secured to the Spanish monarch the title of emperor of the two Americas, suggested itself to Bonaparte as likely to succeed. By flattering Charles, it blinded him to the views of his pretended friend and ally. The treaty of course required the means, by which it was to be put into execution, to be ascertained and agreed upon. The secret convention was concluded for this purpose; by this it was determined that a French army of 25,000 infantry, and 3000 cavalry should enter Spain, and march directly for Lisbon; and that they should be joined by 8000 Spanish infantry, and 3000 cavalry, with 30 pieces of artillery; that 16,000 Spanish troops should also occupy other parts of Portugal; and that a body of 40,000 French troops should be assembled at Bayonne, by the 20th of Nov. 1807, to be ready to proceed through Spain into Portugal, in case the English should send reinforcements thither. The central, or most numerous army, that was immediately to enter Spain for Portugal, were to be subject to the commands of a French general.

After perusing the articles of this convention, it is impossible to repress feelings of astonishment at the blindness of the Spanish monarch. He agrees that nearly 30,000 French troops shall immediately enter Spain, and that 40,000 more shall be assembled on the frontiers, under the belief that this immense body of men were necessary for the subjugation of Portugal; and apparently never entertaining the smallest apprehension that, even if they were all actually employed for that purpose, they would take any unfair advantage of being admitted into the heart of his kingdom. Setting aside all consideration of the treachery of this conduct of Charles to the prince regent of Portugal; or rather ascribing his conduct in this instance, as in common charity we ought to do, to the threats and influence of Bonaparte; it would perhaps be impossible to find, in the whole range of history, a proof of equal blindness and folly. But if the moralist will not allow that the dread of any evil however great can justify the acquiescence in such a convention, how may we admire the propriety of that punishment, which was inflicted by these very troops, whom he meant to have made the ministers of his guilt. Another circumstance stated by Cevallos,

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points out the real object of Bonaparte in concluding the treaty and convention, and ought to have alarmed the suspicion of the Spanish monarch:—don E. Isquierdo, who signed them on the part of Charles, received his appointment and instruction for that purpose, and concluded the whole negociation, without that department of the ministry, of which Cevallos was at the head, being in the least acquainted with any part of the transaction. Had Bonaparte not been apprehensive that the flimsiness of the pretext for introducing French troops into Spain required either a very shallow or a very docile and obedient negociation, the affair, most probably, would have passed through the hands of the regular department.

Notwithstanding the appearance of cordiality and promise of future aggrandizement which this treaty held forth, it was almost immediately followed by dark and doubtful insinuations of displeasure, and menaces of evil. In this Bonaparte discovered the nature of the machinations which he pursued throughout the whole of this transaction. At one time he raised the hopes or lulled the suspicions of the royal family of Spain, by expressions of friendship and plans of cooperation: at another time, by means of his ministers, he scattered the apprehension of impending evil, leaving it doubtful on what branch he meant it to fall. The king, Ferdinand, and the prince of the peace, each in their turn, or at the same time, received secret and apparently well meant intimation, from the creatures of Bonaparte, that it would be necessary to avert the displeasure he had conceived against them. The prince of peace, having fulfilled the purposes for which he had been so long upheld and protected by the emperor of the French, began to perceive the symptoms of his approaching loss of favour and power. It is probable that the failure of the schemes for the condemnation of Ferdinand, on the charge of a conspiracy against his parents, of which Godoy had been either the suggestor or the instrument, or both, at once roused the displeasure of Bonaparte against him, and afforded an excellent pretext for making him feel its effects. In order if possible to avert what he dreaded, and to restore himself to the support and confidence of Bonaparte, Godoy interceded with the grand duke of Berg, and endeavoured to conciliate his favour by every means in his power. The grand duke, however, received his advances with great coolness, and afforded him little hope of preserving the support of the emperor. The latter, in order more completely to conceal his plans, and to appear occupied and interested about other business, set off on a journey to Italy; while, at the same time, he kept Isquierdo the negociator of the treaty at a distance, so that no direct and official channel of communication respecting it might be open.

Some time before the emperor's journey into Italy, Charles and Ferdinand had each written to him, on the subject of the proposed marriage of the latter with a French princess. During the journey, Bonaparte wrote an answer to Charles's letter, in which he denied ever having received any communication from the prince of Asturias on the subject of the marriage, though, in a letter written previously to Ferdinand himself, he

he had acknowledged the receipt of his letter on that business. By thus hoping to perplex and alarm the royal family of Spain, even by means of the most impudent and low falsehoods, he drew their apprehensions so closely and constantly to their personal and more imminent danger, that they overlooked or neglected the more serious mischief which threatened the liberty and independence of their kingdom. While the emperor was seemingly amusing himself with a tour in Italy, or occupied with the concerns of that part of Europe; and while, to all appearance, his sole concern for Spain respected the royal family, he was marching nearly all the troops he had then disposable into the heart of that devoted kingdom. He did not however neglect to hold out a reason for this measure, which was calculated both to conciliate the friends of Ferdinand, and still more to distract and alarm the king. He studiously propagated the idea that he was favourable to the cause of the prince of Asturias: this naturally struck the royal parents with terrour, and astonished and perplexed the favourite. Bonaparte well knew, however, that the terrour of Charles would not rouse him to resistance; and that provided he could blind the party of Ferdinand, he had no reason to dread opposition from any other quarter. Charles indeed was so weak and timid, as to give orders that those very troops, which belonged to a power avowedly espousing the cause of his son, should be received and treated even better than those of his own nation.

Thus did Napoleon procure the admission of an immense army into Spain. Charles having agreed to a treaty, the provisions of which were expressly to be carried into execution by means of this army, could not well have objected to its entering his territories, even though he had clearly foreseen the purposes it was intended to answer. But there is no reason to believe that he feared any thing more from Bonaparte, than that he would dethrone him, and set up his son Ferdinand. Ferdinand was still less capable, from the situation in which he was placed, of opposing the schemes of Bonaparte; besides that it is by no means improbable, that he may have been the dupe of his promised assistance. It is difficult to conceive a combination of characters and circumstances more favourable to the ambitious views of Napoleon than what met on this occasion. The characters of Charles, Ferdinand, and the prince of peace were all such, as by being worked upon at different times, and in a different manner, must necessarily, in the hands of a man of consummate abilities and villany, have produced exactly the purpose of his mind. The circumstances too, in which these characters were placed, with respect to each other and to the Spanish nation, were equally favourable. There is no room for astonishment that, in the hands of Bonaparte, they worked together for his ends. It is rather to be wondered at, that in the management he was exceedingly cautious and dilatory, and that, in the connection of his measures with each other and with the ultimate object, he made use of such needless intricacy and labour.

But it was not sufficient for Bonaparte, that he had got his army into the heart of Spain. In order that he might possess the firmest

power

power over that kingdom, it was necessary to obtain possession of its principal fortresses. Under the pretence therefore of consulting the security of his troops, he got possession of the forts of Pampeluna, St. Sebastian, Figuiras and Barcelona. Thus he not only secured himself a firm footing, but, by holding the keys of the kingdom, he had it in his power to introduce, without opposition or danger, any additional number of soldiers. He did not hesitate to have recourse to the vilest treachery to obtain admittance into these forts. The manner in which a French corps gained possession of Barcelona will sufficiently prove this. On the 13th of February, about 10,000 French troops arrived in the neighbourhood of that city. The commander pretended that they were marching to Valentia, for which place he requested passports from the governor. In order, however, that his troops might rest and refresh themselves, he declared his intention, if he could obtain leave of the governor, of halting a few days at Barcelona. The governor acceded to this request: the gates of the city were thrown open to the French army; and the inhabitants received and treated them with the utmost kindness and hospitality. At the end of three days the *generale* was beaten; and the whole French army appeared on the parade, prepared and seemingly intending to march immediately. The inhabitants assembled in order to take leave of their friends; when to their astonishment and dismay they perceived the French army divide into two bodies, one of which marched to the citadel, of which they instantly took possession, and the other to Mountjoi, a fort on the summit of a hill commanding the town. In this fort there was a garrison of 6000 Spaniards: the Frenchmen ordered them to give it up to them: the commandant replied that he must wait till he received the instructions of his government, but that in the mean time every accommodation should be supplied to the French troops. The French commander insisted that his orders were peremptory and must be immediately executed. On this the Spaniards gave up the fort. This transaction forcibly recalls to mind, by the association of contrast, the noble behaviour of the romantic and gallant earl of Peterborough, in the same town, during that war which first placed the house of Bourbon on the throne of Spain *.

It is impossible to ascertain with accuracy

* As this circumstance is extremely honourable in every point of view to the English character, we shall be excused for laying it before our readers in the words of Voltaire; premising that the earl of Peterborough was engaged on the side of the archduke Charles the unsuccessful candidate for the throne of Spain. After describing the character of the earl, Voltaire proceeds: "He carried on the war in Spain almost at his own expense, and maintained the archduke with his whole family. He besieged Barcelona with the prince of Darmstadt. He proposed to him sword in hand to force the intrenchments, which covered fort Mountjoi and the town. This enterprise was accordingly executed with success; but the prince of Darmstadt perished in the attempt. A bomb happening to burst in the fort, blew up the magazine of powder: the fort was then taken, and the town offered to capitulate. The governor came to a parley with Peterborough at the gates of the town. The articles were not yet signed, when, on a sudden, there was heard a noise of shouts and huzzas. 'You

 betray

accuracy the number of French troops which Bonaparte marched into Spain, under the pretence of occupying Portugal and fulfilling the treaty of Fontainbleau. By an official return published about the end of January, it appears that, between the 19th of October 1807, and the 18th of January 1808, the following numbers had entered Spain through Irun *.

	Infantry.	Cavalry.
General Junot's division	29,879	3,653
——— Dupont's division	23,927	3,121
——— Moncey's division	17,983	3,330
Total -	71,789	10,104

It was intended afterwards to augment Moncey's division to 30,000 men, but it does not seem ever to have reached that number. The army that took possession of Barcelona, and other small bodies, which entered Spain by different routes, are not included in the above return.

Bonaparte having secured himself a firm footing in Spain, had now recourse to measures that he hoped would free him entirely from the royal family. For this purpose their fears were again to be wrought upon. He accordingly sent a letter to Charles, complaining in angry and reproachful terms that his majesty had not renewed the proposals for the marriage of his son Ferdinand with a French princess. Charles answered, that the marriage was still agreeable to his wishes and plans, and that it should immediately take place. When Bonaparte found that the threats and appearance of anger in his letter had failed of producing the intended effect, he determined to speak his wishes more plainly. Isquierdo, who had been detained at Paris since the signing of the treaty, uncertain and alarmed about his fate, was chosen for this purpose. As he had long suffered from the tyranny of Bonaparte, and was deeply impressed with a belief of his displeasure towards the royal family of Spain, it was judged proper to send him to Aranjuez. He

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betray us,' said the governor to Peterborough, 'whilst we are capitulating with honour and sincerity. Behold, your English have entered the town by the ramparts, and are murdering, plundering, and committing all manner of outrages.' 'You are mistaken' replied Peterborough, 'these must be the troops of the prince of Darmstadt. There is only one expedient to save your town: allow me to enter instantly with my English; I will make all quiet, and then return to the gate to finish the capitulation.' He spoke this with an air of greatness and sincerity which, joined to a sense of the present danger, influenced the governor; and Peterborough was accordingly admitted. He hastened with some of his officers into the streets, where he found the Germans and Catalans sacking the houses of the principal inhabitants. He drove them away, and obliged them to quit the booty they were carrying off. He luckily rescued the duchess of Popoli out of the hands of the soldiers, by whom she was on the point of being dishonoured; and restored her to her husband. In short, after having quieted all disturbances, he returned to the gates and finished the terms of capitulation. The Spaniards were amazed at seeing such greatness of soul in the English, whom the generality had always looked upon as merciless barbarians because they were heretics." Life of Louis XIVth. 1. ch. xix.

* Iren, or Irum, is the last town in Spain, on the west side of that kingdom, towards France. It stands near the river Bidasoa, which forms the boundary on that quarter between the two kingdoms.

brought

brought no written proposals with him, nor was he to receive any; and he was commanded not to prolong his stay above three days. Immediately on his arrival at Aranjuez he was conducted by Godoy to the king and queen. What passed remained completely secret; but soon afterwards he set out on his return to Paris, their majesties began to incline to the plan of emigrating to their South American territories. This circumstance, of the king having formed his intention of emigrating immediately after an interview with a messenger from Bonaparte, strengthens the opinion, before entertained by many, that the prince regent of Portugal by his emigration to the Brazils did not elude the vigilance of Napoleon, but actually coincided with his views. He certainly would have found the custody of the royal family of Spain embarrassing, as well as their being in Europe prejudicial to his schemes: to prevent this, he suggested to them, by means of Isquierdo, the plan of emigrating, either as a method of eluding his vengeance, or as a commutation, which he graciously offered them, for the more severe punishment of imprisonment or death. The idea coming to them, either as the suggestion of a friend anxious to withdraw them from the vengeance of Bonaparte, or as the alternative proposed to them by Bonaparte himself, was equally sure of meeting their approbation, beset as they were on every side with actual and apprehended dangers.

It is not easy to determine whether the prince of peace joined in persuading the king to adopt the plan of emigrating, because he knew it was agreeable to Bonaparte, or because he hoped, by accompanying the royal family, to escape his displeasure. He certainly felt himself less firm and secure in the friendship and protection of Napoleon than was necessary for his tranquillity or safety; and it is by no means improbable that he might entertain the hope of being able, by encouraging and carrying through the plan of emigrating, at once to soothe Bonaparte, and to escape, along with the royal family, from his vengeance. But it was not to be expected that this intention could long be kept secret, notwithstanding the utmost circumspection and caution. Besides the preliminary measures which it was requisite to concert, the acquiescence of the prince of Asturias and his brother was to be obtained. This unavoidably divulged the scheme to Ferdinand's party; while the open and profuse preparations of the favourite attracted the attention and roused the apprehensions both of his enemies and of the king's friends. The events that intervened betwixt the first rumour of the emigration and the abdication of Charles are variously stated, and are according to no account very clearly or fully detailed. On the 15th of March, a report was generally circulated and believed, that the king, who was then at Aranjuez, was about to retire to Seville. This was regarded as a pretext for his emigration. A great council was said to have been held respecting the propriety of this removal, who differed in their opinions. These rumours were confirmed and rendered more alarming by orders given to the troops which were cantoned in Madrid to leave the city. The populace of such a place as Madrid must at all times be easily agitated; such a large proportion

of them setting completely loose to those connections and habits of society which unite the individuals of many other European cities into a firm and compact mass. Under the circumstances of that particular crisis, they were peculiarly exposed to the influence of terror and alarm. The affairs of the nation had long been in the utmost confusion; the heads of the government had either lost the confidence of the people, or had fallen under their suspicion or hatred. The prince of peace was known to have an improper influence over the mind of the king; and was thought capable of using that influence even for the purpose of saving himself, at the expense of the honour and duty of his sovereign. The life of Ferdinand, to whom many looked forward as affording the nation a feeble hope of regaining its independence, had been once attacked; and now any hope that might be placed in him, was likely to be destroyed entirely, if the favourite succeeded in persuading or compelling him to emigrate. These considerations influenced many to oppose the departure of the king for Seville. Other causes, not so easily analysed or defined, operated on the minds of the multitude. After what they had experienced for several years, they certainly could not expect that the mere presence of the royal family would retard the arrival of the French army, or keep them in order and subjection when they did arrive. The apprehended evil, and the fear of being deserted in the hour of their distress even by those from whom they could look for no assistance or alleviation, urged them on to take violent measures to prevent it.

The apprehension and uneasiness of the people subsided partially and for a short interval, in consequence of a proclamation issued by the king on the 16th. On the next day, however, the alarm became as great and general as before, when it was known that the Spanish guards had left Madrid for Aranjuez. The tumult was very violent: the populace collected in the avenues of Aranjuez, and conjured the soldiers not to protect or suffer the flight of a prince who, after sacrificing his subjects, was about to introduce disorder into the colonies. Such of the ministers as were unfavourable to the king's emigration circulated the intelligence, that it was on the point of taking place, among the neighbouring villages. The people repaired in immense multitudes to Aranjuez. There they found the confirmation of their fears: the luggage of the court was packing up in all the apartments: relays of horses were stationed on the road to Seville: every thing announced the immediate departure of the royal family. The populace proceeded to stop their departure by force; and to search for the prince of peace, as the instigator of this measure. The king found it necessary to issue two decrees: by one of which he declared the favourite stript of all his power and employments; and in the other he assured his subjects that the army of France had entered Spain only as his friends; and that the life guards instead of having left Madrid for the purpose of accompanying him on a voyage, which he declared he never had any intention of taking, had quitted it solely for the purpose of protecting his person. These proclamations, however, failed in their effect: the mob, still increasing, became daring and violent

Early

Early on the morning of the 18th they attacked the palace of the prince of peace: they were repelled by his guards, while the body guards ranged themselves on their side. The result was that the favourite, after having with difficulty escaped the fury of the mob, was afterwards arrested in a garret of his own house.

The tumult still increasing, the king, on the 19th, took the extraordinary resolution of abdicating the throne in favour of the prince of Asturias. This resolution was made known in a royal decree, in which Charles declares that, his habitual infirmities no longer permitting him to support the weight of government, &c. the re-establishment of his health requiring a more temperate climate, he had decided, after the most mature deliberation, to abdicate his crown in favour of his heir, the prince of Asturias: he afterwards calls it the royal decree of his free and spontaneous abdication. The first act of Ferdinand was to issue an edict, in which he declared his resolution immediately to confiscate the property of don Manuel Godoy; to come shortly to Madrid, in order that he might be proclaimed; and to use all the means in his power to repair the wrongs done to such of his subjects as had suffered from their attachment to his cause. He likewise announced the appointment of the duke of Infantado, a nobleman deservedly popular for his talents and virtues, to the command of the Spanish guards and the presidency of Castile. The council also addressed a proclamation to the people of Madrid, calling upon them to show their attachment to Ferdinand, and their confidence in the purity and strength of the measures he meant to adopt for their safety and protection, by quietly withdrawing to their homes.

Thus terminated the proposed emigration of the royal family of Spain. The prince of peace was disgraced, stript of his power and wealth, and arrested. Charles abdicated the throne, either voluntarily or through compulsion; and Ferdinand was placed on it in his stead. It naturally became a question, not only of considerable interest, but of great importance, to determine, if possible, the nature of Charles's abdication. It involves the character both of Ferdinand and his father; and will be found intimately connected with the events that afterwards happened during the Spanish revolution. But it is a question very difficult to be solved. The circumstances under which Charles first declared his determination to resign in favour of Ferdinand, and afterwards (when immediately within the power of Bonaparte) recalled that declaration, as having been forced from him, are neither of them such as could properly be said to leave his will unbiassed. It is certainly suspicious, that he should have resigned exactly at the time when he must have been under apprehensions for his safety, and after he had witnessed the fury of the mob against his favourite. The judgment is almost unavoidably led to conclude, either that direct advantage was taken of the operation of these alarms on the mind of the king, by the friends of Ferdinand; or, at least, that under the impression of the alarm Charles himself performed that which he perhaps would otherwise never have done. This opinion, however, gains no additional weight from the circumstance (which will be afterwards

noticed), of his having expressly and solemnly declared that his abdication was forced from him. This declaration must, at all events, be regarded as the act of Bonaparte, in whose immediate power Charles then was. The circumstances alone then, under which his abdication was made, are to be considered, in endeavouring to determine its nature; and they certainly, especially when considered as operating on such a weak and timid mind as that of Charles, favour the supposition that he was frightened into this step: but whether it spontaneously presented itself to his thoughts, or was suggested by others, who enforced the necessity by an appeal to what was then passing, it is difficult to decide. Such would probably be the conclusion of most inquiring and impartial people, independently of the opinion and testimony of Cevallos. He asserts that, three weeks before the disturbance at Aranjuez, Charles IV. in his presence, and in that of all the other ministers of state, addressed her majesty the queen in these words: "Maria Lousia, we will retire to one of the provinces, where we will pass our days in tranquillity; and Ferdinand, who is a young man, will take upon himself the burthen of government." Credit has been refused to the authenticity of this speech, on account of its ridiculous nature: but the sole inquiry should be, Is it in character? and most of those who are acquainted with the character of Charles will, we imagine, by no means think it such as he would be unlikely to utter. Indeed it is by much more probable that he should have uttered it, than that don Cevallos should have invented it. It is not such a speech as don Cevallos, who appears by no means destitute of sense or shrewdness would have put into the mouth of Charles. But, assuming the authenticity of the speech, it by no means amounts to a proof that Charles had formed a deliberate and determined resolution to abdicate. The speech seems rather to indicate an unsettled and temporary thought of abdicating, which occurred and was forgotten according to the influence of circumstances, than a fixed and regular plan, entered into after mature deliberation, and firmly determined to be carried into execution. At any rate, in whatever light it be viewed, it does not prove that Charles's actual abdication at Aranjuez was purely voluntary, and fixed upon at his own chosen time in conformity to his previous declaration.

Don Cevallos's other proof is still less convincing. He says, The ministers of the *corps diplomatique*, as well as all the persons about the court, were fully convinced that Charles's abdication was voluntary; *since* all of them congratulated and complimented the new sovereign: as if Charles's public declaration, that his abdication was voluntary, would not with them be a sufficient reason for this conduct. Don Cevallos says, No violence was done to his majesty, in order to extort an abdication of his crown, either by the people, or on the part of his son, or any other persons. This testimony may be perfectly correct; and yet what we have already stated may have taken place. As far therefore as the imperfect and partial evidence of a fact which occurred in the midst of so much tumult and confusion can be relied on; assisted or corrected by a consideration of the character of the king, the circumstances under which he was placed; the despair of ameliorating

ing the affairs of Spain while he sat on the throne entertained by many of the most powerful grandees; and the hope, however slight, of retrieving them if Ferdinand were there; the conclusion seems probable, though by no means certain, that the alarm of the king, aided perhaps by the suggestions or expectations of the friends of their country and of Ferdinand, hurried him on to the execution of that of which he had often talked before, but which, in all probability, he would never have performed, under the pressure of less urgent and distracting circumstances.

The accession of Ferdinand to the throne, however it was brought about, could not but prove disagreeable to Bonaparte. That it would be so, appears to have been known to his ambassador in Spain, who, as Cevallos remarks, was the only one of the *corps diplomatique*, who declined congratulating Ferdinand on the occasion. Murat too, as soon as he heard of what had happened at Aranjuez, hastened the march of his army to the capital. Ferdinand, unassured how his accession would be received by Bonaparte, and alarmed at the proximity of the French troops, appointed a deputation of three grandees to proceed to Bayonne, to compliment him on his arrival: he also paid a similar compliment to Murat on his arrival in the vicinity of Madrid. This agent of Bonaparte immediately began to concert such measures as would favour his master's plans, by working on the weak Charles, and drawing from him a protest against that abdication, which, allowing it to have been involuntary, it could now be only for the interest of the French that he should declare to have been so. For this purpose a person was officially sent to Charles and his queen; and the report of his conference with the royal parents was afterwards laid before Murat, who transmitted it to Bonaparte. By this person, Murat sent a letter, condoling with the deposed sovereign on the extreme hardness and injustice of his fate, begging to know the circumstances attending his abdication, and promising him the compassion and assistance of the emperor, in case his abdication, as he suspected, should prove to have been involuntary. Such a letter was sure to give the proper tone and direction to Charles's narrative. He thanked Murat for the share he had taken in his calamities: they were not easily borne, nor of a common cast, since his own son had been the author of them. His abdication had been effected by treachery and corruption. The prince of Asturias and Caballero, the minister of justice, were chiefly concerned in the disgraceful transaction. Had he not agreed to give up the throne in favour of his son, his own life and that of his queen most probably would have been sacrificed. What added greatly to the ingratitude and enormity of this conduct was, that he, having observed the desire of his son to reign, had assured him that he would resign the throne in his favour, on his marriage with a French princess. Now that his son had effected his purpose, he was anxious to get his father and mother out of the way: he had even insisted that Badajoz should be the place of their retreat, notwithstanding his father had assured him that the climate there would be prejudicial to his health. This representation had no effect, and their departure was to take place in a few days. Under these

circumstances, Charles wished Murat to be informed that he had written a letter to the emperor, into whose hands he resigned his fate. He concluded the conference with the agent of Murat, by deploring the fate of the prince of peace, to save whose life there were no efforts he would not have attempted; but he found every body deaf to his entreaties, and bent on the death of his unhappy friend. His own, he was convinced, must speedily follow. In this letter to Bonaparte which is full of servility and flattery,—after lamenting his hard fate, in having been forced from his throne by the art and violence of his own son, he begs leave to throw himself into the protection of the great monarch his ally, from whom alone he and his subjects can hope to derive tranquillity and happiness. The prospect of being able to interest this ally in his favour has restored peace to his mind. He again assures Bonaparte that his abdication was involuntary; and encloses a formal and regular declaration that the decree of the 19th of March, by which he renounced the crown in favour of his son, was a deed to which he was compelled, in order to prevent greater calamities and spare the blood of his subjects; and that therefore it was to be considered as of no authority.

The next contrivance of Murat was to deceive Ferdinand respecting the intentions of Bonaparte. He assured him that his master might be expected every moment at Madrid. His object in this must have been to perplex and harass the mind of Ferdinand; especially as he took care to add that the abdication of Charles amidst the tumults at Aranjuez could not be regarded as voluntary, and hinted that till the emperor acknowledged Ferdinand he must carefully abstain from taking any step that looked like a recognition of his title, and still continued to treat only with the royal father. In order still more to alarm Ferdinand, and to widen the difference between him and his father, Murat professed to take an interest in the fate of the favourite, and promised Charles that he would procure his enlargement.

While things were in this situation, Murat had a striking proof how unfavourable the accession of Ferdinand would be to the plans of his master, in the feelings of enthusiasm and loyal attachments which the inhabitants of Madrid universally displayed on the public entrance of their new sovereign. Perceiving that it would be impossible to succeed in his schemes on the weakness and timidity of Ferdinand while he remained in his capital, and that it might be dangerous to have recourse to violent measures, he made use of every effort to remove him from Madrid. He assured his majesty that by proceeding to meet Bonaparte, whom he represented as having already entered Spain, he would so please and conciliate the emperor, that no future difficulties or obstacles would arise to the recognition of his title. As it formed part of Murat's plan to draw all the royal family from Madrid and place them in the power of his master, and as he despaired of being able, in the first instance, to succeed with Ferdinand, he directed his efforts more openly and particularly to induce the infante don Carlos to set off in order to welcome Bonaparte. Having effected this, he applied himself to work on the fears of Ferdinand; but the king was not

so easily deceived or terrified. Cevallos strongly advised him not to leave the capital, till he was certain that Bonaparte was already in Spain and within a short distance of Madrid. This advice would probably have prevailed and ultimately decided the conduct of Ferdinand, had it not been for the arrival of general Savary, who in his capacity of envoy from the emperor demanded an audience. At this audience he officially declared the willingness of his master to overlook what had passed, to withhold all interference in the arrangement of the affairs of Spain, and to recognise Ferdinand, provided he were assured that his sentiments with respect to France were conformable to those of his father. Ferdinand gave him the most open and satisfactory assurances on this head; and in the audience chamber nothing further passed. Scarcely, however, had general Savary left the audience chamber, when he began to execute the principal object of his mission. He assured Ferdinand that the arrival of Bonaparte might be expected every moment, and that nothing could be so flattering and agreeable to his master as the king's leaving his capital to meet him. Ferdinand at length, deceived with respect to the distance at which Bonaparte then was, and not knowing whether more was to be dreaded from disobeying his wishes or from committing himself to his power, yielded to the pressing and repeated solicitations of general Savary.

Previously to his leaving Madrid, Ferdinand issued a royal decree, in which he stated that the approaching visit of his faithful friend and mighty ally the emperor of the French gave him much satisfaction, as it promised to be of great advantage to his kingdom and subjects. The close friendship which prevailed between them had induced him to leave Madrid for a few days, for the purpose of receiving the emperor with proper marks of respect and attachment. During his short absence he had appointed a supreme junta, and placed at the head of it his uncle don Antonio. He trusted that his faithful subjects would remain tranquil and obedient to the laws; and especially that the utmost harmony would prevail between the Spanish and French troops in the capital, and that the latter would be punctually supplied with every thing necessary for their maintenance, till the great object which the emperor himself had in view by this meeting, the closer and firmer alliance of the two nations, was happily brought to pass. Of this he declared that he entertained not the smallest doubt.

General Savary had represented his master to be so far advanced in his journey, that it would not be necessary for Ferdinand to proceed to a greater distance than Burgos before he would meet him. When they arrived at this place, the emperor was not there: general Savary again had recourse to falsehood, and assured the king, that by proceeding to Vittoria he would find his master. Ferdinand was persuaded to go on: but Savary was so doubtful of enticing him any further than Vittoria, that he left him there, and continued his own journey in order to concert further measures with the emperor. At Vittoria Ferdinand found himself in the midst of French troops, but discovered no preparations for the reception of Bonaparte. While he remained there, general Savary arrived with a letter from his master

ter to him. The contents of it were not calculated to remove the suspicions or allay the fears of Ferdinand: but he had put himself too far in the power of his enemy to recede. It was evidently the intention of Bonaparte, throughout the whole of this letter, to impress, in a strong and alarming manner, on the mind of Ferdinand, how completely he was in his power. He begins with assuring the prince (for he does not address him as king of Spain) that the sole object of his journey into Spain was to make such reforms in that kingdom as would be acceptable to the public feelings; particularly by the removal of the prince of peace. The events in the North, however, had retarded his journey; and in the mean time the revolution at Aranjuez had taken place. Upon this, and the consequent imprisonment of the favourite, he does not think it within his province to judge; but he cautions Ferdinand against the danger to be apprehended from sovereigns permitting their subjects to take justice into their own hands. He then proceeds to utter gross and unfeeling insinuations against the queen, and to dissuade Ferdinand from prosecuting the favourite, lest he should thus at once injure the honour of his mother, and destroy his own claims to the throne. Having thus held up before the prince the dangers with which he was surrounded, and made him sensible that it depended solely upon his determination, whether those dangers should overwhelm him, Bonaparte offers him some slight hope, that if, after due inquiry, he should find the abdication of Charles to have been voluntary, he will acknowledge him as the legitimate sovereign of Spain. He concludes the letter with a threatening allusion to the rumoured offer of the captain-general of Catalonia to raise an army in that province for the support and protection of Ferdinand; and denounces the ruin of Spain if assassinations should be committed even on any stragglers belonging to the French troops. Savary, indeed, represented the anger of Bonaparte as momentary, and pledged his word that if Ferdinand would only go forward to Bayonne, within a quarter of an hour after his arrival he would be recognized as king of Spain and the Indies.

It would be tedious and disgusting to record all the falsehoods of this worthy servant of Bonaparte: he knew too well the power he had over the king to relax his efforts, and after much hesitation he succeeded in persuading him to quit the Spanish territories. Ferdinand had no sooner entered France than he perceived too plainly that his authority was departed from him: it was no longer thought necessary to preserve even the appearance of respect, or to treat him as the ally of the French emperor. No one came to receive him. He was struck with this want of attention: his alarm and apprehension returned, and these were greatly increased by the representations made to him by the Spanish grandees who came back from Bayonne, whither they had been sent to compliment the emperor. But now no choice was left him; he was obliged to proceed. When he arrived at Bayonne, he was received by the prince of Neufchatel and Duroc, and conducted to a place by no means suitable to his rank or to his character as the ally of Bonaparte. He was not permitted to remain long in doubt of the intentions of the emperor,

emperor, or of his own fate. In choosing the time for communicating them, we plainly perceive the policy as well as the unfeelingness of Bonaparte's mind. Ferdinand dined with him: during this interview nothing particular passed. He was received and treated as the friend and ally of his host: but no sooner had he returned to his residence, than Savary waited on him, and declared the irrevocable determination, that the Bourbon dynasty should no longer reign in Spain; and that it should be succeeded by the family of Bonaparte. This determination was accompanied by a requisition, that Ferdinand should, in his own name and in that of all his family, renounce the crown of Spain and the Indies in favour of the emperor of the French.

The astonishment and alarm of Ferdinand may easily be conceived at this message: he must have had, before he left the capital, some undefined and general suspicion of the intentions of Bonaparte, in pressing so strenuously and unremittingly for this meeting. It can hardly be supposed that he gave implicit belief to the assurance, that the sole object of it was to adjust matters of great importance to both the states; and he perhaps may have suspected that Bonaparte would not readily recognise him as king of Spain. But it could scarcely have presented itself to his alarmed imagination, that he was to be enticed out of Spain by means of the grossest falsehoods for no other purpose but to be frightened out of his sovereignty. On the following day Cevallos attempted, in a discussion with Champagny the minister of foreign affairs, to alter the determination of the emperor. He complained of the perfidy with which the business had been conducted: the king, his master, had come to Bayonne relying on the solemn and repeated assurances of general Savary, given officially in the name of the emperor, that his imperial majesty would recognise him at the very first interview: expecting, according to these assurances, to be treated as the king of Spain, he was surprised that the proposition for renouncing the throne should be made to him. He entered his solemn protest against the violence offered to his person in preventing his return to Spain; and declared it to be his final and determined resolution, not to renounce his crown in favour of any other dynasty: what he owed to his subjects, his family, and himself, imperiously forbad his consenting to such a humiliating and unjust measure. In reply to this representation of Cevallos, Champagny merely contented himself with insisting on the necessity of the renunciation, and with affirming that the abdication of Charles had not been voluntary. This assertion afforded Cevallos an opportunity of dwelling on the inconsistency of demanding the renunciation of Ferdinand, and at the same time denying his claim to the throne, by contending that Charles's title to it was still valid. He thought it, however, proper to lay before Champagny the circumstances which we have already stated, as proofs that the abdication of Charles was voluntary. The French minister then turned to another topic, and endeavoured to show that Bonaparte had determined on the change in the dynasty of Spain; because, while it was governed by a family which must sympathise in the misfortunes of its elder branch, he could never depend

depend upon its alliance and assistance in case of a war with the powers of the North. The futility of this reason was easily pointed out by Cevallos. He appealed to the constant and firm adherence of Spain to the interests and plans of France, even at the expense of her own prosperity and happiness. But even if her past conduct were not sufficient proof, how little France had to apprehend from the supposed predilection of the family on the throne, there were local and political considerations which must always make it the clear and paramount interest of Spain to preserve a good understanding with France; and these considerations must necessarily direct the affairs of a kingdom in opposition to family prepossessions. He then adverted to the question as its decision might affect France. While the Spanish nation were immediately governed by their own royal family, they cheerfully submitted to privations and measures whose only object and tendency plainly and avowedly was to benefit France. So long as Bonaparte permitted the Spaniards to be governed by their old dynasty, he might, therefore, by means of it, turn their strength and resources to whatever purpose he pleased: but if they saw themselves deprived of the name of their independence, in that case, instead of lending themselves to the purposes of France, the Spaniards would turn against her: England would eagerly afford them assistance; and thus, by endeavouring to render Spain more effective and useful in his wars with that power, he would unite them in a community of interests and plans.

From these appeals to the interest of France, Cevallos proceeded to expatiate on the inconsistency of the proposal made to Ferdinand with the treaty signed at Fontainbleau. By this treaty the independence and integrity of the Spanish monarchy, as it then existed, was guarantied. Since that time nothing had happened which could justify the infraction of it. Spain had done every thing required of her by France. Bonaparte, so far from expressing any dissatisfaction at the want of energy or concert in the Spanish councils, had bestowed the greatest praises on the good faith and constant friendship of his intimate and first ally. If then this treaty were to be broken so completely; if instead of guarantying the integrity of the Spanish monarchy, as it expressly promised, Bonaparte should, without any reason, overturn it to the very foundations, what would Europe think? what confidence could she place hereafter in her treaties with France? And how much must her terror be increased, when she learnt the means that had been used to dethrone the royal family: how they had been allured into France under the express promise of being treated as their rank deserved; while the real object to be obtained by this series of falsehood and deceit was their destruction. If the emperor persevered, his reputation would receive a wound that would not soon be healed; and he would bring on himself a war with Spain, which could not terminate but in the total destruction of one party.

At this period of the discussion, the emperor, who had overheard every thing that had passed, commanded Champagny and Cevallos to enter his cabinet, where he insulted the latter in gross and violent language, upbraiding him with being

being a traitor, because, having been minister to Charles, he now acted in that capacity to Ferdinand. He particularly accused him, in an angry tone, with having maintained, in an official conference with general Mention, that the recognition of Bonaparte was by no means necessary to the validity of his master's title to the throne of Spain, though it might be to the continuance of amicable relations between the two countries. But what he vented in his most outrageous manner was an accusation against Cevallos for having affirmed that, if the French dared to attack the independence of the Spanish monarchy, 300,000 men would rise to defend it, and to repel the invaders. Having indulged the natural rancour of his mind, Bonaparte entered, in a harsh and arrogant style, into a discussion of the points in dispute between Champagny and Cevallos. Finding that he could neither convince nor silence the Spanish minister, he abruptly concluded by peremptorily telling him, "I have a system of policy of my own. You ought to adopt more liberal ideas; to be less susceptible on the point of honour, and not sacrifice the prosperity of Spain to the interest of the Bourbon family."

Immediately after this conference Ferdinand was given to understand that, upon the subject under discussion, a more flexible negotiator than Cevallos would be acceptable to Bonaparte. The choice, however, was not intended to be left to the king: one of Bonaparte's agents insinuated himself into the confidence of the archdeacon don Juan de Escoequiz, and persuaded him to visit Champagny, for the purpose of learning the most mild and favourable terms to which the emperor would consent. These terms differed in no respect from those which had been verbally communicated by general Savary, so far as they related to Bonaparte's determination to place his own instead of the Bourbon family on the throne of Spain; but they held out a kind of compensation, in case Ferdinand should agree to the cession of his rights, and a threat in case he should refuse compliance. In the former case, the emperor promised to confer on him and his descendants the crown of Etruria; which, in failure of the issue of Ferdinand, should be secured to his brother don Carlos, provided he also signed the renunciation. The niece of the emperor was also to be at the disposal of Ferdinand, if he chose to demand her in marraige. But should he refuse these propositions, his imperial majesty would carry his plan into execution by force, and suffer him to remain without compensation. In this state of affairs an attempt was made by Ferdinand, apparently by the advice of Cevallos, to put off his final determination. Instructions were given to don Pedro de Labrador, on whose attachment and talents the king had the greatest reliance, to demand a conference with Champagny, in which he was to present his own full powers for negotiating on the subject, and to demand Champagny's full powers in return. He was also instructed to represent to Champagny, that in order to make the renunciation valid or binding, it was absolutely necessary that Ferdinand should enjoy perfect liberty: that if he were at liberty to return to Madrid, he would there receive the proposals of his imperial majesty, communicated

cated by his plenipotentiary, in an authentic and official manner. But if he were not at liberty, not only would his renunciation not be valid or binding, but it could have no other effect than to injure the reputation of the emperor in the eyes of the world, and to rouse against him the hatred of Spain. The instructions concluded with expressing the firm resolve of Ferdinand not to yield to the importunity of Bonaparte, and his confidence in the protection of Providence, should he think fit to resort to force. But Champagny would listen to no proposals that tended to equivocation or delay: the demands that he should show his full powers, and that the emperor should communicate his proposals in an authentic manner, were rejected by him, under the pretext that they were mere matters of form, totally unconnected with the main object of the negotiation.

Don Pedro de Labrador in vain urged the importance and advantage of proceeding in a regular and official manner: but his representations produced no effect on Champagny, who tried to render him more yielding and accommodating, by assuring him "that the prosperity of Spain and his own were at that moment within his power." Labrador, unable to make any impression on Champagny, and unwilling to commit himself by any unguarded expression, terminated the conversation by asking if the king was in a state of liberty? To this the French minister replied, "that there could be no doubt of it." Upon this Labrador rejoined, "then he should be restored to his kingdom." "In respect to his return to Spain," Champagny answered, "it was necessary that his majesty should have a right understanding with the emperor, either personally or by letter."—After this, no doubt could be entertained respecting the state of bondage in which the king was held; the object for which he was thus kept a prisoner at Bayonne; and the only method by which he could hope to regain his liberty, and procure leave to return to Madrid. In order, however, that this infringement of his liberty might, if possible, be declared in a manner still more official and ostensible, Cevallos sent a note to the minister for foreign affairs, in which he expressed the determination of his royal master to return to Madrid, for the purpose of tranquillizing the alarm into which the length and circumstances of his absence had thrown his subjects, and of carrying on the necessary business of the kingdom: at the same time assuring Champagny, that he (Cevallos) would remain and treat with his imperial majesty on the mutual interests of the two kingdoms. The only effect produced by this note was the employment of greater vigilance to prevent the departure of the king.

Bonaparte, notwithstanding he thus held Ferdinand a close prisoner, and offered him no other means of escaping out of his power but by a ready and full compliance with his demands, perceived that he was not likely to succeed soon or easily. He therefore determined to have Charles brought to Bayonne. By this he probably hoped to accelerate the completion of his schemes in different ways. Ferdinand, knowing that his title to the throne of Spain was not only not acknowledged by Bonaparte, but was viewed by him of such a

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nature as to be easily rendered suspicious and doubtful, would naturally feel alarmed, when his royal father was sent for, least he himself should no longer be treated with as having any right to that which Bonaparte had previously wished him to renounce. Or the object in sending for Charles might be, to use his influence and authority, if he still possessed any, over the determinations of his son. One certain advantage must necessarily result from having both the father and son at Bayonne, when Bonaparte had succeeded in persuading or forcing them into a renunciation of their rights. He thus would put it completely out of the power of the Spanish nation to rally round any of their old dynasty, in the first moments of their indignation at his violence and perfidy. The grand duke of Berg had orders sent him, to employ every artifice in his power to persuade the royal parents to set out on their journey to Bayonne. They, however, absolutely refused to quit Madrid, unless the favourite should precede them. Murat applied to the junta, who had been left in the exercise of the government by Ferdinand, for his liberation; but as they had received positive instructions from the king on no account to deliver him up to the French, they at first refused to grant it, and sent to Bayonne to know how they were to act. By a royal order they were commanded to acquaint the grand duke of Berg, that the subject of the liberation of Godoy was at that time in treaty between the two sovereigns. Bonaparte, however, had written to the duke of Berg, that the prince of Asturias had put the prisoner, Godoy, at his disposal; and that he must, therefore, claim, in an absolute and peremptory manner, the surrender of his person from the junta.—Murat instantly put the orders of his master in execution, in the most violent and abusive manner. The junta, rather terrified than deceived, no longer refused compliance: the favourite was accordingly liberated, and conveyed to Bayonne under a strong escort; whither he was immediately followed by the royal parents.

The situation of Ferdinand was rendered now even more embarrassing and desperate than before. Beset on one side by Bonaparte, who, though he refused to acknowledge the validity of his title to the Spanish throne, insisted on his renouncing that title; offering him a very inadequate, or rather only a nominal compensation, in case he complied; and threatening to use violent measures, in case he refused the proposal: attacked on the other side by his own father, who upbraided him with having obtained the throne by violence; but who, at the same time, avowedly wished to be restored to it himself, solely for the purpose of bestowing it on Bonaparte. Perceiving no method of liberating himself from the confinement in which he was held, but by yielding up that to which he was denied a valid title; and which, as to all essential purposes, could easily be wrested from him: under these circumstances, and with this prospect before him, Ferdinand, on the 1st of May, made a conditional renunciation of his crown in favour of Charles. In the letter conveying the renunciation, he reminds his father that he had frequently acknowledged his abdication at Aranjuez to have been voluntary, and one of the most pleasing acts of his life. Ferdinand

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was, therefore, surprised now to be informed, that his royal parent always considered himself as reserving in his mind a right to resume the government whenever he should think proper. Anxious, however, to comply with this unexpressed and unexpected article in the act of abdication, he had inquired whether his royal father were now inclined to resume the sceptre, and had received for answer, that he would neither return to the throne nor to Spain. In what light then could he view the request, that he should renounce the crown in favour of a parent, who did not mean again to wear it? His filial attachment and obedience prompted him to comply with this extraordinary request; but, on the other hand, he knew not how to reconcile the proposed renunciation with his duty as a sovereign, and with those fundamental laws of the kingdom which confirmed the power which his father's free resignation had bestowed. As he wished, if possible, to act at once as became a dutiful and obedient son, and in conformity with those laws from which he derived his authority, he was willing to resign his crown in favour of his royal parent, on the following conditions: 1st, That they should both return together to Madrid. 2d, That a cortez should be assembled there; or, if it were more agreeable to his father, that all the tribunals and deputies of the kingdom should be convoked. 3d, That in the presence of this assembly he would execute his renunciation in due form, and declare the reasons which had induced him to make it: arising solely from his anxious wish to preserve the public tranquillity, and preserve the nation from a civil war. 4th, That his royal father should not be accompanied by those individuals who had justly excited the hatred of the Spanish people. 5th, That, should his father not be disposed to reign in person, nor to reside in Spain, he was to be invested with the supreme command, in the royal name.

The answer of Charles to this letter bears, in its style and its general tenor, evident marks of having been written under the influence, if not at the dictation, of Bonaparte or his agents. One part of it indeed insinuates that the march of the French troops into Spain had for its object, to take advantage of the weakness and distraction of her councils, or at least to force her into more complete and submissive alliance with France: but every other part of the letter,—the spirit of insinuation and hostility against his son; the objection to assemble the popular assemblies, lest they should produce meetings, mutiny and revolution, and the avowal of implicit confidence in the disinterestedness of the French emperor; all point it out as written under the direction of that monarch. It begins with expressing the conviction of Charles, entertained ever since the peace of Basle, that the real interest of Spain required a close and uninterrupted connection with France. This, no doubt, had been productive of some partial or temporary evils, but they were greatly overbalanced by the good; and ought on no account, as had been done, to be attributed to the weakness or perfidy of his ministers. His son, however, instigated by the dislike his first wife had conceived against France, and hoping to remove the favourite minister of his father, entered into a conspiracy, of which sufficient

proofs were found among his papers. This horrid crime he had been induced to pardon, from his feelings as a father, rendered still more acute and compassionate by the supplicating tears of a wife and mother. But this mercy did not produce the effect which was expected from it, and which it ought to have produced. The first opportunity that afterwards presented itself for invading the power of his father was eagerly embraced by the prince. At the very time when, anxious for the independence of his kingdom, and the happiness of his subjects, the king viewed with alarm and apprehension the entrance of the French troops, and therefore ordered his army to unite in different parts of the kingdom, his son introduced disorder and mutiny into his body guards, even in the royal palace. The father became the prisoner of the son: that minister, who, for his long and eminent services, had been adopted into the royal family, was covered with blood, and obliged to save his life by flight and concealment. The crown, snatched from the head of a father, gray and feeble with years; dishonoured and overpowered by violence; was placed on his undutiful and rebellious son. Nothing remained to the dethroned monarch but to take refuge, in his distress and debasement, with his ally, the emperor of the French. From him he has received sympathy and protection: he has declared that the dethroner of his own father shall never be acknowledged as king, and that he never can acquire the confidence of foreign states. This son is also the enemy of France: his letters, written with his own hand, are in the possession of the emperor. Under all these circumstances, of conspiracy, of violent dethronement, of enmity to that power which has protected the rights of a father and a king, and which is the most natural and beneficial ally of Spain, it is impossible for the royal parent to hesitate about what he ought to perform, whether he regard his own just claims, or the duties he owes to his subjects. The son, by acting as became the heir of the throne, in subserviency to the will of his father, might have assisted him in healing the wounds of Spain: by the conduct he has actually pursued, he has heaped indignity and violence on his parent; he has increased the weakness and the disorders of the nation; but he has effectually cut himself off from possessing that, to obtain which prematurely he had violated the duties of a son; his behaviour has erected an insurmountable and perpetual barrier between him and the crown of Spain. The interest of that unhappy kingdom forbids that he, who has conspired against his father, and deprived him of his rights and his honour, should ever rule over it. The proposed convocation of the cortez is useless, if it be meant to replace or confirm the authority of the father: he possesses it independent either of them or his son, since he never voluntarily abdicated it: it is dangerous, if it be meant to adjust the claims of the father and son: to assemble it for that purpose would assuredly produce mutiny and revolution.

Such are the principal points of the letter of Charles: it clearly proves that his arrival at Bayonne had already been turned to advantage by Bonaparte; and that the main engine on which he depended,

for forcing Ferdinand out of the throne, was formed of the weakness and pliability of the father. The letter which Ferdinand sent in reply to that, of which we have just given the chief contents, is as remarkable for its forbearance, temper, and candour, as his father's is for its harshness and want of feeling. He begins with expressing his cordial approbation of the system of politics, which had been uniformly followed in Spain, even since the peace of Bâsle. With respect to the first charge brought against him, the conspiracy at the Escurial, a sufficient proof of his innocence may be found in the unanimous rejection of the charge by the eleven counsellors who were appointed by his father to examine into the affair. Had the examination been even more strict and formal, his innocence would have been still more apparent. He then proceeds to that part of his father's letter which pretended to account for the recall and concentrating of the armies of Spain. How can the reason assigned for recalling the Spanish troops and assembling them at Aranjuez be considered as satisfactory? Was there any necessity for the king of Spain to be on his guard against the troops of his ally, the emperor of the French? Ought not their approach rather to have been matter of joy and confidence? But their approach could not possibly have been the reason for drawing the Spanish troops to Aranjuez: since they were expressly ordered by the king himself, to keep open the road to Seville. No person believed that the royal journey would terminate at that city. America was universally regarded as the ultimate object. This belief was so general and strong, that a royal decree was thought necessary to remove it: still, notwithstanding this decree, the preparations for a long and suspicious journey were carried on. Is it, therefore, to be wondered at, if the populace, afraid of losing their monarch, enraged against that minister, who, after having been the author of all the misfortunes and calamities under which they had long laboured, was now about to inveigle the king out of the kingdom; and, moreover, indignant at the gross deceit which was attempted to be put upon them by the royal decree, is it surprising, that in this state of the public mind, rendered still more ungovernable by despair, the disturbances at Aranjuez should have taken place? The only part which the son took in this disturbance was, at the request of his royal father, to seek out and endeavour to protect the favourite minister. And yet this minister, the principal, if not the sole object of the popular fury during the insurrection at Aranjuez; whom the king was so anxious to protect; was deemed by the emperor of the French so inimical to the happiness and regeneration of Spain, that one of the main objects of his journey to Madrid, was to endeavour to persuade the king to strip him of his power and influence. That the emperor was correct in the opinion he entertained respecting the favourite, was manifest from the universal and strong satisfaction produced by his arrest. The commotion at Aranjuez touched not nor affected the person or authority of the king, except in the arrest and imprisonment of his minister. The populace, who sought for him with fury, and cursed him

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as the author of their wrongs and misery, uttered not a syllable of complaint or dissatisfaction against the king himself. On the contrary, they expressed the utmost loyalty and attachment to his person and government. His abdication, therefore, at this time, surprised and astonished every body, and none more than his son, in whose favour it was made. The first mention of it sprang voluntarily from the royal parent. By him it was first communicated to his ministers and to the diplomatique body, declaring it to be his spontaneous act, long before determined upon. When the king mentioned it to his royal brother, he added, that the signature, by which the decree of abdication was finished and rendered valid, was the happiest transaction of his life. So far, indeed, at that time, from hinting that it was forced or involuntary, three days after the ratification of the deed, the royal parent requested his son to pay no attention to any assertion that the abdication was involuntary, since it was in every respect the free act of his own mind.

That the new sovereign was as favourable to the alliance and interests of France as his father had been, would appear, not merely from the letters he wrote to the emperor after he ascended the throne, but from the confidence he put in him, by readily going to Madrid, at a time when it was in reality garrisoned by the French army. Anxious on every point to oblige his royal father, and more particularly when what he proposed tended to insure and draw closer the alliance between the two kingdoms, he had cheerfully agreed to ally himself in marriage with his imperial majesty, as soon as he was informed that such an alliance was in contemplation, and had been the subject of a particular correspondence, between the emperor and his father. But he had given still further and more decisive proofs how eager he was to comply with the wishes of his ally: in compliance with them he had agreed to the departure of his brother, don Carlos, from Madrid, to meet and compliment the emperor on his arrival in Spain. Not content with this, he had himself left the government of his kingdom, because he was given to understand, that his proceeding to the frontiers, and welcoming his ally into Spain, would be peculiarly acceptable, and would certainly be requited by the immediate recognition of his title and authority. How then was he astonished and confounded when, instead of this recognition, he had been peremptorily required to give up his right to the throne of Spain, to the family of Bonaparte! With respect to the protest of his father, inclosed in a letter to the emperor, in what light was he to view it? It expressly declared that the abdication was forced and involuntary; and yet, when he had questioned his father concerning this protest, he was distinctly told that the abdication was voluntary, though not intended to be permanent. Not only this was acknowledged, but also that the reserved power to resume the crown was not stated at the time of the abdication, merely because the king did not then think proper to state it. Is not this a plain and decisive proof that no violence was used in procuring the abdication; and that the new sovereign did nothing improper or wrong in acting as if his power were to be permanent, since his royal parent not only did not state his reserved right, but on the con-

trary expressly declared that he neither would reign nor return to Spain. The proposal for assembling the cortez, or the council and deputies of the kingdom, was made, not because their presence was considered necessary to give effect to the son's renunciation in favour of his father, but solely that every thing consistent with the honour and dignity of the crown might be attended to, on so solemn an occasion. The alternative is again proposed; if the royal parent wishes to resume the government, the son will readily and cheerfully resign it: but he hopes to be appointed the representative of his father, if his father should determine to reside out of Spain. This however he is implored not to do, if he wish to preserve his health, or the peace and tranquillity of his mind. Above all, the son conjures his royal parent, not to exclude their dynasty from the throne of Spain, and to substitute the imperial family of France in its room. Before this act can be valid it must have the consent of all the individuals who have a right to the throne, and more especially of the representatives of the Spanish people: and even then, the act, though attended with every necessary and legal formality, would be universally deemed compulsory, unless all those who have a claim to the throne, and the people who are interested in the transaction, were so placed that they could deliberate and decide free from the influence or the terror of a foreign power. The act, therefore, of the royal parent and his son, so far as it can give away the crown from the Bourbon dynasty, cannot be considered as free, while they are detained in a foreign country against their will.

On the 5th of May, the day after the above letter was written, Bonaparte had a long conversation with the royal parents; what passed can only be conjectured from the infamous and disgraceful scene which followed. This it may be proper to describe in Cevallos's own words. "At five o'clock king Ferdinand was called in by his august father to hear, in the presence of the queen and the emperor, expressions so disgusting and humiliating, that I do not dare to record them. All the party were seated, except king Ferdinand, whom the father ordered to make an absolute renunciation of the crown, under pain of being treated, with all his household, as an usurper of the throne, and a conspirator against the life of his parents." Bonaparte, however, appears not to have regarded the renunciation of Ferdinand to his father, as necessary to render the resignation of the latter in his favour valid; for, on the very day that the scene already described took place, and before Ferdinand had yielded obedience to the commands of his parent, Charles had executed the deed of resignation, which transferred his title to the emperor of the French. The preamble of the deed deserves notice, as showing how continually and powerfully present to the mind of Bonaparte, in the execution of all his plans of conquest, is the hope of being able, by means of them, ultimately to reduce the means and influence of England. It expressly states, that the contracting sovereigns are animated by a desire to put Spain into such a condition, as shall enable her to unite all her resources with those of France "to obtain a maritime peace." In the deed itself it is declared, on the part of Charles, that his sole object for executing it is to prevent those dissensions

sensions among his people, which the factions in his own family had an unavoidable tendency to produce; and that a peace shall take place only on these conditions: 1st, That the integrity of the kingdom of Spain should be preserved; and 2d, That the prince, placed on the throne of Spain by the emperor, should be independent. The other principal articles of this act of resignation declare that the king, queen, prince of peace, and such of their servants as shall choose to follow them, shall preserve their respective ranks in France; that the imperial palace of Compeigne shall be at the disposal of king Charles, during his life; that a civil list of 80,000,000 reals shall be allotted to the king, and the dowry of the queen, at his death, shall be 2,000,000; to the infantes of Spain the annual sum of 400,000 livres is to be secured, and that the king shall give up to Napoleon his personal landed property in Spain, in exchange for the castle of Chambord.

It seems to have been judged expedient to prepare the minds of the Spaniards for this extraordinary transfer of them to the French emperor. For this purpose Charles directed a mandate to the supreme junta of the government of Madrid, in which he appointed the grand duke of Berg lieutenant-general of the kingdom, and commanded the council of Castile, and the captains-general and governors of the provinces to obey his orders. The alleged reason for thus conferring the chief military command upon a foreigner is, that thus all the troops in Spain, as well Spanish as French, might, by being under the authority of one man, be directed uniformly and at once against the external and internal enemies of the kingdom. Immediately after the issue of this mandate (on the same day, if the dates be correct) Charles addressed a letter to the supreme council of Castile, and the council of inquisition, in which he states, that having resolved, in the extraordinary circumstances in which Spain was then placed, to afford his subjects a new proof of his affections towards them, he had therefore abdicated all his claims upon the Spanish kingdoms in favour of his friend and ally the emperor of the French, by a treaty which had been signed and ratified —by which treaty the integrity and independence of the kingdom, and the preservation of the holy catholic religion, not only as the predominant but as the sole and exclusive religion, were firmly guarantied. He therefore calls upon them to behave to the French with the utmost friendship, and to preserve the country from insurrection and tumult.

The father, having thus done all in his power not only to transfer his right to the throne of Spain, to the emperor of the French, but to secure the quiet and ready reception of that transfer by the Spanish nation, the resistance and refusal of Ferdinand were no longer to be expected. In the disgraceful conversation which his father had held with him, in the presence of Napoleon and the queen, he had threatened to treat him as an usurper, unless he made an immediate and absolute renunciation of the crown in his behalf. The day after this conversation passed, Ferdinand wrote to his father in reply to this imperious and harsh requisition. He expressed his regret and astonishment that the conditions on which he had professed himself willing to execute the required re-

nunciation — conditions dictated solely by a wish to preserve his own honour, and the tranquillity of the kingdom,—should have produced such violent indignation in his royal mind. For no other reason had he been insulted in the presence of his venerable mother, and the emperor of the French, with epithets the most gross and humiliating. An unconditional renunciation had also been demanded of him. In such a state of things, he found himself compelled to agree to the renunciation, in order that his royal father might return to Madrid, and resume the character and power which he enjoyed prior to the 19th of March. Although Ferdinand by this letter divested himself of the royal power, and must have been assured that the very first act of his father would be to make over all title to the throne of Spain (so far as depended upon him) to Bonaparte—if, indeed, he had waited for the formal renunciation of his son—yet Ferdinand appears not to have consented to deliver up his own right to the emperor of the French, till some days afterwards. Cevallos gives us no insight into the particular modes of attack upon the prince, after Bonaparte had succeeded both in forcing him to renounce in favour of his father, and in persuading the father to abdicate in favour of the French dynasty, except that he states (but not from his own personal knowledge) that in the last conference he held with Ferdinand, the emperor said, "*Prince, il faut opter entre la cession et la mort*"—"Prince, you have only to choose between cession and death." The resignation of Ferdinand was executed at Bayonne on the 10th of May: the preamble differs much from that prefixed to the resignation of Charles, and simply states that the emperor of the French, and the prince of Asturias, having differences to regulate, have appointed their respective plenipotentiaries. By the articles of this act, it is stipulated that the prince of Asturias shall renounce that right to the crown of Spain and the Indies, which in that character he possesses; that the emperor secures to him the title of royal highness; and will cede to him the domain of Navarre, and grant him an annual sum of 400,000 livres of appanage rent, and a further rent of 600,000 livres. The title of royal highness, the enjoyment of their respective commanderies in Spain, and an appanage rent of 400,000 livres, are likewise granted to don Antonio, the uncle of Ferdinand, and don Carlos and don Francisco his brothers, provided they accede to the treaty.

As soon as Ferdinand had ratified this treaty, he was hurried from Bayonne into the interior of France. To render his humiliation more abject, and his subserviency to the will of Bonaparte more complete and useful, he, his uncle, and brother were commanded, when they reached Bourdeaux, to address a solemn proclamation to the Spaniards. The policy and art of the emperor are clearly apparent throughout the whole of this proclamation. The princes who subscribe it, begin with declaring the motives which had induced them to address it to the Spaniards; they were apprehensive that the anarchy and consequent distress, which seemed to threaten the kingdom of Spain, might be accelerated and increased by the uncertainty in which the nation were held with respect to the principles of that conduct, which had been for some

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time pursued by their highnesses, and the measures they had just adopted. In the hope, therefore, of snatching the Spaniards from calamity, they had resolved to lay before them the reasons of their past and present conduct, since they were convinced, when the eyes of the nation were opened to the salutary effect of the plans of their highnesses, no obstruction would be given to the execution of them. Their journey to Bayonne, the first step which had alarmed and agitated the nation, was imperiously called for by the circumstances under which the princes of Asturias ascended the throne—by the occupation of the frontier fortresses by a numerous body of French troops, and the presence of 60,000 of that nation in Madrid and its environs, and by several other circumstances known only to themselves. Surrounded by evils, they had chosen to proceed to Bayonne, thus preferring what they deemed the least evils. When they arrived at Bayonne, the prince, then king, learnt with surprise and astonishment that his father had protested against his abdication, as forced and involuntary. The prince, who had accepted the crown, under the firm belief that his father had yielded it up to him of his own accord, and as a matter of choice, no sooner learnt that he had entered a protest, than he determined to give back the throne. Scarcely had he signed the act of renunciation, when his father, in his own name, and in that of his whole race, transferred the crown to the emperor of the French—that he might consult for the good of the nation in the choice of a proper person and family to occupy it. In this state of things, their royal highnesses, persuaded that any unwillingness or resistance on the part of the Spanish nation must be useless in preventing the transfer from being carried into execution, and could only produce anarchy and bloodshed; taking into consideration that the integrity of the Spanish monarchy and the unity of the catholic religion are to be rigorously and carefully preserved by the emperor of the French; and moreover reflecting how unavailing their claims must be after the renunciation of the king; have determined to consult the interest of the Spanish people, by renouncing all their rights to the throne. They therefore release the Spaniards from all the duties towards them, which arose out of those rights, and conjure them to consult their common good by conducting themselves as peaceful and obedient subjects to the emperor Napoleon, who by his power and wise arrangements will secure their tranquillity and happiness.

Thus had Bonaparte effected the transference of the Spanish nation from the Bourbon dynasty to his own family, as far as that transference could be effected by the formal renunciation, in his favour, of the royal family, and by a strong but suspicious recommendation from them to the Spanish nation, to receive their new sovereign, whoever he should be, with feelings of submission and obedience. Abounding as the annals of mankind are, especially in these latter unparalleled and portentous times, in examples of treachery, perfidy, and violence; it would be difficult to point out one deed, which, in every part of its performance, in its own nature, or in the character of the means by which it was carried into execution, bore such strong and infamous marks of villany.

Had not the indignation and abhorrence of Europe been almost worn out, by what it had witnessed and felt for the last 20 years, the occurrences of Bayonne would have created more astonishment and detestation than they actually did. But that action, which at any former period would have marked the age in which it had been performed, as pre-eminent in deceit and outrage; occurring after a regular series of deeds similar in nature, though left far behind in the degree of their guilt; by no means is regarded with the abhorrence which it ought to excite. Posterity, happily recovered from that callousness to wickedness which marks the present age, will give to the deed we have just recorded its just tribute of indignation. That we may do all in our power to recall that sensibility to the enormity of guilt, which distinguished Europe before the French revolution, let us briefly recapitulate the conduct of Bonaparte towards Spain: the mind is more likely to be impressed deeply and permanently, when his enormities are presented to it in quick and uninterrupted succession.

His object was to gain possession of the throne of Spain; to remove that family, which, even at the sacrifice of its own dignity and honour, and the interest and happiness of the nation, had adhered to the alliance and promoted the views of France. And for what purpose was the Bourbon family to be dethroned, and the dynasty of Bonaparte to be seated in its stead? Had the end in view been, as Napoleon held out, and as some of his admirers still believe, the regeneration of Spain, could he not have effected that much more completely, easily and certainly, while the old family remained on the throne, than during the reign of a new dynasty? By allowing Charles to have retained the name of king, he could have carried into effect whatever measures he chose: Charles would have appointed the ministers he thought most proper to introduce and carry through his pretended scheme of regeneration; and the nation, if capable of being regenerated, would have readily acceded to those changes, which were sanctioned by the name of their legitimate king. But the end he had in view was not so disinterested: his ambition is of a paltry and selfish character: the aggrandisement of his own family is its chief aim, and ultimate object: to attain this, and at the same time to gratify his desire of revenge against England, may be necessary to infuse energy into the people whom he reduces or ensnares into his power; but still he is equally selfish. In order then to place one of his own family upon the throne of Spain, for that sole and undivided object, or, if divided, mixed with his hatred to England; did he determine to deprive his oldest and most faithful ally of his kingdom. Such was the object, and such were the motives, which led him to grasp at that object. Let us view the measures he adopted to obtain it. They are worthy of the end, the motives;—his own character and former conduct.

The pretext under which he seized on the throne of Spain, was the imbecility of her councils; the inapplicability of her resources or force to any object connected with her interest or duty; and the degradation of her national character. It would be unfair to say that all these things were produced by Bonaparte; yet were they not cherished and rendered more permanent

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and fatal by the measures he pursued with respect to this ill-fated kingdom? The prince of peace, that minister to whom the sovereign owed the weakness and unpopularity of his measures; whose continuance in power struck the minds of the Spaniards with despair of any thing honourable, advantageous, or great; was upheld by Bonaparte. The dissensions between the sovereign and his son, which necessarily tended to lessen the dignity and influence of their characters and measures; and which, by paralysing the head of the nation, spread weakness and disease over the whole body; were cherished and encouraged by him, by every method of duplicity and treachery, which his art, instigated by his ambition, and directed by his knowledge of the weakness and mutual jealousy of the persons upon whom he was acting, could suggest and execute. Having thus prepared the way, by sowing discord among the royal family, and directing the attention of the people to scenes which could only fill them with disgust and indifference towards their rulers, he introduced his army into the heart of Spain. This too was done by treachery; on the faith of a treaty avowedly entered into to benefit and aggrandize the ally he was about to destroy. Having thus secured the possession of the strong places in the kingdom, and rendered, as he supposed, the people completely indifferent to the fate of their rulers, he set himself to bring about their emigration. This scheme however failed: a remaining spark of loyalty and attachment to their sovereign, joined to an obscure but powerful feeling of security while he remained with them, opposed a violent and successful opposition to the departure of the royal family. The king gave up the throne, Ferdinand was placed on it, in his stead; and Bonaparte perceived, contrary to his expectation and his wishes, some signs of rallying firmness and loyalty among the Spaniards. His troops however still occupied the frontier fortresses, and surrounded the very capital of the kingdom. The new monarch, in this situation, was naturally anxious to preserve the alliance, and to obtain the recognition of Bonaparte. He was promised this, provided he would comply with the apparently safe and easy request of leaving his capital, to welcome the entrance of the emperor of the French into Spain. He was officially and solemnly assured, not once but frequently, not by the regular ambassador at Madrid, but by one who was expressly sent to convey this assurance, that Bonaparte was already near Madrid; and that the absence of a very few days from his capital, would bring him into the presence of that monarch, and procure him an easy and complete recognition of his title, and the satisfaction and confidence resulting from having thus at no risque, and with little trouble, complied with the wishes of the emperor. Ferdinand trusting to these appearances was persuaded to proceed even into France; where he was received by a peremptory command to yield up the throne of Spain. The arts of Bonaparte did not end here: in order that he might surround the unsuspicious monarch on every side, so that he could not possibly escape out of the toils that were set for him, his father was persuaded to protest against the abdication as forced from him; and was brought to Bayonne for the express purpose of accusing his own son of violence and treachery;

chery; thus assisting in effecting his own degradation and that of all his family. Ferdinand enticed out of his own kingdom; completely in the power of Bonaparte; his title to the sovereignty protested against by his own father; and his right to succeed to it questioned by one, who could easily support what it was his interest to maintain; fell before the complicated arts of treachery and violence, by which he was attacked. Such is the outline of this transaction; presenting throughout the whole of its progress no intermission of villany, and not one feature even of daring greatness or consummate talent. The great object, that of forcing from Ferdinand the resignation of his title to the throne of Spain, was gained by those means, to which the lowest abilities are fully equal; —by gross deceit and open violence.

As soon as Bonaparte had succeeded in obtaining from the royal family the transference of their title to the throne of Spain, and had sent them into the interior of France, he issued an imperial decree, addressed to the council of Castile, in which, after stating that the king and princes of the house of Spain had ceded their rights to him, he commanded that the assembly of the notables should be held on the 15th of June, at Bayonne: the deputies were to be charged with the expression of the sentiments, wishes, and complaints of those they represented; and with full power to fix the basis of a new government. The grand duke of Berg was to continue in the office of lieutenant-general of the kingdom. The ministers, council of state, council of Castile, and all civil, ecclesiastical, and military authorities; as well as the administration of justice, were to remain unchanged. This decree was to be published throughout the kingdom by the council of Castile. On the same day Bonaparte addressed a proclamation to the Spanish nation, full of the usual cant of affection, and protestations of regard for their happiness, by which his proclamations are eminently distinguished. He assures the Spaniards that his sole object will be to relieve the sufferings he has long witnessed; that he will prefer a right to give them a sovereign derived from his endeavours to benefit their nation, to that which he has obtained from their princes. He promises to renovate their monarchy; and this blessing they are to receive from him without the intervention of a civil war. For this purpose he has convened a general assembly of their deputies, and will place their illustrious crown upon the head of one who resembles himself; that thus, by uniting the salutary power of the sovereign with a just regard to the liberties of the people, their latest posterity may celebrate him as the restorer of their country.

While these transactions were going on at Bayonne, Murat was by no means idle at Madrid. The part he had to execute was more difficult than that which his master had taken upon himself. His business was to suppress any appearance of disapprobation or disturbance on the part of the populace, and to accustom them by degrees to a quiet and tame submission to the will of their new masters. So far as violence and force were necessary, or might be requisite, the character of Murat fitted him well for the task that had been assigned him: but he, less perhaps than any of the French generals, was by nature or

habitual conduct disposed to use gentle or accommodating means. Within a few days after the entrance of the French troops into the capital, Murat made a request, or what as coming from him might with more propriety be called a demand, that the sword which Francis I. king of France, surrendered in the famous battle of Pavia, in the reign of the emperor Charles V., might be given up to the emperor of the French. This sword, which the Spanish nation regarded with a feeling of just pride, as the memorial and proof of the victories of their ancestors over the French, had been carefully preserved in the royal armoury. But it is no useless part of the policy of Bonaparte, to strip the nations he conquers of every object to which they look with admiration or pride as connected with their past renown. He thus flatters the glory of the French; and by humbling the people, whom he robs, he prepares the way for their becoming more tame and obedient slaves. The sword was accordingly delivered up; and that the people of Madrid might not be ignorant of their loss, or of the value and glory attached to what they were about to be deprived of, it was conveyed to the lodgings of the duke of Berg with the greatest pomp and ceremony. They were destined, however, very soon to feel the presence of the French army in a manner that would more strongly impress their minds with a sense of its power, and their own weakness and subserviency. Public notice was given that the French troops were in want of great coats, and that it was expected that every individual in the city who had it in his power, would contribute as many great coats as he could, to the heads of the police, who would call at each house for the purpose of receiving them. It is not to be supposed that the mere necessities of the French armies, or a wish to save the trifling expense requisite to supply them with great coats, were the principle reasons for this demand. It was to discipline the Spaniards early into habits of obedience, and into the expectation of future more serious contributions, that Murat adopted this measure.

Another point to which Murat directed his attention and the influence which his character and power gave him, was the control of the junta, which had been left in the administration of affairs by Ferdinand when he set out for Bayonne. In order more effectually to bring them under obedience to the wishes and plans of Bonaparte, it was deemed advisable to prevent, if possible, their receiving any instructions from their sovereign. This could not always be effected; and it has already been mentioned, that, in order to procure the liberation of the prince of peace, Murat was obliged to oppose the positive command of the emperor to the instructions of Ferdinand. But in most cases, by the art of Champagny at Bayonne, and of Murat at Madrid, the junta were left without regular and specific directions how to act under the extraordinary circumstances of the times. Cevallos, apprehensive, after the arrival of his sovereign and himself at Bayonne, that the couriers he regularly dispatched to Madrid would be intercepted, used every method in his power to secure their safe and uninterrupted journey. He found however that they were not suffered to reach the capital. Upon this he addressed himself to Champagny, from whom he received a most extraordinary justification

cation of his conduct in stopping the couriers. Champagny informed him, that as his imperial majesty acknowledged no other king than Charles IV., it followed as a necessary consequence, that the emperor could not admit, in his territory, any act of the nature of a passport given by Ferdinand in the character of the sovereign of Spain. Cevallos however still contrived occasionally to send the orders and instructions of his master to the junta: but it was evident, from their conduct, that Murat had gained them over to the interest of Bonaparte. Although informed of the arrest of their sovereign at Bayonne, and the indignities and oppression to which he was subjected; and surrounded as they were at Madrid by the bayonets of their enemies, it does not appear that they made any attempt to form another junta in a place where their deliberations might have been free and secure from violence or interruption. They did not even acknowledge the receipt of the letter announcing the situation of the king at Bayonne. In consequence of their silence, it was deemed requisite to transmit them a royal order, authorizing and requiring them to execute whatever they might consider proper or necessary for the service of the king and nation. This order the junta received; but though its meaning was plain, and the powers it gave them ample and adequate to every possible emergency, they still hesitated, and transmitted to the king at Bayonne particular propositions, upon all of which they were much better judges than he could be, and for the execution of which, if they deemed it expedient, the royal order gave them full power. In these propositions, they requested to know, whether they were authorized to appoint a council in a secure situation, and who were to compose this council? whether hostilities should commence against the French? whether the entrance of more French troops into Spain should be prevented or opposed? and whether his majesty thought fit to assemble the cortes? In reply to these inquiries, Ferdinand sent instructions for the junta to take what measures they deemed proper respecting the formation of a council; to commence hostilities as soon as they learnt he was forced from Bayonne towards the interior of France; that in such a case they should prevent the introduction of more troops; and that, as he found himself deprived of his liberty, the cortes should be immediately assembled, and occupy themselves at first exclusively in attending to the levies and subsidies necessary for the protection of the kingdom. These instructions arrived safe at Madrid; they were delivered into the hands of one of the members of the junta; but he never laid them before the council. They would however have met with no attention, if they had been laid before the junta, for some days before they arrived the duke of Berg had been elected president. This extraordinary measure on the part of the junta, which at once completed their humiliation and disgrace, and the triumph of Murat's art, was adopted in consequence of the disturbances of the 2d of May.

It is difficult to ascertain the immediate cause of the disturbance, the particulars, or the number of people that fell in consequence of it. The inhabitants of Madrid had been in a state of agitation and alarm ever since the entry of the French troops and the departure

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of the royal family. It is not to be supposed that the French were particularly careful to abstain from giving them offence; or that any measures were taken by Murat to soothe and keep down the irritation of their minds. Thus irritated, alarmed, and suspicious, their attention was roused by the entrance of the French commander into Madrid on the second of May. It was soon rumoured that he had ordered don Antonio to set out immediately for Bayonne, and intimated his expectation that he should be appointed regent during his absence. To this the infant objected, maintaining that, as he had received the regency from the king his nephew, he would resign the office into no other hands; and declaring his resolution not to set off for Bayonne since his journey thither would deprive him of the situation he held. Murat, upon this unexpected act of firmness, ordered a body of troops, which he had a few days before withdrawn from Madrid, again to enter the capital; with the intention, it is supposed, of seizing don Antonio, and declaring himself regent. The inhabitants alarmed at the entrance of the French troops, and having received information of the purpose for which they had been brought back, collected in immense multitudes; took possession of the entrances of some of the principal streets, attacked the French with great resolution and vigour; drove them before them, and obtained possession of their cannon. With these they succeeded in forcing their enemies out of the city with great slaughter. Besides this regular and collected attack on the body of the French army, wherever a French soldier was discovered, he was instantly cut down or shot. The great street of Alcala, the Sungate, and the Great Square were the principle scenes of the success and of the subsequent massacre of the inhabitants. For the alarm was soon given; the French repaired to their posts; and the people were overpowered by discipline. The principal object with the French was the street Alcala: in it were collected upwards of 10,000 people. Against it and the neighbouring streets and squares, 30 discharges of artillery were directed with dreadful effect: these were followed up by the cavalry: the people routed and dismayed took refuge in the houses; the French soldiers followed, and put to death with the bayonet all they discovered. Another body of the people pushed forwards towards the arsenal, where there were deposited 28 pieces of cannon, and 10,000 muskets; but they were intercepted and driven back by the brigade of general Lenfranc. The numbers that were slain on the side of the people must have been very great; nor could the French have escaped without considerable loss. In the account of the insurrection published in the Moniteur, it is said that the French garrison of Madrid alone, consisting of 3000 men, were engaged in suppressing it; but less partial and more credible testimony supports the statement we have given, that the insurrection was not quelled till after most of the French actually in the city were put to death, and only by the assistance derived from the camps in the neighbourhood.

This massacre of their fellow citizens, which certainly ought to have roused the junta to the adoption of the measure recommended by the king, of transferring the great council of the nation to men who

who could deliberate and act freely, produced directly the opposite effect: it bent them completely to the will of Murat. At their sitting on the 4th of May, he was present; and a letter of his detailing the insurrection of the second, and pointing out the necessity of strong measures to keep down the populace, was read and approved. Taking into their consideration that no time should be lost in preventing similar calamities, which they attributed to a want of confidence in the civil and military powers; and that the royal family were absent at Bayonne, settling with the emperor of the French, measures necessary for the safety of the kingdom; they decreed that the presidentship of the junta should be offered to his imperial and royal highness the grand duke of Berg; and that all their members should conform to this decree. As soon as Murat had gained the complete and regular ascendancy over the junta, he issued, in their name, a proclamation to the inhabitants of Madrid. The tenour and object of this proclamation offered a strong presumption that the insurrection had been of a more formidable and determined nature than the French are willing to allow, since even the savage and bloody disposition of Murat thought it prudent to endeavour to flatter and soothe the inhabitants into future quiet and obedience. They are told that their tranquility should henceforth be unalterable; and that this blessing they owed to the loyalty of their character. The military commission, established on the day after the insurrection, was to be suppressed, and all those who had been seized by the French troops were to be immediately given over to their proper judges, unless they had actually borne arms against them. Even these were to be tried under the inspection and regulation of a judge nominated by the competent tribunal. No peasant, or stranger, was to be molested. Provisions were to be brought into the city without the seizure of the mules of the carriers. Immediate redress by the judge of police was to be given, for every just cause of complaint. But, on the other hand, the order against the introduction of fire-arms or other prohibited weapons into the city was repeated, and threatened to be strictly enforced.

But it was not the junta only who deserted the cause of their country, and enlisted themselves on the side of their invaders and oppressors; the council of the supreme and general Inquisition also exhorted the Spaniards to quiet and unresisting slavery. This council, though the spirit of the times, and the growing policy or humanity of its members, has deprived it of great part of the dread and horror formerly attached to the exercise of its power, still, unfortunately for the Spaniards, possesses an extensive, penetrating, and powerful influence over the kingdom. It was, therefore, an engine too fit for their purpose to be overlooked or unemployed by the French: and its submissiveness was as propitious to the wishes of Murat, as its nature and power were adapted to his views. The character and disposition of such leading bodies as the central junta and the supreme Inquisition, are of too much consequence not to be pointedly held up to view, in all their public acts: it is not less interesting than important to ascertain accurately who yielded to the plans of Bonaparte, and who opposed them; in order

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that the merit may be assigned only to those to whom it is justly due. For this purpose we shall state the substance of the circular letter from the council of supreme Inquisition to all the courts of the kingdom. Thus likewise the independence and firmness of mind of those who dared to oppose the French, will be more justly estimated, when it is seen, that they acted not only in the face of an immense army, but directly opposite to the commands of a tribunal which their religious education and habits taught them to regard with veneration and submissive acquiescence.

They begin with accusing the Spanish people of having occasioned, by their violence, the disturbances and bloodshed of the 2d of May: and this violence they represent as having been offered to friendly officers and soldiers, who injured no one; but who, on the contrary, preserved the most rigorous discipline; and towards whom they were bound by the laws of hospitality to behave with attention and friendship. It is probable (they say) that these disorders may have arisen from a pretended or mistaken attachment to their sovereign. They, therefore, think it their duty to inform the misguided people, that such proceedings only tend to destroy the principle of subordination, so necessary in all governments; and to weaken their just and salutary confidence in the supreme power, within whose province and ability alone it lies to give an uniform direction and impulse to the sentiment of patriotism.

These truths, so important at all times, and so eminently and peculiarly necessary at a period of violence and tumult, can by none be impressed with more propriety and beneficial effect than by the ministers of the religion of Jesus Christ, which breathes nothing but peace among men, and subjection, honour, and obedience to all that are in authority. The holy college of the Inquisition have always set an example to the ministers of peace; on this occasion, therefore, they think it their duty to call on them to cooperate in the preservation of the public tranquillity; and to make known the will of the holy college to all their subordinate officers, that nothing may be wanting on their part towards the attainment of so important an object.

Even the feeble king was obliged to act his part in repressing the zeal and spirit of his people, and in pointing out to them the heinous crime of rising against their enemies and oppressors. His last address to the nation, who had so long suffered from his incapacity and devotion to France, — nay, it would appear, the last paper to which he set his hand and seal, before he abdicated the throne, was filled with remonstrances and upbraidings against his subjects, for having risen in the hope of defending that independence, which he had so pusillanimously sacrificed. This proclamation is signed by Charles; but the language in which it is written, the spirit which it breathes throughout, and the counsel which it gives, could have proceeded from none but an agent of Bonaparte. He cautions them against that spirit of faction, anxious to arm them against the French, to which he attributes both the calamities of his own family, and the recent disturbance at Madrid. He assures them that his sole object at Bayonne is to concert, along with his ally the emperor of the

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French, efficient measures for their welfare. The enemies of that welfare, which he was about to secure them by means of his ally, were in motion. They ought to be guarded against. They might be distinguished by their invectives against the French. Such ought to be viewed as the enemies of Spain, and the agents of England; who looks forward to the possession of the Spanish colonies, by fomenting divisions in the mother country, and inciting it against their natural ally the emperor. He concludes with calling on the Spaniards to trust to his experience; to obey that authority which he holds from God and his fathers; and to follow his example, in thinking that there is no prosperity or safety for their country, but in the friendship of their ally.

Thus, to all appearance, had Bonaparte completely and readily succeeded in accomplishing his views upon Spain. He had proceeded slowly and easily: but at last every thing seemed to be brought to a conclusion, such as his ambition desired. The crown of Spain was conveyed to his family by almost every individual who could claim any direct or clear right to it. The members of the old dynasty were safe in the interior of France; removed from all chance of disturbing his future plans, or of serving as the rallying point of resistance and independence. But he had obtained not merely the base deed of conveyance; he had previously made use of the monarch for the purpose of drawing a great proportion of the best troops out of Spain to a distant country, and of introducing a numerous French army into the frontier fortresses, the capital, and the very heart of the kingdom. The Spaniards, thus deserted by their royal family, stript of part of their army, guarded and oppressed by a numerous, well-disciplined, and watchful enemy, saw the most distinguished public bodies, to whom they had always looked up with veneration and confidence for advice and example, not only forsake the cause of their country, but actually invite the nation to receive the French as friends, and condemn those who had risen in defence of their liberty and lives. Their prospect was still more dispiriting; an insurrection of the capital, seemingly digested and prepared beforehand; numerous and well supported; urged on and animated by the oppression they had suffered or witnessed; was crushed after a short resistance by the French army. There seemed then little hope, that the scattered population of the country; forsaken by most of those nobles who should have headed and directed them; cut off and divided by intervening bodies of the French; ignorant of each others disposition, and of the enemy's force; would offer even a feeble and temporary resistance to the introduction and establishment of the new dynasty. Bonaparte appears to have regarded his work as complete; and those to whom the virtues of the Spanish nation were known, lamented its fate, as being thus destined to have them trodden under foot by this unprincipled and selfish conqueror.

CHAPTER IX.

Affairs of Spain continued—Attachment of the Spaniards to Ferdinand—Offers of Assistance—Sudden and general Insurrection—Formation of Provincial Juntas—Substance of their Addresses to the People—Address of Palafox to the Arragonese—Establishment of a Supreme Junta at Seville—Its Character—Precautions issued by it—Declaration of War against France, and of Peace with Britain—Arrival of Spanish Deputies in England—Feelings and Sentiments of this Country respecting the Spanish Revolution—Assistance offered by Ministry—Orders in Council—Liberation of the Spanish Prisoners—Disposition and Measures of the Inhabitants of Cadiz—Assistance offered them by Admiral Purvis—Attack on the French Fleet—Its Surrender—March of Dupont to secure it—His critical Situation—March of the Spanish Army under Castanos against Dupont—Prudent Behaviour of Castanos—Battle of Baylen—Surrender of Dupont's Army—Importance of it to the Cause of Spain—Remarks on the Non-fulfilment of the Capitulation—Attacks on Saragossa—Bravery of its Inhabitants and of General Palafox—Proceedings of the Northern Army—Battle of Rio Seco—Attempt of Bessieres to corrupt General Blake—Heroism of the Bishop of St. Andero—Proceedings in Murcia and Valencia—Attack on the City of Valencia—Its brave Resistance—Remarks on the Behaviour of the Inhabitants of Saragossa and Valencia—Situation of Madrid—Proceedings at Bayonne—Joseph Bonaparte nominated King of Spain—Proposed Constitution—Joseph Bonaparte's Arrival at Madrid—His precipitate and disgraceful Flight—Remarks on the Exaggerations of the Spanish Newspapers—Impolicy of deceiving the People—Brief Recapitulation of the Success of the Spaniards, and the Loss of the French, up to the Evacuation of Madrid.

THE abdication of Charles, and the consequent accession of his son, by whatever means they were brought about, appear to have given very general satisfaction to the Spanish nation, and to have infused into them no inconsiderable portion of confidence, activity, and vigour. They had hitherto submitted with patience to the influence and power of France, utterly hopeless of rescuing themselves while Charles sat on the throne and the prince of peace directed his councils. But the accession of Ferdinand and the disgrace of the favourite led them to hope, that they should now find a sovereign willing to direct and lead on their efforts to regain their independence. Scarcely, therefore, had the new monarch ascended the throne, before offers of assistance and support were made him, provided he were disposed and thought it prudent to resist the tyranny of France. That such offers should have been made at a time when Spain was filled with the armies of the enemy, and stript of great part of her own, is, of itself, a sufficient proof of the spirit and determination of the people. The province of Catalonia, at once the most industrious and the most warlike in the Spanish empire; whose inhabitants

are not more distinguished, in the records of history, for their manly and persevering struggles to preserve or regain their privileges, than for intrepid and unshaken attachment to the cause they have once espoused, particularly distinguished itself by the promptness and magnitude of its offers. The captain-general of that province, relying on the known resources and disposition of the inhabitants, came forward, soon after Ferdinand ascended the throne, with the offer of upwards of 100,000 men. Nor were other parts of Spain deficient in zeal and attachment to their new sovereign; and had Ferdinand been endowed with greater firmness of mind, or been surrounded by less arduous and embarrassing circumstances, he might soon have placed himself at the head of an armed nation. But though less disposed than his father to submit to the views of Bonaparte, he by no means possessed a character equal to the emergency of the crisis in which he was placed. He therefore discouraged and repressed the offers of his subjects to free him from the bondage of France; and preferred yielding himself up to the wishes of Bonaparte, with the ill-grounded hope of thus warding off his enmity and displeasure, to the nobler and not more hazardous resolution of opposing him openly by force of arms.

The spirit, however, which had animated the Spaniards thus boldly to declare their eagerness to support their sovereign, was not of a nature to be chilled and repressed by his timidity or example. The hatred they had conceived against the French found daily fresh sources of nourishment. They saw Ferdinand, who had rejected their proffered services, lest he should expose himself to the displeasure or suspicion of Bonaparte, enticed by deceit, or compelled by violence, to quit his own kingdom, and commit himself to the power of his enemy. They anticipated the consequences, and prepared themselves to resist them with vigour and unanimity. Scarcely was the renunciation of the royal family, in favour of Bonaparte, known in Spain, before the northern provinces burst into open and organized insurrection. Asturias and Gallicia, the refuge of Spanish independence, when it fled before the Moorish power, set the glorious example; and it was soon followed by almost every part of Spain not immediately occupied or overawed by the armies of France.

One of the first steps taken by the leaders of the revolution was to form and assemble the juntas, or general assemblies of the provinces, who immediately issued proclamations calling upon the Spaniards to rise in defence of their sovereign and their own liberties. In these proclamations every topic was insisted upon which could rouse the indignation of the people: the long and prejudicial subserviency of Spain to the views and interests of the French government; the degradation and misery which this subserviency had produced; the treacherous behaviour of Bonaparte to Ferdinand; and the consequences which must necessarily result, if he were permitted to carry through his plans, were strongly dwelt upon. The nation was called upon, by every thing they held dear; by the dignity and glory long sustained by the Spanish name; by their attachment to their religion, their country, and their sovereign; by every tie that bound them

them to the liberty and happiness of themselves and their posterity; to arm themselves with energy and courage, and to prevent by their powerful and unanimous interference the infamous and complete ruin with which they were threatened by the common enemy of the independence and happiness of the human race. The crimes of which Bonaparte had been guilty were placed before their eyes, in all their horror; the fatal consequences which had uniformly resulted from the apathy and indifference of the people in the countries he had already conquered, were urged as holding forth the most powerful and urgent reasons for the union of the Spanish nation in the great and glorious cause of resisting his oppression, and rescuing their country from being sunk into that state of degradation and slavery which had overwhelmed so many of the governments of Europe.

The cause for which they were called upon to leave their peaceful abodes and occupations, and to assume the grand and animating character of defenders of their country, was strongly and pointedly contrasted with the cause for which Bonaparte was fighting: the object, for which he was wasting the blood and treasure of France, and disturbing the repose of Europe, was that of gratifying the most contemptible as well as insatiable ambition. They were called upon to fight for that which alone could clothe the horrors of war with justice: their sovereign had been forced from among them, stript by violence or fraud of his legitimate rights, and hurried into the midst of an enemy's country, where nothing protected his life, but the policy or indifference of that man who had thus deceived and insulted him; they were rising to rescue him if possible from the grasp of tyranny; or at least to avenge his imprisonment and degradation: their country was about to be seized by one whose footsteps had always been marked by slavery and desolation; they were going to fight in defence of that country: the religion of their forefathers, which they had hitherto preserved pure and unmixed from the smallest taint of heresy, was threatened by a man who had uniformly shown an indifference and contempt for all religion, and had lately behaved with the utmost insolence and insult to the venerable head of the church; they, therefore, as Spaniards, long and strongly distinguished for the purity of their faith, the energy of their zeal, and their attachment to the holy father, were called upon to surround and protect the holy catholic doctrine. Thus, every motive which could animate and actuate the breasts of men attached to their sovereign, their liberty, and their religion, presented itself in its utmost strength to rouse their indignation, and make them rush to arms.

They were further encouraged by the representation, that the hearts and the wishes of the rest of Europe, even of the French nation themselves, must assuredly be in favour of their success. The tyrant, whom they were going to oppose, reigned but by the strength of his armies: he had no hold on the affections of the people he had conquered. A successful opposition to his schemes; the defeat of his army, if it were signal and decisive, would be the watchword for a general insurrection throughout the oppressed and degraded countries

he had subdued. And how glorious would it be, if Spain were to be the first nation to conquer or repress the armies of Bonaparte! if, through her means, independence, tranquillity, and happiness, should be restored to the exhausted, enslaved, and despairing nations of the continent!

Such were the principal topics on which the different juntas, in their addresses to their respective provinces, dwelt; and certainly they were well calculated to produce the effect for which they were issued. The province of Arragon was addressed by Palafox—a name afterwards celebrated in the annals of the Spanish revolution—in a strong, spirited, and bold manifesto. He congratulates the Arragonese on their having preserved in their province, from the enemy, an immense quantity of muskets, ammunition, and artillery, with which their patriotism, loyalty, and attachment to the customs and religion of their ancestors would now arm them, in order to preserve themselves from the encroachments of the French. His life was at the service of that cause, to defend which he had been chosen by them: but he cautions them not to doubt his loyalty and attachment. Some indeed, from whom they ought to have looked for better things; on whom they had bestowed great trust and high honour; in whom they had placed great confidence; had been the first to desert the cause of their country, and to endeavour to work its ruin. But even these men, when they viewed the determination of the Spanish people to shake off the yoke of French tyranny, might conceal the wishes and objects of their heart, and join to all outward appearance, in the common cause. He assured his countrymen he had his eyes upon them; time would discover whether his opinions were well founded. As for the French troops, they would easily fall into the power of the Spaniards, if they were sincere and united in the defence of the just cause in which they had embarked: this cause must render them invincible. The Spanish nation were particularly called upon to prevent the repetition of the horrid carnage which had taken place at Madrid; and to secure their deposed and imprisoned monarch from any further acts of violence and indignity. For this purpose he declared that the French emperor, and every individual of his family, as well as every French general and officer, should be responsible for the safety of the different branches of the Spanish royal family: that no quarter should be given to the French soldiers, if they committed any further murders; and that all the transactions which had taken place or might take place at Bayonne, relative to the throne of Spain, should be considered null and void. He concluded by inviting the deputies of the provinces, not invaded by the enemy, to meet and choose a lieut.-general, whose orders might be obeyed by the particular chiefs of the different provinces.

The junta to whose proceedings most attention is due is that which was assembled at Seville. As Madrid was in possession of the French, it became necessary that some principal city should take the lead in issuing directions respecting the great and arduous contest in which the Spanish nation was about to be engaged. No place seemed more proper than Seville: situated

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at a distance from the armies of France; looked up to as one of the most ancient and respectable cities in Spain; the capital of a very extensive and populous province; its claims to the establishment of the supreme junta within its walls were greater, perhaps, then any other city could hold forth. And fortunately the men who composed the junta of Seville soon manifested that they were worthy of composing that assembly, which was to animate and direct the efforts of Spain. The constituted authorities of Seville assembled on the 27th of May, and immediately formed themselves into a supreme junta of government. After having proclaimed Ferdinand king of Spain, and taken possession of the military stores for the purpose of arming the people, they issued an order for all persons from 16 to 45, who had not children, to enrol themselves. They also established inferior juntas in every town within their jurisdiction, the population of which reached 2000 householders, and sent couriers to the principal places in Spain, inviting them to follow the example of Seville. But they principally distinguished themselves by the "precautions" which they issued, as proper to be observed during the struggle in which the nation was about to be engaged. The character of these precautions is that of clear and comprehensive thought, directed steadily and with success to the contemplation of the crisis in which Spain was placed; the principal difficulties and dangers to which she was likely to be exposed; and the most effectual means by which she might avoid or surmount them, and ultimately succeed in the object she had in view.

They recommend in the strongest manner, the carefully avoiding all general actions; and a strict adherence to the system of harassing and continual attacks on detached and insulated bodies of the enemy's forces. The inexperience of their army rendered this plan necessary; and the situation of Spain, its mountains, rivers and torrents, recommended it as highly expedient and advantageous. In order, at the same time, to secure the zeal and enthusiasm of every part of the kingdom, and to direct that enthusiasm and zeal with the utmost precision and effect to a single and undivided object, it would be desirable that each province should have its general; but that the plan of operations should be under the directions of three generalissimos, constantly consulting and acting in concert. Each of these generals and generalissimos should form an army of veteran troops and peasantry united, and put himself in a situation to execute what would be most advantageous in his particular part of the country, always preserving a connection or correspondence with the other generals. It was particularly recommended that generals of known skill and enterprise should be placed over the capital, and those districts which opposed the formidable barrier of mountains to the entrance or progress of the enemy. By these means, not only would it be impossible for Bonaparte to pour in fresh troops, but those already in Spain would be prevented from uniting; and thus a better opportunity would present itself of weakening and harassing the divided and unsupported armies of France, than if they were allowed to form one solid and formidable corps.

The different generals, and indeed every person of education or influence, were called upon to instruct the people fully respecting the artifices and violence of the French; and the consequences which would unavoidably take place, if they were permitted quietly and firmly to establish themselves in Spain. At the same time that they were called upon to fight for their legitimate sovereign and their national independence, assurances were to be given them, that when, by their valour, they had freed themselves from the tyranny and presence of the French, and restored their country to liberty and tranquillity, Ferdinand would assemble the cortes; abuses would be reformed; and such laws and regulations enacted as would promote the public good and happiness.

The junta of Seville also issued a declaration of war against France and of peace with England. Indeed the insurrection of the Spanish nation necessarily directed their thoughts and hopes to Britain, as the only nation which possessed the power of yielding them assistance. One of the first measures adopted by the junta of Asturias was to dispatch two noblemen to this country, to represent to our government the state of Spain, and the determined and unanimous spirit of her people; and to obtain its countenance and support in behalf of their countrymen. Before the arrival of these noblemen, vague and fleeting rumours had been afloat; but nothing certain was known, except that the usurpation of Bonaparte was detested in Spain, and that the people there were by no means disposed to submit quietly to it. It was not, however, imagined, and it was scarcely hoped, that any very formidable or general opposition would be made. But when deputies actually arrived from the north of Spain, stating that the inhabitants had proceeded so far as to arm themselves against their invaders, and that their confidence in their own strength and ultimate success was so strong as to have urged them on to the determination of trying their power against the power of Bonaparte, the British nation began seriously to look forward to this new and unexpected prospect of restoring the continent to independence, or at least of rescuing one portion of it from the grasp of the conqueror. The cause of Spain was one which fortunately united all parties. Whatsoever differences of opinion might exist respecting the probability of ultimate success, all were cordially agreed in the persuasion that every kind of assistance should be afforded the Spaniards. Such a measure was peculiarly suitable to the system of policy by which the ministry were known to direct their conduct. As the disciples and followers of Mr. Pitt, they were persuaded of the utility and advantage that would result from continental warfare. And in this instance they were imperiously called upon to adhere to their system, from having in such pointed and strong terms reprehended the conduct of their predecessors, for not supporting the emperor of Russia. The cause of the Spaniards could not be viewed with less zeal, satisfaction, or sympathy, by the opposition: however they might object to squandering the public money, or injuring the public character, by inciting the states of Europe to unequal or unwilling warfare, they could not raise any objection to the proposal of assisting a people who eagerly sought our assistance,

ance, and who sought it for the purpose of preserving and securing their liberties. The difference indeed between the war in which Spain was about to be engaged, and those wars by which Europe had suffered since the beginning of the French revolution, was calculated not only to inspire more hope, but also to produce a nearer approach to unanimity of sentiment in the British nation. Bonaparte was about to be opposed, not by regular armies, in a country where the great bulk of people were indifferent to the issue of the contest, but by an armed nation, roused to resistance and vengeance by the injustice and misery they had suffered, and who were convinced that their liberty and happiness would be deeply affected if they did not succeed. The prospect of such a contest no longer permitted the British ministry or nation to regard the Spaniards as enemies. They had taken up arms to oppose the common enemy, and therefore they were friends to Britain, as she was at war with France: they had taken up arms in defence of their liberties, and therefore they were friends to Britain, as the only remaining spot in Europe in which freedom could be found. The ministers gave assurances in parliament that they would afford every assistance in their power to the Spanish patriots; and his majesty, in his speech at the close of the session, sanctioned the assurance in the most explicit and satisfactory manner.

The requests, however, which the Spanish deputies were empowered to make were not for men; of these they affirmed they had a sufficiency; but they were in a great measure destitute of arms, ammunition, and clothing. These, therefore, were instantly supplied in great abundance. Fortunately the principal ports in the bay of Biscay were in possession of the patriots; and into these were sent by fast-sailing vessels immense supplies of every thing the juntas of Gallicia and Asturia required. Intelligent and experienced officers were also dispatched, in order to learn accurately the disposition and strength of the Spaniards; to communicate directly with the juntas; and to transmit to our government such information as might enable them to concert and direct the assistance they were disposed to afford, in the manner most agreeable to the Spanish nation and most conducive to the success of their cause. As it was highly probable that British troops might be needed, they were held in readiness to embark. In short, nothing was wanting, on the part of the ministry or nation, to inspirit the patriots, and to convince them that every assistance within the power of Britain would cheerfully be granted.

An order in council, dated the fourth of July, proclaimed this disposition to Europe in the most official manner. By this order his majesty was pleased to declare that, having taken into consideration the glorious exertions the Spaniards were making to deliver their country from the dominion of the French, and the assurances he had received of a friendly disposition from several of the provinces of Spain, all hostilities should immediately cease on the part of his majesty: the blockade of all the Spanish ports, except such as were still in possession of the French, should be raised; free admission into the ports of Great Britain should be granted to the vessels of Spain; and if they were met at sea by any of his ma-

jesty's ships of war, they were to be treated with the utmost attention and amity. That part of the order in council which respected the Spanish colonies was dictated at once by policy and justice: if they joined with the mother country against Bonaparte, and in the common cause of defending their liberties and avenging the indignity and imprisonment of their legitimate sovereign, they were to be received and treated as the friends and allies of Britain; till their determination was known, all vessels and goods belonging to persons residing in them were to be detained by his majesty's cruizers, and carefully preserved in safe custody. This order, with the immediate and unsolicited restoration of all the Spanish prisoners in England, was well calculated to inspire the Spanish nation with sentiments of confidence and gratitude towards us.

Before the determination of our government to countenance and support the Spaniards could be known at Gibraltar, admiral Purvis, who commanded the fleet there, had been applied to by the people of Cadiz to assist them in their designs against the French men-of-war which lay in that port. The admiral immediately sailed for Cadiz; but when he arrived there, he found that the marquis de Solano, the governor-general of Andalusia, was by no means disposed to join his countrymen in their resistance against the French. The people of Cadiz, however, who had distinguished themselves by their attachment to Ferdinand and their detestation of Bonaparte, determined not to submit to the counsels or the measures of their governor, against whom a general suspicion of treachery was entertained, rose upon him, and put him to death. His successor was don Morla, a man particularly well suited for a situation which required firmness of mind. Of this he had given a striking instance, when the epidemical disorder raged at Cadiz a few years before: the physicians had declared that the only means of preventing the infection from spreading, was to keep the inhabitants from intermixing in places of public meeting; and that it would even be desirable that the churches should be shut up during the height of the distemper. This, notwithstanding the strong opposition of the priests, don Morla resolutely and perseveringly performed. From a man who could act up to his duty, even at the risque of incurring the displeasure and feeling the vengeance of the monks in such a country as Spain, the people of Cadiz had every reason to look for measures perfectly congenial to their own feelings and wishes.

As soon as don Morla was put in possession of the chief command, he issued a spirited and vigorous proclamation, well calculated both to quiet the apprehensions and jealousy which the people had entertained on account of the behaviour of their former governor, and to direct their efforts with unanimity and steadiness against the French. He also immediately entered into a friendly communication with the British admiral; and though the Spaniards determined, from a high sense of their own honour, and a pleasing and well-grounded confidence in their own strength, to decline the cooperation of our fleet in compelling the French men-of-war to surrender, yet Morla assured admiral Purvis, that he would accept of no terms from the enemy, without

without having previously informed and consulted with him. The French admiral Rosilly appears to have behaved with great propriety and firmness in the arduous and delicate situation in which he unexpectedly found himself placed. He drew up his squadron, consisting of five sail of the line and a frigate, completely without the reach of the works of Cadiz, and presented a formidable front to the attacks of the Spanish gun-boats. But don Morla had not been idle: aware of the probability that the French ships would be withdrawn from the range of the Cadiz batteries, he had erected formidable works on the isle of Leon and fort Louis; and from them and the gun-boats he directed such an efficient fire against the French fleet, that Rosilly found himself compelled to offer terms of capitulation. He proposed to quit the bay, or, if the English fleet would not accede to this proposal, to disembark all his military stores, and keep his men on board, carefully abstaining from every hostile appearance or proceeding. These terms don Morla was by no means disposed to grant; and as the English commanders coincided with him in the opinion that they were inadmissible, and that the Spaniards had it in their power to compel the unconditional surrender of the French fleet, they were absolutely and peremptorily refused. The attack was accordingly recommenced; and after a contest of three days the French fleet surrendered.

The importance of preserving if possible the French fleet at Cadiz, and the probability that it would fall into the hands of the Spaniards, had induced Murat to dispatch general Dupont from Madrid with a considerable force to the south of Spain. There seem also to have been other reasons of considerable importance for thus weakening his own force in the capital. The junta of Seville was justly regarded as the principal direction and support of the insurrection in that part of Spain; and if they could have been dispersed, and Seville taken possession of, Murat might hope to quell the rising spirit of Andalusia. Dupont, however, had scarcely passed the Sierra Morena before he heard of the surrender of the French fleet; and the disposition of the people soon convinced him that it would be unsafe to advance further towards Cadiz. After pushing on to Cordova, of which he obtained a temporary possession through the want of firmness in some of the newly raised Spanish levies, he measured his steps back towards Andujar. He now found himself placed in a situation, to extricate himself from which would have required greater military talents, and a much larger army, than he possessed. The passes of the Sierra Morena, at all times difficult and dangerous to penetrate, were occupied by the inhabitants of the neighbouring district, who from their local knowledge, were well qualified to oppose insurmountable obstacles to his retreat, even with inferior skill and forces. The junta of Seville were by no means inattentive to the desperate situation in which the army of Dupont was placed; and they took effectual means to compel its surrender, at the same time strictly adhering to the admirable system they had laid down in their celebrated precautions.

The most numerous as well as the best disciplined part of the Spanish army, which Bonaparte had permitted to remain in Spain, were

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stationed, at the beginning of the insurrection, in the camp of St. Roche before Gibraltar. As soon as the intelligence reached them, that their country was in arms against the French emperor, Castanos their general opened a friendly communication with sir Hew Dalrymple the governor of Gibraltar. Every facility was afforded them for marching without delay, and in the best appointed manner, to the support of their fellow citizens. They stood in need of money, and money was instantly supplied them in the most liberal manner. Their general, with the true spirit of a Spaniard, and with that confidence in the honour of Britons which has always remained deeply fixed in the breast of his countrymen, notwithstanding the unwilling warfare to which we had been compelled by the intrigues and influence of France, quitted the lines of St. Roche, and trusted to the garrison of Gibraltar not taking any advantage of his absence. Having been reinforced by a considerable body of troops brought over from Ceuta, he found himself at the head of a formidable army; but it was not alone on their numbers that he depended for success in the day of battle. He was convinced, from what he witnessed and heard, that the service on which he was about to lead his army, was recommended to their zeal and enthusiasm by the most powerful and inspiriting motives. They were about to march and fight, not merely because the general they were bound to obey issued his orders to that effect: they looked forward to the service in which they were going to be engaged, as peculiarly their own. That country which gave them birth, and with which were associated all their pleasures and hopes, called for their assistance;—their relations and friends were either already in arms, or were exposed to the insult and tyranny of the French soldiers. Thus circumstanced, and with these impressions and feelings, it is not to be wondered if they almost anticipated the commands of their general. Castanos accordingly found himself at the head of an army, which promised to accomplish whatever could reasonably be expected from men animated with a love of their country, and with a determination to assist or to avenge their fellow citizens.

But on many accounts it was necessary that the operations of such an army should be conducted with peculiar skill and caution. The junta of Seville had recommended, in their celebrated precautions, a steady and uniform adherence to prudence; and pointed out the advantages that would result from opposing the army rather by a continued and unceasing system of petty and harassing attacks, and the cutting off his supplies and reinforcements, than by an open and general engagement. Several considerations pointed out to Castanos the propriety of following up this system during the whole of the service in which he was about to engage. In the first place, the army of Dupont was in such a situation, so completely cut off from receiving any reinforcements; so entirely surrounded either by bodies of armed peasantry or by defiles among which he durst not commit himself;—that there was little or no chance that he could ultimately escape, even though no direct attacks were made upon him; nor could it be expected that he would be able to hold out long. His supplies of provisions were known to be very inadequate to the maintenance

nance of his army:—the peasantry fled from him on every side, so that he would be compelled to employ his harassed soldiers to collect their daily food, even at the very time when their services might be wanted to repel the attack of the enemy. If the situation of Dupont's army enforced on the mind of Castanos the propriety of a cautious and prolonged mode of warfare, the state of his own troops pointed it out no less clearly. Though a considerable portion of them were regular soldiers, yet an armed peasantry formed no inconsiderable part: on these it was evident that it would not be safe to place too much reliance in their first encounter with the veteran troops of France. And even his regular soldiers might, partly from want of use and experience, and partly from the impetuosity and eagerness of their enthusiasm, not be able to sustain and endure the shock of a pitched and general engagement. Castanos, therefore, wisely determined to await the slow but certain effect of circumstances and situation upon the army of Dupont, at the same time holding himself in readiness to take advantage of every opportunity which might present itself, of attacking with a certainty of success the weakened and dispirited enemy, and thus of bringing on his own troops by degrees to that desirable state, in which enthusiasm would be tempered with prudence, presence of mind, and perseverance.

After several petty and partial actions, in which the Spaniards had uniformly succeeded, either in repelling the attacks of the French, or in forcing Dupont to fall back; and by which Castanos had brought his raw troops into habits of activity, firmness, and discipline, it was determined in a council of war, held on the 17th of July, that an attack should be made on the town of Baylen, where the van of the French army was posted, by the united divisions of major-general Reding and the marquis de Compigny; whilst the third division and the reserve should call off and occupy the attention of the enemy by a feigned attack on Andujar. Accordingly major-gen. Reding, after encountering very trifling opposition, succeeded in obtaining possession of Baylen, and forcing the van of the enemy back towards La Carolina. Having sent notice of this success to the commander in chief, he was ordered not to pursue the retreating division of the French, but to advance upon Andujar without delay. On the 19th Castanos received information that the French had begun their retreat from Andujar early in the morning of that day. The residue, therefore, under the command of lieutenant-general Pena, was ordered immediately to advance towards Baylen.

In the mean time general Reding was preparing to advance towards Andujar on the road from Baylen. At 3 o' clock in the morning of the 19th, while his troops were forming for the march, general Dupont with his army attacked the Spanish camps, opening a sudden and tremendous fire with his artillery, evidently expecting to have been able to take Reding by surprise. He was however mistaken: the Spaniards, though unprepared for this assault, as it took place in the very moment when they were forming for their march, instantly, without confusion or dismay, repaired, under the direction and command of their gallant chiefs, to the different points of attack, supported and assisted

sisted by their artillery. After suffering partially from the impetuosity and suddenness of the enemy's assault, the Spaniards succeeded, by break of day, in getting possession of the heights: the enemy again directed their efforts against different parts of the Spanish line, having the advantage of forming their columns under the cover of the Spanish fire, by the superior position he occupied, under protection of his artillery. He was however driven from all points, and even pursued, in defiance of his vigorous and repeated attacks: so determined was the resolution of the French general to make a general and decisive impression on the Spanish line, that his attacks were renewed till twelve o' clock, without any other intermission or interruption than what necessarily arose from the occasional recession and formation of new columns. At 12 o' clock, convinced from what he had witnessed and suffered, that he possessed not the smallest chance of being able to break or weaken the Spanish lines; and not having gained any ground, he seemed disposed to give up his attacks. One other effort was however made under general Dupont himself: he, along with his other generals, at the head of their respective columns, and supported and protected by the fire of their artillery, charged the Spanish line, but with no better success. Frequently during these repeated, impetuous, and almost uninterrupted attacks, the Spanish line had been penetrated in different parts; and the French had more than once even succeeded in arriving at their batteries. But the Spanish army, with more coolness, intrepidity and discipline, than might have been expected from them, regularly formed again, dismounted the enemy's artillery, and cut to pieces the attacking columns, at the same time that they varied their own positions and movements in such a manner, as to be constantly in a state of preparation and order to sustain and repel the rapid and impetuous movements of the enemy.

This success of general Reding over the main body of the French army, led on by Dupont himself, decided the fate of the day. General Pena's division, consisting of the reserve, had scarcely come up with the rear of the enemy before an express arrived from general Reding, informing him that he remained master of the field. Dupont now found himself in a situation of the most imminent danger. The main body of his army, after having attacked the Spaniards repeatedly, had been obliged to relinquish their design of penetrating their lines, and to retreat in great disorder, and with very considerable loss. The rear of his army at the same time, though it had not been actually defeated, was in such an unsupported and weak condition, that it must easily fall before the meditated attack of general Pena. He had indeed the expectation of receiving reinforcements from Madrid. General Wedel, with 6000 men, had been dispatched by the commander in chief there for that purpose. Dupont knew that they were at no great distance from him. But even if they were actually arrived they could be now of little service; they could not enable him to renew his attacks on the Spanish army, or even to sustain, with any probability of success, their attack upon him. His retreat too appeared to be completely cut off:—at any rate it would necessarily be rendered more difficult and slow, straitened as he was for provisions, if he had

had to conduct it with an additional body of 6000 men. Under these circumstances Dupont begged to capitulate. Hostilities were accordingly suspended in both armies, and it was stipulated that each should maintain its respective position. The discussion did not last long. Dupont was told that he must surrender at discretion. During the suspension of hostilities, the division of general Wedel, which was at Guarroman, advanced upon Baylen; and, contrary to the laws of war, attacked maj.-gen. Reding in so sudden and completely unexpected a manner, that the battalion of Cordova was surprised and taken prisoners, and two field-pieces were also lost. In consequence of this scandalous behaviour on the part of Wedel, the division of general Pena, assisted by part of another division, formed themselves into a position of attack on Dupont. The French commander was therefore obliged to give immediate orders for Wedel to retire, and occupy his former post. Upon this order being complied with, the capitulation was resumed.

The negotiations lasted till the evening of the 20th. Dupont, though he had been beaten, was by no means disposed to surrender at discretion; and Castanos at last agreed to grant him terms, which, under all the circumstances of the case, must be considered as extremely favourable. The whole of the French army, comprising the division of Wedel, as well as the division of Dupont, were to deliver up their arms, till their arrival at Cadiz, where they were to be embarked and sent to Rochefort. Thus it would appear, that the treacherous attack of Wedel, during the suspension of hostilities, had been the cause of his division being included in the capitulation; since it is highly probable, if he had kept his former position, and not interfered, a separate capitulation, preceded perhaps by some delay or by a separate attack, would have been necessary. The French forces, by the official returns, was found to have consisted, before the battle of Baylen, of 14000 men; of these nearly 3000 were killed and wounded. The Spanish army consisted of 25,000 men, one half of whom were peasantry: their loss amounted to about 1200 in killed and wounded.

By the testimony of the British officer, who was present during the battle, and who transmitted to our government an official detail of it, and even by the acknowledgement of the French themselves, the Spanish troops behaved with great firmness, constancy and perseverance. Before the battle they had endured much difficulty and distress, and suffered many privations, as many of them were totally unused to a military life; and the whole of them had taken the field, before the necessary measures for their regular and proper support could have been arranged.

Under all the circumstances of the case, therefore, this victory and subsequent capitulation were certainly honourable to the Spanish army. It was hardly to have been expected that such a force as Dupont commanded would have been conquered by raw and undisciplined troops, even after making every allowance for the dispiriting and difficult situation in which the French army was placed. But the capitulation in its consequences promised to be still more honourable to the army of Castanos: they had not only thus freed the province of Andalusia and the whole of the south-

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west of Spain from the presence and devastation of the French, but they had opened to themselves a ready path to the capital of the kingdom, and to a junction with their companions in arms. While Dupont remained in the south of Spain, even though he had been completely shut up between the Sierra Morena and Cordova, it would have been imprudent for Castanos to have left him. Now no motives sufficiently strong to influence the most cautious and circumspect general could stand in the way of his immediate and rapid advance into the heart of the kingdom. The force of Junot in Portugal could no longer be regarded as threatening or formidable:—while Dupont's army remained in the field, there existed some danger of their junction; but now that it remained no longer, Junot, occupied in quelling and keeping down the revolutionary spirit of the Portuguese, would neither have it in his power, nor feel disposed, to enter the south of Spain, though it were left destitute of troops.

The terms that were granted to Dupont were not carried into execution: the reason of this is not very accurately known. It is said that the junta of Seville refused to ratify them. It is certain that the populace at Cadiz were very much shocked and irritated at discovering among the plunder, which the French troops were about to carry off, several of the sacred utensils of the church. After that, it was dangerous to permit the embarkation to proceed. Dupont was also accused of having behaved in a very unbecoming and even an outrageous manner. But after all, it may justly be doubted, whether any or all of these circumstances ought to have been suffered to stand in the way of the complete and faithful performance of the terms on which the French army had capitulated. The junta of Seville were certainly called upon, not only by a regard to their own honour, but also by that respect which was due, and which they ought to have seen paid, to their own authority, to protect the French prisoners from the fury of the mob; and not to have yielded up the claims of justice, even to the well-grounded resentment and indignation of the people. The other plea, upon which the non-execution of the terms of the capitulation was excused or defended, viz. that Castanos had exceeded his powers, is scarcely more valid or satisfactory. It can hardly be imagined that they would commit the chief command of an army to a general, without at the same time lodging with him sufficient power to act in cases which came immediately before him in his military capacity. At any rate, if they had actually confined the powers of Castanos to military operations, and had forbidden him to enter into any treaty, without having previously consulted them; or if they had, by an express order, commanded him to listen to no terms which included or expressed the return of the enemy's troops to France; they ought undoubtedly to have made public such instructions, and to have expressed their displeasure at least against Castanos for having violated them. As to the excuse which was urged for the non-ratification of the treaty, "that the Spaniards had no means of carrying the French troops safe to Rochefort, as they would necessarily be exposed to capture by the English;" it requires little consideration and reply. As it respects a treaty, in which the Spaniards were

were a party, it is especially inapplicable and weak: for certainly a people who pride themselves, and justly too, upon their conscientious and strict adherence to their honour, must have considered themselves bound to perform what they had promised, and would have viewed those who threw any obstacles in the way of such performance, as by no means their real friends. But there was no reason to suppose that the English government would have thrown any obstacles in the way of the safe conveyance of the prisoners to France. Unless, therefore, some circumstances took place, of which we are not informed, we must be compelled to look upon the conduct of the junta of Seville, (or of the governor of Cadiz, if with him the proceedings originated,) with respect to the non-fulfilment of the terms of Dupont's capitulation, as what we should not have expected from Spaniards.

The cause of the patriots in other parts of Spain proceeded in an equally favourable and successful manner. The principal armies which they had formed, were placed under the command of generals distinguished for their bravery, and their zealous and unquestionable attachment to the cause of their country. The defence of Arragon was committed to Palafox, whose bold and animating address has already been noticed. Saragossa, the principal city of Arragon, was considered by the French as a place of so much importance, that they made repeated attacks upon it with all the forces they could spare, and in a manner at once the most determined and ferocious. But the army of Palafox was fully adequate to repel their attacks, and to defend the city. Perhaps, there are few instances in the annals of modern warfare, in which such persevering and successful courage has been displayed, as by the defenders of Saragossa. All the means of attack which were in possession of the French, directed by the skill with which their long experience and success had supplied them, were made use of. The inhabitants were obliged continually to be upon their guard, and to be prepared to resist the most unexpected and secret, as well as the most open and violent assaults. The city was frequently bombarded in the middle of the night, at the same time that the gates were attempted to be forced, under cover of the shells. More than once the French got into some parts of the town; but they were received with so much coolness and bravery, that they were never able to preserve what they had with so much difficulty and loss acquired. The women vied with their husbands, sons, and brothers, in the display of patriotism and contempt of danger: regardless of the fire of the enemy, they rushed into the very middle of the battle, administering support and refreshment to the exhausted and wounded, and animating, by their exhortations and example, all ranks to such a display of firmness and bravery as ultimately secured this important city. When it is recollected, that the attacks of the French were numerous and varied; that they were constantly repeated with fresh, and generally with increasing forces; and that the sole defence of the city rested with the army of Palafox and its spirited inhabitants; some idea may be formed of the difficulties they must have undergone and surmounted, and of the glory to which they are so justly entitled.

Well

Well might the illustrious Palafox hold out to the rest of his countrymen the example of Saragossa; and confidently might he predict, that if all were animated with similar determination, perseverance, and courage, Spain would soon and readily be freed from the tyranny of the French.

Another object of great importance to both the contending parties was, to get and keep possession of the principal road between Bayonne and Madrid. The Spaniards, if they could cut off the communication between their capital and the French frontiers, would be able, not merely to prevent the accumulation of the enemy's force, but also to dispirit and perplex their troops already in Spain; and if they succeeded in their attacks upon them, by having possession of the road between Madrid and Bayonne, they would render their return to France very difficult, if not absolutely impossible. The French, of course, were equally desirous to occupy such strong positions as lay on or near this road, for the purpose of keeping open the means of being reinforced, or of securing their retreat. Cuesta was the general appointed by the junta to command the army designed to secure this important object; his army consisted partly of peasants, and partly of regular troops, which had been collected from different parts in the north of Spain. Lasolles was the French general dispatched by marshal Bessieres for the same purpose. They met on the 14th of July, at Rio Seco, near Valladolid. The French force consisted of 10,000 infantry, 2000 cavalry and artillery, and a large proportion of cannon: that of the patriots amounted to 14,000 infantry; but they were nearly destitute of cavalry: they had 26 pieces of cannon: a body of peasantry was also attached to the regular troops. The new levies in the Spanish army, led on by their ardour and impetuosity, were not to be restrained by the commands of their general: they rushed forward as soon as they came near the French, fell upon them, and, at the first onset, drove them back, and took and spiked four pieces of cannon. Unfortunately, however, the nature of the country, which was level and open, and the consequent advantage which the French gained, from their great superiority in cavalry, prevented the Spanish army from securing and maintaining their advantage: they were therefore obliged to fall back. They conducted their retreat, however, in good order to Benevento, under the cover and protection of a regiment of carabiniers, leaving behind them 13 pieces of cannon. The French suffered so severely, that they were not able to pursue the Spanish army, nor even to take possession of Rio Seco, till several hours after the battle.—There can be little doubt, that if the impetuosity of the patriots had been restrained or moderated, they would have ultimately succeeded in defeating the French:—at the same time, their inferiority in point of cavalry was much against them. The French knew how to profit by these two circumstances: and accordingly the fate of the day seems to have been decided by a desperate attack of the French cavalry on the Spanish infantry, hurried on by their impetuosity beyond the limits of prudence and order. General Blake distinguished himself so much in conducting and covering the retreat of the Spaniards, that he was marked out by marshal

Bessieres, as a fit person to be detached, if possible, from the cause he had espoused. Every motive and promise that the French general thought would have influence over a man of ambition, was held out in several letters that he addressed to Blake; but he held out his lures in vain. Blake was not to be tempted: he replied in cool and temperate language, but at the same time with so much openness and firmness of mind, as convinced Bessieres that his endeavours were fruitless. A man who had discovered so much military skill, and such decided and unshaken attachment to the cause of his country, deserved to be countenanced and promoted. The council of Gallicia were not blind to his merits; they appointed him governor and captain-general of the Gallician kingdom; and on Cuestas proceeding on a separate expedition with the cavalry, Blake took upon himself the command of the army. The French in the mean time, reinforced by a considerable body of troops, under the immediate command of marshal Bessieres, pushed on towards Benevento, which the Spaniards found themselves under the necessity of evacuating.

At the very commencement of the Spanish insurrection, the patriots had gained possession of most of the sea ports in the Bay of Biscay. The bishop of St. Andero, with a spirit and heroism not often found united with the retired and mild virtues of a religious life, had stept forward to animate and support his countrymen. Not content with the influence of his exhortations, he set them the glorious example of active and vigorous patriotism. By his means, numerous and well-appointed bodies of men were raised, who marched, with him at their head, in search of such divisions of the French army, in that part of Spain, as they might have a reasonable chance of subduing. As the patriots depended in a great measure upon England for supplies of ammunition, clothing, and money, and as the different ports on the Bay of Biscay were conveniently situated for throwing in these supplies, it became a matter of great importance for the Spaniards to preserve them against the attacks of the French. For this purpose, the different bodies of patriots, which had been formed and organized by the heroic bishop, were generally employed: for some time they were completely successful, having been enabled to disperse or destroy all the detached bodies of French troops which lay in the vicinity of the sea ports. But, as the French at Bayonne were sensible of the importance of gaining possession of these ports, both for the purpose of keeping the English supplies from reaching the patriots, and of conveying along the coast reinforcements and supplies to their own army, they dispatched a considerable body of men, who took possession of St. Andero. Their triumph, however, was of short duration: in consequence of the advance of general de Ponti, with a division of 10,000 men from the Asturian army, the French detachment, afraid of having their retreat cut off, evacuated the town precipitately, having previously, according to their usual practice, committed every kind of depredation and outrage.

One of the most formidable, and well-appointed corps, which Bonaparte had introduced into the interior of Spain, was that which, un-

der the command of marshal Moncey, directed its march towards the province of Valencia. The inhabitants of this province, though they were by no means inferior in courage or patriotism to the rest of their countrymen, had not been able to raise and discipline a force at all adequate to oppose the progress of Moncey. About the middle of June, this general arrived at Cuenca; but he conducted his march in such a manner, that it was difficult to ascertain whether the object of his hostile attack was Murcia or Valencia; and it was still more uncertain to what particular point of these provinces he would direct his course. The city of Valencia, however, on the whole, appeared the most probable object he had in view; since, by the capture and occupation of it, both the provinces would be left in the most defenceless situation, and no obstacle would stand in the way of the junction between Moncey's army and the French force in Catalonia. The province of Valencia presents naturally very strong barriers against invasion, especially on the side from which Moncey would be obliged to enter and attack it: these barriers were, therefore, occupied by some troops of the line, and a considerable body of Valencians. The army of Murcia also took their station in such a manner as would best enable them, both to protect their own province, and to support the Valencians. Moncey, however, by a rapid movement, and a sudden and impetuous attack, succeeded in forcing a passage over the mountains which skirt and defend the province, and immediately advanced to the city of Valencia.

The junta, who were established in this city, as soon as they learnt the approach of the French army, took the most prudent and prompt measure for its defence and protection. They issued orders that all the inhabitants, without exception, should instantly provide themselves with arms. The gate of Quarte, against which the principal attack of the enemy was expected, was defended by several pieces of cannon; the entrances to the different streets were carefully and securely blocked up by logs of wood; and a breast-work for the protection of the artillery which was posted without the city, was formed of the same materials. In short, no precautionary measures were neglected, which could either keep off or impede the advances of the French, or render their meditated attack impotent and unavailing. After an ineffectual attempt made by the Spanish general to check the enemy, they advanced to within a quarter of a league of the city, and dispatched a flag of truce, promising the protection of persons and property, provided they were permitted quietly to enter and occupy the city. The inhabitants, however, were fixed and unanimous in their resolution not to admit the enemy on any terms, but to defend the place to the last extremity. The French, therefore, prepared for the attack; and, fortunately for the Spaniards, they directed their first and principal efforts against the very gate which had been fortified in the strongest and most careful manner. They were drawn up in a broad street which runs directly in front of that gate: this was too favourable an opportunity for throwing them into confusion, and destroying a great proportion of them, with little risque or danger, to be neglected. The gate was accordingly thrown open,

a 24-pounder having been previously planted at it; the fire of this answered fully the expectations and purposes of the gallant inhabitants: great havock was made by it among the French; they were soon discovered to be in complete confusion, and they were ultimately obliged to relinquish this mode of attack. In the evening they made another attempt upon a different gate; but here also they were received with so much coolness and bravery, that they were under the necessity of retreating.

Though the attack on Valencia was neither so impetuous, persevering, and obstinate, nor so frequently repeated, as the attacks which the inhabitants of Saragossa sustained and repelled, yet the behaviour of the Valencians is deserving of praise, even amidst the many instances of heroism which the early period of the Spanish revolution exhibited. Before we can fully do justice to the inhabitants of these cities, we should recall and consider the peculiar circumstances in which they were placed. They certainly stood in a situation which demanded more firm and disinterested patriotism than that in which the inhabitants of the country found themselves. The latter could join the armies; and by so doing, they not only withdrew themselves from the sight of their ravaged habitations, but put themselves most effectually in the way of imbibing the spirit and the habits of military men. But when the inhabitants of a city are threatened with an attack from a formidable, ferocious, and unrelenting enemy, there are many considerations and motives of no inconsiderable weight and influence, which will rise up to oppose and weaken their feelings of patriotism, and love of liberty. They must fight amidst the wreck of their property, and, not improbably, the slaughter of their relations and friends: and though the sight of these evils will sometimes, and with some constitutions, give birth to no feelings but those of hatred and indignation, and to no determination but that of perseverance and revenge; yet, perhaps the greater part of mankind would, under the operation of such circumstances, be sensible of a diminution of courage and patriotism, and at least hesitate, whether or not they should purchase the security of their property, and the lives of those who were near and dear to them, even at the expense of their duty to their country. The known character of the French, however, would soon chase away every idea or hope of being able, by yielding submission to them, to secure their protection or friendship. The people of Saragossa and Valencia had thus no alternative: if they yielded to the French, their property certainly, and perhaps their lives, would fall a sacrifice: nothing more dreadful could they look for, if their towns were taken, after the most determined and obstinate resistance; and to this resistance as it might prove successful, they therefore looked as the only chance of preserving their lives and property, while by it alone they could manifest and celebrate their patriotism and courage. Thus, animated by motives at once personal and patriotic, at once such as we must always expect to find entering into the most exalted and disinterested minds, and such as would have dignified and ennobled the most celebrated characters of ancient history, the inhabitants of these cities presented an example

to their countrymen, which could not fail to command their admiration, and rouse them to similar exertions of bravery and courage.

Amidst the universal and instantaneous burst of resistance to the tyranny of the French, through the various provinces of the Spanish empire, it was not to be expected that the capital would remain in a quiet and submissive state. Ever since the insurrection and consequent massacre of the 2d of May, Madrid had presented a gloomy and threatening appearance, which it required all the vigilance and alertness of Murat, joined to the actual presence of a large French army, effectually to prevent from breaking forth into acts of open resistance. When, therefore, he found himself under the necessity of weakening his force, in order to dispatch Dupont's corps to the south of Spain, his situation in Madrid became extremely perilous and alarming. The news which constantly poured in (notwithstanding his utmost endeavours to prevent its reception or belief) of the rapid, unmixed, and general success of their countrymen, could not fail at once to animate the inhabitants of Madrid, and to make them feel their oppressed and inactive condition, amidst the glory and exertions of all around them, with sharpened poignancy, indignation, and regret. Murat, fully aware both of what had taken place in the different quarters of the kingdom, and of the impression which these events had produced on the people of Madrid, thought it prudent to withdraw his forces from the capital, and to station them on the Reteiro, a hill at a little distance, sufficiently elevated to protect him from a sudden attack, and to give him, in some measure, the command of the city.

The conduct and occupation of Bonaparte, at a time when defeat was every where the fate of his armies in Spain, and when to all appearance the fruit of his duplicity and insolence towards the royal family was about to be snatched completely and for ever out of his grasp, was unexpected and singular. No doubt can be entertained, that when he had withdrawn the royal family from Spain, and secured his troops in the possession of the capital and the principal fortresses, he had regarded the object of his ambition as securely and permanently attained. It is probable, also, that the first intelligence of the insurrection of the Spaniards would either be partially concealed from him,—or, if he were made acquainted with it as it actually appeared to his agents, that he regarded it as by no means of a nature sufficiently decided and general to require his deliberation, or disturb his plans. But that he should continue unmoved, and apparently regardless of the successive defeats his armies sustained, cannot easily be accounted for, in any manner consistent with his known character and disposition. And yet, while the troops of Spain were every where successful, and were preparing themselves for new victories,—while the insurrection was rapidly spreading and organizing itself in every province,—Bonaparte remained at Bayonne, directing or receiving the result of the deliberations of the junta which he had called, and drawing up a constitution for a people who were by no means disposed to accept it, and upon whom it did not appear probable he would be able to force its acceptance.

In

In the address to the Spanish nation, which Bonaparte published immediately after the abdication of Charles and Ferdinand, he informed them that he did not mean to reign over them, but that he would give them a sovereign every way resembling himself. No doubt was entertained, that the throne was intended for one of his brothers, though, if conjecture had fixed upon the person from Bonaparte's description of him, not one of them would have been considered as the destined sovereign. When, however, Joseph bade farewel to his good subjects of Naples, though at the same time he assured them it was but for a short time, and that he would never desert them; the person to whom Bonaparte alluded could no longer be doubted. In the beginning of June, Joseph arrived in the vicinity of Bayonne, where he was received by a deputation from the grandees of Spain, and a council from Castile, with the most fulsome and abject addresses. To what mortifying and indignant feelings does the thought give rise, that at the very time when the people of Spain had risen, as if animated with one soul, to shake off the yoke of the usurper, and had forsaken their habitations and families to fight in defence of their country's independence, the levees of the usurper were crowded with the grandees of Spain, obsequious to his will, and eagerly pressing forward to obtain his favour! The plea of necessity will avail them little: had not their fellow-citizens, who were exposing their lives to their country's good, the same plea? It is true, by refusing to obey the summons of Bonaparte to meet him at Bayonne, and enter into the train of the sovereign whom he might choose to appoint, they undoubtedly exposed themselves to his displeasure and vengeance; and the effect of them would certainly have been fatal, if they had fallen within his grasp. But, if the duty of man to his country is imperious only when it may safely be exercised, where is the merit of it to himself, or the benefit of it to his country? And of all men, this duty is most peculiarly and solemnly incumbent on those who, from their rank and influence, stand in society as beacons to direct the great mass of mankind. That these nobles, and this council of Castile, afterwards deserted the cause of the usurper, and ranged themselves on the side of their country, speaks feebly in their excuse. They became patriots, when patriotism appeared to be successful: they deserted from the ranks of tyranny, when the tyrant appeared to be falling. We by no means wish to be uncandid, or severe: due allowance ought to be made for the infirmity of human nature; but those who plead this in times of public difficulty and danger, must forgo all claim to the name or character of patriots.

In the account of the conferences between Joseph Bonaparte and the different deputations that were presented to him, his speech to the deputies of the Inquisition is deserving of particular notice: he told them that he considered the worship of God as the basis of all morality, and of general prosperity; *that other countries allowed of different forms of religion, but that he considered it as the felicity of Spain, that she had but one, and that the true one!* The defenders or admirers of Bonaparte's conduct—for, he still has his defenders and admirers,—constantly and triumphantly hold forth the wisdom and

liberality of his principles and conduct with respect to religion, as a feature in his character that favourably distinguishes him from other conquerors: and we are told, by these his admirers, that the intolerant and persecuting spirit of the Spanish catholic religion would undoubtedly be among the very first objects of his destruction: and yet his brother, tutored no doubt by Napoleon, praises and professes to admire that spirit.

It is not consistent with our limits, nor would it, we apprehend, be interesting to our readers, to enter into the detail of the proceedings at Bayonne. The two grand objects for which the junta was assembled there,—the formal introduction of Joseph as the king of Spain, and their acceptance of the new constitution provided for them by the wisdom and liberality of Napoleon, were soon settled. This constitution presents no remarkable or unexpected clause, except that which regards the liberty of the press: this, certainly, as coming from Bonaparte, must be viewed as singular and unexpected. By this clause, it is settled that the freedom of the press shall be regulated two years after the present constitutional statute shall have been in operation. The cortes shall pass a law respecting the freedom of the press.

As soon as the new constitution had undergone the form of having been examined and animadverted upon by the different members of the junta, Joseph, accompanied by his principal ministers, among whom were some of the most distinguished names in Spain, set out for the capital of his unconquered kingdom; Murat, under the pretext of bad health, having previously quitted it, and arrived at Bayonne. Under the protection of 10,000 men, Joseph arrived safe at Madrid, where he was crowned amidst the gloom of hatred of the inhabitants. His reign, however, was destined to be of very short duration. On the very day that he entered the capital, Dupont surrendered himself and his army prisoners to Castanos. As soon as this news reached Madrid, Joseph and his court thought it expedient to fly in the most precipitate and disgraceful manner. All the regalia and plate belonging to the crown were carried off; and he, who had entered Madrid, accompanied by 10,000 troops, in the expectation of fixing his abode in the character of a sovereign, found himself compelled in the space of one week to seek his safety in flight. No time, indeed, was to be lost: the army of Castanos, after having defeated Dupont, was marching with rapid and unopposed steps towards the capital. Bessieres, alarmed for the safety of his troops, had given up his intention of proceeding towards Portugal, and was measuring his steps back to the frontiers. The army of Blake, thus set free from watching or opposing that of Bessieres, might intercept the royal fugitive, if he did not speedily depart from Madrid. In this situation, Joseph Bonaparte, on the 27th of July, found himself under the necessity of quitting the capital of his lately-bestowed kingdom, and of pushing forward as rapidly as possible towards Burgos.

Thus, within the space of two months, did the people of Spain behold their country almost entirely freed from the presence of the French: and this glorious and happy issue had been brought about by their own intrepidity. At a time when their situation was the most

most dispiriting and forlorn; when their king had been compelled to forsake them, and to make over his right to the throne to a foreign potentate; when they beheld scarcely any troops surrounding them on all sides but those of that potentate, they rose in arms, and opposed themselves, unskilled as they were in war, and totally unprepared for it, to a man before whom the mightiest empires in Europe had fallen. We are sensible that, in giving the detail of their exploits, we have omitted to notice many defeats of the French, which were recorded in the Spanish newspapers: but this we have done, not from the remotest wish to underrate or conceal the bravery of the Spaniards, or the losses of their enemy, but because a careful examination and comparison of these reported defeats has convinced us that they were either unfounded, or mere repetitions, in a different form, and with a few varying circumstances, of former victories.

The propagation and belief of vague and unauthenticated reports of success, were naturally to be expected in such a state as that in which Spain was placed by the revolution. From the circumstance of Madrid being in the possession of the French, the juntas of the different provinces were necessarily without an acknowledged head, and acted independently of one another: they were, therefore, not nearly so scrupulous and rigid in examining into the accuracy and truth of the reports that were sent them by their respective generals, as a junta appointed by the whole kingdom, and acting immediately in its name and for its behalf, would have been. But a more powerful and general cause of the propagation of inaccurate and unauthenticated reports, even in an official form, must be sought for in the extreme desire of the constituted authorities to keep up the spirit of the people: the people, of course, gave ready and eager credit to every favourable account; and thus the defeats of the French were multiplied and exaggerated far beyond the truth. The policy of this system may justly be questioned: in a contest with such a man as Bonaparte, the people of Spain should not have been taught to look forward to an easy or cheap victory. Sacrifices of the most distressing and painful kind it would ultimately be necessary for them to make, if they meant to persevere, and expected to be finally successful; and to the making of these sacrifices with promptitude and cheerfulness their minds should have been trained, by a gradual conviction of their necessity, and of the glory and good to which they would assuredly lead. Partial and temporary disasters and defeats, perhaps to an extent, and for a duration, that would create despondence and dismay in every mind not schooled to their expectation and endurance, must, most undoubtedly, have entered into the calculations of all who were determined not to shut their eyes to every thing but success; and against these defeats the people of Spain ought to have been well and timely prepared. If they were sensible of the infinite importance of the prize for which they were contending, no mischief, but, on the contrary, much good, would have resulted from candidly and explicitly informing them that, before they could expect to obtain the secure and permanent possession of this prize, they must prepare themselves to experience and

to surmount difficulties and disasters of the most formidable nature. A people who could not bear to hear of defeat, or who required their hopes and their perseverance to be nurtured by falsehood and exaggeration, were certainly not equal to combat with Bonaparte. Besides, in another point of view, this system was impolitic and prejudicial: it not only made every instance of bad fortune fall heavy upon minds totally unprepared and unequal for it, and which, therefore, would be apt to sink into apathy or despair when unexpected sacrifices were to be made and calamities endured, but it took from good fortune itself half its elastic and pleasing impression, by representing it as so common and unvaried.

Nor were the actual successes of the Spaniards of such a trifling, partial, or inconsequent character, as to require that they should be exaggerated in order to inspirit the nation. We need only recall to mind the strength and the positions of the different French armies, at the beginning of the insurrection, and the fate which attended them by the end of July, to be convinced of the truth and justice of this observation. The different armies of Bonaparte, which he introduced into Spain and Portugal, amounted, according to the most accurate and moderate calculation, nearly to 100,000 men. Of these 20,000, the original force under Dupont, were stationed in the southern division of the kingdom. Bessieres and Lassoles, with upwards of 25,000, hung on the rear of the provinces of Asturias and Biscay, or occupied the plains of Castile. The defeat of Cuesta, at the battle of Rio Seco, and the subsequent junction of their respective armies, had enabled Bessieres to advance towards the frontiers of Portugal, for the purpose, it was supposed, of joining and liberating the force under Junot. This force, thus locked up, and totally inadequate to any offensive operations against Spain, amounted to 20,000 men, at the lowest calculation. In the citadel of Barcelona, 10,000 were shut up: to relieve them, and to open a communication between the provinces of Biscay and Catalonia, the attacks of a strong army (the numbers of which cannot well be ascertained) were directed, but in vain, against the city of Saragossa. The army of Moncey (of the exact strength of which we are also ignorant) attacked the city of Valencia, with equal want of success. Murat, at Madrid, after having dispatched the army of Dupont, and probably sent reinforcements to the armies that were employed before Saragossa and Valencia, could not have above 12 or 15,000 men. Such, as nearly as can be ascertained, were the strength and positions of the different French armies: by the defeat of Dupont, they were forced to retreat in the most rapid and disgraceful manner; the whole of Spain to the south of the Ebro was freed from their presence; and even to the north of that river, there did not remain above 40,000 men on the borders of Navarre; besides the garrison which occupied the citadel of Barcelona. Of these 40,000, 10,000 had entered Spain as the guards of the new monarch. If we consider and compare all these circumstances, we shall be able to ascertain not only the extent of country, from which the valour of the Spaniards had swept even the appearance of an armed Frenchman, but also the immense loss which

which Bonaparte had sustained in troops, as well as in territory and military reputation: and if we reflect by whom all this had been effected; under what disadvantages and difficulties; and above all, in what a short space of time; we shall be convinced that a faithful and accurate representation of the victories of their countrymen would have been sufficient both to support the spirit and perseverance of the Spanish nation, and to incite them to prepare their minds with patience and fortitude sufficient to bear those evils, by passing through which they could alone hope to secure the fruit of their victories, and obtain permanent possession of the grand object of their patriotic struggle.

CHAPTER X.

Affairs of Spain continued—Proclamation of the Council of Castile to the People of Madrid, on the Departure of the French—Their Letter to the Provincial Juntas—Legislative Manifesto of the Junta of Seville—Installation of the Supreme Government—Establishment of a Military Junta—Proposed Reforms of the Supreme Government—Character of its Proceedings—Defence of Gerona—Situation and Objects of the French and Spanish Armies in September and October—Remarks on the Inactivity of the Spanish Armies—Declaration of Biscay—Attacks on Bilboa—Exertions of the British Government in behalf of Spain—Liberation of the Marquis of Romana's Troops—Proffered Assistance of Sir A. Wellesley's Army, and Expedition under Sir David Baird—Disposition of the Rest of Europe with respect to Spain—Proceedings of Bonaparte—Reports of his Ministers—Decree of the French Senate—Bonaparte's Address to his Soldiers—Conference at Erfurth—Proposals of Peace—His Majesty's Declaration—Arrival of Bonaparte in Spain.

AS soon as Joseph Bonaparte and the French army had evacuated Madrid, the council of Castile resumed the government. This council had supported with their name and authority all the measures of the usurper, and had even gone so far as to address the people, at the beginning of the insurrection, calling upon them to be quiet and submissive; pointing out to them the folly and wickedness of their opposition, and holding forth the advantages that would result to them from the accession of their new sovereign. They were, therefore, justly alarmed, lest their behaviour, during the reign of the French, should not only make them be viewed with suspicion, but also prevent the other juntas from acknowledging their authority. To do away as much as possible the impressions, unfavourable to their patriotism, which had gone abroad, they judged it expedient to issue a proclamation to the inhabitants of the capital, and to transmit a letter to each of the provincial governments in the kingdom.

They began their proclamation by expressing their confidence that the people of Madrid will not, even at the moment when the armies of Spain are triumphing over the invincibles of Marengo, Austerlitz, and Jena, judge harshly and prematurely of the principles and conduct of their fellow-citizens. They may be assured, that if there have been in the supreme tribunal any traitors to their sovereign and their country, it will be their wish and endeavour, not less than the imperious demand of their duty, to detect and punish them. But it was more incumbent on the inhabitants of Madrid to put themselves upon their guard against those men; (and they were numerous and active amidst the confusion of the capital) whose sole object was to grow rich by the plunder of their countrymen. From these the city ought to be purified, if it wished to express its gratitude to heaven for the great victories which the Spanish armies had obtained. While the different provinces had been exerting their energy and patriotism, and sending forth zealous and brave soldiers to fight the battles of Spain, the capital had been made subject, on account of the corruption of its manners, to the most dreadful calamities. But it had now an opportunity of witnessing the sincerity of its repentance, and of recovering its character for tranquillity and order. Though the behaviour of many of the Spanish nobility, and the chiefs of the nation, might appear at first sight to afford a pretext for the indignation and vengeance of the people, yet the council of Castile could assure their fellow citizens, that a fair representation would rescue them from the imputation and punishment of treachery and cowardice. They had been placed in a most arduous situation. Not a few of them had been led by fraud or force far beyond the limits of Spain; yet at a distance from their country, unsupported by the exhortations or the example of their fellow citizens, and surrounded by the menaces and insults of their tyrant, they had preserved unsullied their loyalty, and attachment to their legitimate sovereign. It might be difficult to do away the strong presumption of their guilt; since no schemes had been left untried by which their patriotism might be exposed to suspicion. But when such men were the objects of suspicion, and when it was evidently the object and interest of such a man as Bonaparte to excite and fix that suspicion, proofs apparently the most directed and strong were to be doubted. Even the signatures which had been circulated ought to be looked upon with distrust. After an animated apostrophe to the armies, conjuring them to hasten to Madrid, in order to protect it; and assuring them that they would be received with the gratitude and joy of their relations and friends; the council conclude their proclamation by again adverting to the chief and prevailing object of their anxiety and solicitude. They pray that no disturbances may allay the general satisfaction and joy, and fill the city with lamentation and mourning; and call upon the inhabitants to live in the confidence that their magistrates will protect them, and will speedily and effectually punish all who may be guilty of any excess.

Through the whole of this proclamation, the apprehension of the council, that the people of Madrid might be disposed not merely to dispute

dispute and oppose their authority, but also to treat them as unworthy of the situation they held, on account of their submission to the French, is very apparent. The circular letter which they transmitted to the several provincial governments displayed the same humble and conciliatory spirit. They begin it, by professing in the most explicit and strong terms their uniform and steady attachment to those principles of loyalty and justice for which their character had always been distinguished. By these principles they had been cheered and supported in the midst of all their trials and disasters: actuated by them, they had steadily "refused to recognise the king whom the most monstrous perfidy had designated for them, further, perhaps, than circumstances justified." The council, under the firm assurance that the different provincial juntas are convinced of the purity and firmness of its principles, and of its determination to support with all its power their lawful sovereign and his rights, is anxious to join its feeble efforts with the prompt and efficacious measures they have it in their power to adopt, for the purpose of settling and carrying into speedy and effectual execution such plans of defence as may be judged most expedient and advisable. With respect to those measures of internal regulation and civil government, which the peculiar situation of the country demands, the council of Castile will confine itself to the indication of a plan, in which it would concur with the greatest satisfaction; viz. that deputies from it and all the juntas should confer on this important subject, and arrange their measures in such a manner, that what they may determine upon, as necessary for the good of the country, may be carried into effect with as much expedition as the great object they had in view would permit.

The apprehension of the council of Castile, that the provincial juntas would not be very well disposed to give up their authority to a body of men, who had yielded, even on compulsion, to the enemy, appears to have been in some instances well founded. In reply to the circular letter, the governments of Gallicia and some other provinces expressed their determination to abide by the decision of Seville. Indeed, as much as the council of Castile had lost, either from the unfortunate situation in which they were placed, or from their own want of firmness and loyalty, the junta of Seville had gained, in the opinion of the whole kingdom, by the soundness and judgment displayed in their different addresses, and by the promptness and vigour of the military proceedings which they had directed and superintended. But it was advisable, on many considerations, that a supreme junta, to act in the name and on the behalf of the whole of Spain, should be called; and though Madrid might be objected to, as the seat of the proposed junta, on account of its vicinity to the enemy's forces, yet for many other reasons it would be considered as the most proper place. The junta of Seville prepared to yield up its functions, when the good of their country, for which alone they had assumed them, no longer required or admitted their separate and independent exercise. But before they laid them down they issued by far the most important state paper to which the Spanish revolution has given birth. We fully recollect, when

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we give it this character, the great merit of the celebrated precautions issued by the same junta. But the paper to which we now allude, being of a legislative character, we conceive to be of much more permanent and general interest than the precautions which relate and apply only to a state of war of a limited and peculiar kind. The great intrinsic merit of this manifesto, as well as the circumstance of its being the only one on the subject of legislation, expressly issued by the provincial governments, will induce us to lay a pretty full abstract of its contents before our readers.

It begins with pointing out the beneficial effects which had resulted from the establishment of provincial juntas, in the dreadful and alarming crisis in which Spain had been placed by the treachery of Bonaparte towards its royal family. By means of these juntas, the different provinces had been induced to arm themselves with so much unanimity, vigour, and success, that the French were no longer objects of terror, but, on the contrary, were themselves amazed and terrified. No danger appeared to threaten the cause of Spain, but a want of plan and union among the different provinces: to prevent this the junta of Seville drew up their precautions, which they communicated by every means in their power to all the different parts of the kingdom. It seemed now much more necessary than ever to carry into full and immediate execution the plan proposed in that state paper. The enemies of Spain were on the watch; and there were many feelings and passions, even in the present state of disinterestedness and patriotism, which might cooperate with their designs.—Against discord and disunion, therefore, evils not only of the most fatal nature, in the midst of their struggles for independence, but which might creep among them by slow and imperceptible degrees, it behoved them to be specially and continually upon their guard, as they valued their honour, their loyalty, their duty as Spaniards, and their faith as Christians. One method of avoiding all cause of disunion would be carefully to abstain from all conversations about the royal house, and the order of succession in the different families connected with it. The history of Spain presented many instances of the change of succession: and the different legislative proceedings which took place in consequence, or in the prospect, of such changes were also well known. The last and therefore the only binding rule on this important point was that which had been established by the cortes in 1789.

But there is no need to prove, by referring to history, that in cases where it may be necessary to change the succession, the constitution has clearly and fully provided for the emergency. While Ferdinand and his brothers live, it is useless, and may be prejudicial, to anticipate inquiries which can only be necessary in default of these. It is absurd and dangerous to dispute about the order and right of succession in cases certainly remote, and which probably may never occur. A general determination on the part of all the provinces of Spain, that hereditary succession, according to the fundamental laws of the monarchy, is what they look forward to, and are willing to support, is assuredly all that the present circumstances require.

But the other question, moved by

by the different juntas of the kingdom, is of a different character, and stands in a different predicament. This question is warmly agitated by all ranks and degrees of the people; and unless it be stated with perspicuity, and discussed with calmness and candour, it may lead to divisions fatal to the cause of the country. This question regards the necessity for creating a supreme government, possessing the sovereign authority, till the restoration of Ferdinand. Of the necessity of such a supreme government, the junta of Seville have fully, from the beginning of the revolution, expressed their firm conviction. And in this conviction they are by no means singular: they are countenanced and supported in it, by the corresponding opinion of different supreme juntas and military chiefs.

The necessity and advantage of such a supreme government are obvious. No nation, even when it is in a state of perfect tranquillity, can go on without a directing and overruling head. How much more necessary, therefore, is such a head to Spain, in the state into which its endeavours to regain its liberties, and the actual result of those endeavours, and the prospects and duties which still lay before it, had thrown it! Without a supreme government no public confidence could exist: and without public confidence, the public funds and even the property of individuals would be liable to suspicion and depreciation. There was no alternative but either immediately to appoint such a government, or to submit quietly in all cases to military power. But the military chiefs of Spain were not only sensible of the inadequacy and danger of military power, extending itself to the direction and management of civil concerns, but they now, as in every former case, were the first to recommend, and would be first to embrace that system which the constitution, the safety of the people, and the emergency and difficulty of the crisis, equally recommended.

The necessity of such a supreme government being established and acknowledged, many important inquiries respecting it naturally offer themselves to the mind. In whom does the power reside of creating it? Who are the most proper persons to form it? What limits ought to be set to its authority? Above all, how is it to be established, so that the public tranquillity may not be interrupted or endangered, and that its confidence and authority, when established, may be immediate, general, and paramount? The junta of Seville are aware of the difficulty and importance of these natural and obvious inquiries; but they are not without hope of being able to give them the most satisfactory replies.

The council of Castile has been held up, in most of the papers which have been written on this subject, as possessing, by prescription and usage, the right and power to convoke the cortes. This is most assuredly an unfounded opinion. It does not by law or usage possess this right; and certainly after the specimens it has lately given of its loyalty, and of its disposition to sacrifice its security to the good of the country, it can have no claim to obtain that right. Its conduct throughout the whole of the revolution has been such, that it must have forfeited the good opinion and confidence of the people.

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of Spain. If, therefore, a government were to be created by the council of Castile, which possesses no valid and legal authority for that purpose, and which has justly merited the indignation of the people, no good could result from it. Its enactments would be completely inefficient; and Spain would find herself in a much weaker and worse situation than before the establishment.

The right of convoking the cortes rests with the king: if it were exercised by any other authority, that exercise would undoubtedly be illegal: nor would the provinces pay any obedience to an order to convoke the cortes, issuing from any other than the royal authority. In the situation in which the kingdom was suddenly and unexpectedly placed,—a situation unknown to the history and the laws of Spain,—the people legally assumed the power of appointing a government. This act was not merely compulsory, as the cortes in the absence of the king could not be convoked, but it was also in the highest degree prudent and expedient. In the juntas, therefore, thus created by the people, the supreme power is lodged: they possess it not only by right, but by the willing and cheerful obedience which is paid to their orders, and by the happy effects which have been produced by their measures. This consideration offers a satisfactory reply to the first inquiry: the supreme juntas being constituted and obeyed by the people, possess the legitimate authority for electing those who are to compose the supreme government.

The same consideration, if examined accurately and attentively, will point out the persons whom the juntas ought to elect. As the supreme government ought, for every efficient purpose, to possess the goodwill and confidence of the nation, members of the different juntas, which have already derived their situation and authority from the nation, are more likely to compose that government in its most desirable and useful character. If any province be still under the military power, a supreme junta, the choice and organ of the people, ought immediately to be formed there, in order that the government about to be established may be the result of the free choice of every province in the empire. If it be thus fixed on its proper and legitimate basis, it will assuredly act with the most scrupulous regard to the real interests of the country, at the same time that it will effectually secure the cooperation and obedience of all ranks and descriptions of people.

If these remarks be well founded, the mode of proceeding is obvious and easy: the different juntas should each elect from among their own members two deputies: the deputies of all the juntas thus elected should be acknowledged and obeyed as constituting the supreme government of Spain. With it should be lodged the most full and explicit power to enact and carry into execution every measure which shall be deemed necessary for the regulation and the safety of the kingdom. While, however, this government is supreme, and in every thing regarding the nation at large is to be considered as the only source of law and authority, the different juntas from whom it has proceeded, are, each in its respective province, to have the internal and local command and direction. They ought to regard the wishes of the people;

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and having ascertained what they are, it becomes their duty to communicate them to the deputies they have sent to the supreme government, who, on their part, are to pay them every attention, provided they appear conducive to the good of the nation.

If this measure which the junta of Seville recommends be carried into execution, there will be a supreme government formed indirectly by the people. The immediate choice of the members who are to compose it, will rest with the juntas of the different provinces; but these juntas were in the first instance chosen by the nation, when they found themselves compelled to have recourse to arms. It will rest with these juntas to take especial care that the members they elect are men distinguished for their talents, activity, and patriotism: they ought, if possible, also to possess a knowledge of the principles of legislation, and all the branches of public welfare and government, since with them will be deposited the hopes of the kingdom.

The junta, after the detail of this elaborate and excellent plan, proceeded to point out the situation which in their opinion would be most proper for the establishment and meetings of the supreme government. They preferred a place remote from the war; and on the whole considered some of the large cities in La Mancha as the most convenient. On this subject, however, as comparatively of little moment, they declared themselves to be in no degree anxious. The conclusion of their manifesto is occupied with a high-minded, but satisfactory, refutation of the calumnies and misrepresentations with which they had been attacked, and with a brief but striking picture of the services which they had rendered their country.

There appeared so much propriety and good sense in the measure which was recommended by the junta of Seville, that the principle of it gave very general satisfaction, though, as might have been expected, some of the inferior and less important regulations were objected to. It was, therefore, determined that the members of the supreme government should be convoked and assembled as speedily as possible. Accordingly, on the 24th of September, their solemn installation took place at the palace of Aranjuez. The number of members who were present at the opening was only about twenty, several who had been elected not having arrived. The venerable count Florida Blanca was appointed president. In the oath which they took, a clause occurs which by no means augured favourably of the liberality and wisdom of their future proceedings; or, if it must be considered as inserted merely in compliance with the popular prejudice, it presented but a dark picture of Spanish knowledge and toleration. The members were required to swear by the sacred image of Jesus Christ, there present, that, in their employment as members of the supreme junta, they would defend and promote the preservation and increase of the holy catholic, apostolic, and Roman religion.

In order to keep the civil concerns of the kingdom distinct and separate from those of a military nature, it was judged expedient to form a military junta at Madrid: this was composed of five generals, of whom Castanos and Morla had distinguished themselves in such a manner

manner as to direct the public mind to its proceedings with no inconsiderable degree of expectation and confidence. The principal object both of the supreme government and of the military junta, in their first meetings, regarded the condition of the army, and the state of defence in which those parts of Spain, still exposed to the attacks of the enemy, ought to be placed. The attention of the supreme government was also unexpectedly called to a difference which arose between Cuesta and the deputies from the junta of Leon and Castile. Having adopted such measures as they hoped would reconcile this difference, the supreme government directed its attention towards those points on account of which it was more immediately convoked.

In order that the nation might know on what particular measures the supreme junta were about to employ themselves, and what benefit they might look forward to from their labours, they published a sketch of the reforms and ameliorations which they had it in contemplation to effect. Though, unfortunately, from unforeseen and overruling circumstances, they had it not in their power to carry their designs into execution, yet justice to their intentions, as well as the importance of their plans, seem to require that we should briefly state them. They professed to keep a steady eye upon every measure which could extend and benefit those main springs of national wealth, agriculture, arts, commerce, and navigation. All demands upon the public treasury in the various forms of allowance to widows, annuities, the interest of the vales, &c. were to be punctually paid: from the irregularity of these payments in time past, much confusion had arisen in the public accounts, as well as distress and injustice to numerous individuals. The exact amount of the public debt and expenditure, and of the produce of the annual revenues, was to be ascertained, so that a stricter balance might be preserved between them than had hitherto been the case. Order and œconomy in every branch of the public business they would take especial care to establish, and to see regularly and constantly exercised. By degrees they would suppress all useless and unnecessary offices; simplifying as much as possible every branch of the executive government, and placing it in the hands of qualified and efficient persons. In order to lighten the burdens of the people, during the contest in which they were engaged, they would apply to the public service those vast sums which retrenchments in the expense of the royal household placed at their disposal. These sums had hitherto supported the favourite and his satellites; they would in future be appropriated to the maintenance of the heroic defenders of their country. The revenues of the state would also be greatly increased, and the burdens of the people lessened by the sale of the estates of those who had joined the enemy. In order that the public might be enabled to judge for themselves of the resources of the kingdom, and of the judicious and honest employment and distribution of them, the supreme junta promised to publish annually a statement of the sum total of the funds of the nation, and of their application.

The character of many of the members of the supreme junta, and the promises which their first deliberations

berations and measures gave, were, however, not supported by the general tenor of their subsequent proceedings. They were placed in a situation and under circumstances of very peculiar difficulty and embarrassment. No person in the least acquainted with the character of Bonaparte could believe that he would sit down indifferent to the loss of his armies, and the discomfiture of his plans. It was to be expected that he would bring forward his whole force, directed and animated by his presence, against Spain. He had been hitherto deceived and taken by surprise; but on that very account he would arm himself with more than his usual strength, and exert more than his usual skill. The supreme junta, therefore, had taken upon themselves the sufficient preparation of Spain to meet and overcome this threatened and impending danger. They could not expect much time for this preparation, and yet very much was to be done. The enthusiasm of the people was to be preserved; and upon it were to be engrafted discipline, perseverance, and obedience to their commanders. Generals of skill, activity, and talent, as well as of tried and acknowledged patriotism, were to be chosen. The means to support immense armies were to be fixed upon and procured. In short, the Spaniards, a nation unaccustomed to military affairs, and unprovided, in a great measure, with men qualified by experience to plan and carry through the grand operations of a campaign, were in the short space of a very few months to be prepared to cope with the most numerous and complete army the world ever saw, led on by a general whose military talents had perhaps never been surpassed. If we reflect on these things, we shall feel disposed to make considerable allowances for the apparent slowness and want of energy which marked the conduct of the supreme junta.

Deferring for the present an account of the military proceedings of the armies of Spain, we shall state an instance of bravery by no means inferior in degree or consequence to the celebrated defences of Saragossa and Valencia. The province of Catalonia, from its vicinity to the French frontier, was particularly exposed to irruptions and attacks by the enemy. There were two places especially which they were extremely anxious to conquer, Rosas and Gerona. The latter, to the gallant defence of which we are about to advert, is situated nearly 30 miles to the south of Rosas, and is rather strongly fortified. Against it a body of 7000 French and Italians was dispatched, under general Duhesme. The different fortresses in the town were occupied by a considerable number of the inhabitants, eager and determined to defend it; but there was no person qualified and disposed to head them and direct their operations. In this emergency it fortunately happened that captain Otway, who was then lying off Rosas, heard of the situation of the town. He immediately proceeded thither, and put himself at the head of its brave defenders. Led on by him, they were completely successful in repelling the attempts of the French: in this glorious contest, all ranks and classes, and both sexes, cheerfully stepped forward and exerted themselves with the utmost bravery. Even the priests engaged in the most active

duty. The French, driven with disgrace from their attempt on the town, by the unassisted efforts of its inhabitants, set themselves down to besiege it. But they were speedily compelled to raise the siege. The count de Caldagues, with only 6000 men, of whom not more than 300 were veteran troops, marched for this purpose. Having formed a plan adapted to the nature of his own force, and to the strength and situation of the enemy, he was happily enabled, by the activity and skill of his officers, to carry it into execution with the most complete success. The enemy's batteries were attacked with the bayonet with so much rapidity and ardour, that they were thrown into immediate and irreparable disorder and confusion. They fled on all sides; and though for a moment a part of them seemed disposed to make a stand and rally, their determination was soon thoroughly destroyed by the arrival of a fresh body of Spaniards. Beaten on every side, they found themselves compelled to cross the river, under the protection of their cavalry. Had the Spaniards been supplied with this description of force, the destruction of the enemy must have been complete. This battle lasted from seven in the morning till very late in the evening; and the issue of it was not only the defeat of the French, but the liberation of the town of Gerona, and the weakening of the garrison of Barcelona, from which Duhesme had proceeded to the attack. In this battle, as well as in several skirmishes of inferior importance, the Spaniards derived considerable benefit from the Miquelets—a description of men peculiarly fitted, from their hardy mode of life among the Pyrennees, to endure fatigue, and at the same time endowed with a more than usual portion of strength, activity, and courage.

However honourable and encouraging to the Spaniards these and similar instances of successful bravery might be, and however advantageous when viewed as diminishing and dispiriting the enemy, and defeating his designs in attacks of considerable importance; yet the attention and interest of the nation could not long rest upon them, while the remains of the army of France was still enabled to occupy the territory of the patriots. Although the defeat of Dupont had been the signal for the general and speedy retreat of the different French corps; yet, after having formed themselves into one body and reached the confines of Navarre, they did not appear disposed to continue their retreat any further. Joseph Bonaparte continued with the army, but the command of it rested with marshal Bessieres. About the beginning of September, the head quarters were at Logrono, while about the same time, the different corps of the patriots were advancing in order to unite, and endeavour to compel the French beyond the Pyrennees. The occupation of the line of the Ebro was of so much consequence to each party, that they naturally drew towards it. The French force was rated at about 40,000 men. That of the Spaniards might probably reach 100,000. It was under the command of Palafox, Castanos, and Blake. The army of Valencia and Murcia, about the beginning of October, took up its position near Tudela. General Reding with his corps was stationed at Guadarama. The principal force of the French

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at that time was at Melagro, about three leagues and a half from Tudela: here they had about 20,000 men, who were opposed by about 24,000 Spaniards. The French endeavoured to make up for their inferiority in point of numbers, by occupying strong positions on the Ebro, connected with their garrison and fortress of Pampeluna. These different positions varied partially and occasionally, according as the object in view by the respective armies required a change. It was assuredly the plan of the Spanish genrals, if they could possibly effect it, either to surround the enemy, or by breaking his line to force him to an unequal engagement. As the first object appeared most suitable to the situation of the Spanish army, and most within their power, many attempts were made to accomplish it. Palafox and Blake, who commanded the eastern and western wings, pushed forward so as to throw the whole of the Spanish army into the form of a crescent; the two points of which stretched beyond the flanks of the enemy. While these two generals acted in this manner, they trusted to the main and centre force under Castanos succeeding in routing the centre of the French. It was soon discovered that in point of generalship, the enemy were much superior to their opponents: notwithstanding the great superiority of the patriots, they could not by the most rapid manœuvres, or the strongest pressure of their force, either make any impression on the centre of the French, or outflank them in such a manner as to compel their retreat, or actually to surround them. Wherever the Spanish generals turned their attention, there they found the foresight and skill of the enemy had provided against a favourable attack. The French, indeed, found themselves under the necessity of abandoning Burgos, which they had occupied for a second time after their general retreat, and of contracting and concentrating their forces between Vittoria and Pampeluna. But within this space, on the north side of the Ebro, in a country naturally strong from the number of rivers which intersect it, they bade defiance to the superior force and the various manœuvres of the Spanish generals. Blake appears to have advanced further towards outflanking that part of the enemy's force which was opposed to him, than Palafox on the opposite wing; but the want of cavalry was severely felt by the former officer.

Thus for several weeks were the opposing armies situated and employed. The French had the ocean on their right, the river and province of Arragon on their left, and the Ebro in front of them. Within this narrow compass their sole object was to maintain their ground, to repel any attacks that might be made upon them, and to guard against the attempts which were constantly made by the Spaniards to surround them. About the middle of October their force was disposed in the following manner: at Bilboa they had 14,000 men; at Orozeo 10,000; at Vittoria 13,000; at Viana 6000; at Milagro 5000; at Olite 3000. In the fortress of Pampeluna they had nearly 7000; and in Lauz, which they had intrenched, there was a force of 3000. From this enumeration it will appear that reinforcements had already been sent them. About the same time, the middle of October, the Spanish army was still pushed beyond the

wings of the enemy, so that to persons unacquainted with the relative force and the nature of the country occupied by the two armies, it would have appeared that the French were completely in the power of the Spaniards. At this time a division of the western or Gallician army, amounting to nearly 8000 men, were stationed at Guenes near Bilboa; and at Luyaudo and Valmosed two other divisions, forming together nearly 16,000 men. At Orduna a smaller division of 3000 men was stationed, while the city of Burgos, in the rear of the army, was occupied by 4000. The van of the Gallician army, consisting of about 7000 men, were pushed on beyond Bilboa, with the intention of cutting off the communication between different parts of the French forces. By this statement it will appear that the Gallician army about the middle of October amounted nearly to 40,000 men. The main body of the army of Castile, consisting of 10,000 men, was stationed at Medina and Frias, while their van, of 4000, occupied the left bank of the Ebro at Espejo. The armies of Arragon and Valencia, under the command of Palafox, were stationed near Saragossa, with the double view of protecting that town, and of cooperating with the other two armies of Spain. The army of Estramadura, amounting to 13,000 men, was stationed at Aranda.

The enumeration of such a force, and the statement of the favourable position which it occupied, almost unavoidably lead the mind to wonder at its inactivity. Did the Spanish generals not think it prudent, with such a superiority, directly to attack the enemy? or did they expect to be able, without the risque of a general engagement, to surround him, or to compel him to retreat? A few weeks at most might have convinced them how far they were likely to succeed in either of these points; and if they perceived that, after putting in practice every manœuvre which suggested itself to them as prudent and skilful, and after having advanced on the flanks of the enemy as far as they could in safety, the enemy still kept his ground, surely no more time ought to have been lost in this dilatory and cautious mode of proceeding. It might naturally have occurred to them, that if they could not drive back 40 or 50,000 French, certainly dispirited in some degree by the defeats and disgrace they had suffered in Spain, they themselves could hardly expect to be able to make head against, or even to resist, the whole disposable force of France, led on by Bonaparte in person. Whoever reflects on the inactivity of the Spanish generals, during the months of September and October, is compelled, however unwilling he may be, to have recourse to the unpleasant suspicion either that the Spanish armies were not nearly so numerous as they were uniformly represented to be, or that they were led on by generals incapable of taking advantage of their numbers and enthusiasm, and far inferior even to the subordinate generals of that army to which they were opposed.

It was indeed said, in excuse for the proceedings of the Spanish generals, that they were acting strictly according to the principles and tenor of the celebrated precautions issued by the junta of Seville. These precautions had recommended, in the strongest manner, that general actions should be avoided; and that recourse should be had to cutting off the supplies, and harassing

ing detached parts of the enemy's army, as the safest and most prudent measures that the patriots could adopt. But it is evident, both from the nature of these precautions and from the character of the men by whom they were issued, that they were not meant to be applied to cases where the patriots far outnumbered the enemy. They were meant to compensate for inferiority of force, or for want of experience and discipline, where the forces were nearly equal. By adopting the precautions with a numerical superiority so great as they possessed, the Spanish generals virtually acknowledged that they were not equal to cope with one-third of their own force; and then the question recurs, What likelihood of success remained to the Spaniards, if they were to be opposed by a French army fully equal to their own in point of numbers? Besides, even allowing that during the months of September and October the Spanish generals were acting upon the principle of the precautions, did not the want of success attending that plan of action prove either that they had misapplied the rules laid down in the precautions, or that their own want of talent and skill rendered them ineffectual?

The glaring and undeniable fact, that all the force which Spain could bring into the field was unable to drive the remains of the French army beyond the Pyrennees, or even to compel them to retreat, when they had once concentrated their troops and taken up what they deemed a strong and secure position, certainly excited considerable apprehension in the minds of many who had been previously very sanguine with respect to the final success of the patriots. They looked forward with alarm to the time which undoubtedly was fast approaching, when Bonaparte would lead on his best troops against Spain, and regretted that before this took place, the barriers which nature had raised, seemingly for the purpose of securing and protecting the independence of Spain, should not have been wrested from the power of the enemy, and restored to their legitimate possessors. When the Spanish revolution first broke out, these barriers were represented as equivalent to an army: and so they certainly were; but unfortunately, at the most important crisis in the whole revolution, they were an army in the hands of the enemy; their strength and advantages were turned against the patriots, instead of being ranged on their side.

It was hardly to have been expected, when the people of Spain rose in arms, that Bonaparte would have delayed so long before he began to take measures to suppress them: it was rather expected that, aware at once of the nature and extent of the insurrection, or at least led by his apprehension to consider it as formidable, and neglecting every other consideration and scheme, he would have instantly crushed it with the whole of his force. When, therefore, it was found that he was indifferent or negligent, till his armies were defeated and driven almost to the frontiers of France, and that, even then, there was no appearance of his being able to send a strong reinforcement for at least three months, the opportunity which this delay presented to the Spaniards of increasing and organizing their force, and of providing every thing necessary for its maintenance, and its regular and connected operations,

tions, raised the hopes of their well-wishers. They already beheld the dispirited remnant of the French army, with the new sovereign, driven beyond the Pyrennees, and every opening in these mountains, capable of admitting the passage even of a detachment of the armies of Bonaparte, blocked up effectually against his most powerful and obstinate attacks. When, therefore, the time passed away without any thing being done; when the comparatively small army of 40,000 or even 60,000 men presented an unassailable front to all the force of Spain, is it to be wondered at, if many of the well-wishers of the patriots looked forward with considerable alarm to the operations that the winter would witness?

The months of September and October were not, however, totally destitute of military operations; and these we must be content with detailing, as we unfortunately have none of a more extensive and decisive nature to record. The province of Biscay had not been in a situation openly to avow its consent to the measures of the patriots, till the evacuation of Madrid, and the retreat of the French armies. As soon, however, as these events took place, the inhabitants of this province, who are celebrated for their warlike and independent habits, formed a junta. This junta addressed a spirited proclamation to the Biscayans in the beginning of August. In it they appealed to the grief and indignation which filled the hearts of their countrymen, at having been forced, from the operation of circumstances which could not be resisted, to conceal their sentiments, and to abstain from offering their services in defence of the rights of the Spanish nation. But their sufferings were now at an end; the youth of the province, full of holy ardour, were flocking to the standard of patriotism; and chiefs every way worthy to lead them would soon be placed at their head. The exploits of their ancestors were set before them; at one time repulsing the Carthaginians; at another destroying the hosts of Rome. Such had been their courage, that they were distinguished above other nations, at one period by having granted to them the honourable distinction of serving in the van of the army, at another by having bestowed upon them the privilege of citizens. With the example and the rewards of their ancestors placed before them, the people of Biscay could not be inactive or cowardly in their country's cause; they would speedily and clearly prove that they were worthy descendants of those whose exploits were recorded in history. But if they wished to signalize themselves and to benefit their country, it was absolutely necessary that they should be conspicuous for discipline and obedience; and that they should banish from among themselves all party passions. They had but one interest; they ought, therefore, to have but one feeling and one object in view. The religion of their forefathers, the country from which they derived their existence, and the sovereign who had been placed over them by the constitution and the laws, all demanded their support; and when such important claims upon their valour and patriotism existed, the people of Biscay would not be found backward or deficient.

Such a spirited address, accompanied by corresponding exertions on the part of the people, in a part of Spain hardly liberated from the presence of the French, and still exposed

exposed to their incursions, was not likely to be passed over with impunity. It was indeed issued but a very short time before the city of Bilboa, the principal place in Biscay, was entered by a detachment of French troops from Vittoria, amounting to 6000 infantry and 4000 cavalry. It was obliged to surrender on capitulation; but, contrary to the terms which were granted it, the French plundered its inhabitants. The city continued in possession of the French till the middle of September, when it was retaken by a division of general Blake's army, under the command of the marquis de Portaygo. In this affair the French garrison would have probably been captured, had not some of the advanced posts of the Spaniards fired upon the French, before the main army was sufficiently advanced and prepared for the attack. As the business was conducted, the Spaniards displayed considerable courage; and the loss of the French amounted to about 400 men. The inhabitants manifested the most lively joy and gratitude at being again freed from the power of the enemy, and restored to their country's cause. But their joy was doomed to be of short duration: this town was too necessary to the French to be suffered to remain long in the possession of the patriots. Marshal Ney, who arrived in Spain and took the command of the French armies about the end of September, employed himself immediately in carefully reconnoitring the position of the army, and the nature of the adjacent country. The importance of regaining Bilboa was too obvious to escape his penetration. In order if possible at once to regain the city, and to capture the whole of the Spanish force which was stationed in it, marshal Ney ordered a feigned retreat to Vittoria: by this means he hoped to divert the attention of the Spanish army, while the whole of his centre corps under his own command rapidly advanced against Bilboa. But the marquis de Portaygo, aware of the artifice, and of the superior force with which he was threatened, evacuated the place, and retreated in the best order, with all his troops and artillery, and without the loss of a single man, to Balmaseda. Thus a *coup-de-main*, by which it would seem marshal Ney wished to signalize his entrance into the field, was in a great measure defeated. As soon as general Blake was informed of the recapture of Bilboa, he took measures to advance against it with such a considerable force, as should compel the French again to evacuate it, even without exposing the city to the destruction and horrors of a regular attack. He accordingly advanced towards it with nearly his whole army. The French took the alarm, and in the beginning of October they judged it prudent to evacuate the city for the second time. It was taken possession of by a division of general Blake's army on the 12th. The retreat of the enemy was conducted and effected with little loss and in good order; but they found themselves compelled to retire along the coast towards St. Sebastian, instead of marching to the main body of their army, which was still stationed between Vittoria and Pampeluna. By gaining possession of Bilboa, general Blake was enabled to resume his attempt to outflank the western wing of the French army, at the same time that he deprived the enemy of the means of supply-

ing that part of their army with stores and ammunition along the sea coast from Bayonne to Bilboa.

The inactivity of the Spanish armies, which excited alarm and apprehension in the bosom of many of their most ardent and sincere well-wishers in this country, does not appear to have been considered, in Spain itself, as discouraging or unpropitious. Such was the confidence which the government of Spain, and, as far as can be ascertained, the people themselves entertained of the favourable state and ultimate triumph of their cause, that, for some time, the offers of England to assist the patriots with troops were not accepted. This indeed may have arisen, partly from other considerations beside the firm belief in their own sufficiency: some dread may have been entertained, that the too frequent and almost unavoidable bad effects of a combined army would follow the junction of the English and Spanish forces; or that, if they acted separately and independently of each other, the prejudices of such a people as the Spaniards are, might have viewed with jealousy and alarm the introduction of foreign forces, even though they were those of a firm and trusted friend, come expressly and plainly for the purpose of helping them to regain their independence. From whatever motives the junta acted, whether from those of self-confidence, or from apprehension, or from both united, it is certain that they preferred for some time receiving only money, arms and clothing from the English government. The expedition which had been fitted out, under the command of sir Arthur Wellesley, for the purpose, it was supposed, of going against Spanish America, was, on the news of the insurrection in Spain, countermanded, and its destination changed. It sailed from Ireland, perhaps as complete in every respect as any armament ever sent out by a British ministry;—in one point only did it appear afterwards that there was any oversight or deficiency: the cavalry attached to it did not bear the just and proper proportion to the infantry. But as far as tried discipline and courage in the men, and activity, success and skill in the commander in chief, can confer on an armament the character of being complete, or give just reason to hope that it will succeed in its enterprise; certainly this armament deserved the character universally given it, and the confidence that was placed in it. Sir Arthur had orders to offer the assistance of this force to the Spaniards: they however, at that time completely confident in their own power and success, declined the assistance; and recommended it to sir Arthur to employ it in freeing Portugal from the French troops under Junot. Its splendid operations in that country will fall under our notice in another place: it seemed, however, proper to state here, that it was offered in the first instance to the Spaniards, since this offer proves the exertion of the British government, and the rejection of it, the full confidence which the Spaniards had in their own strength.

The British government, anxious to oblige and assist the patriots in every way that would be most agreeable and beneficial to them, next turned its thoughts to the Spanish troops, which Bonaparte had drawn, under the false pretence of securing Hanover, to the northern parts of Germany, and afterwards

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to the Danish islands in the Baltic. It seemed an easy matter for a nation, which possessed a large fleet in this sea, to bring away these troops. That they were anxious to join their countrymen, and to turn their arms against the man to whom they owed their banishment, at a time when their whole nation had risen in defence of its independence, was well known. All the Spanish troops in the island of Zealand, notwithstanding they were in the territories of an ally of Bonaparte, and far removed from their native land, as soon as they learnt the atrocious aggression which it was suffering, instantly formed a circle round their colours, and on bended knees swore to be faithful to their country. Men with these feelings and this determination were well worthy of being liberated, and conveyed to their fellow citizens. From their exertions much might be hoped: their presence and example would animate the patriotic army, and urge it on to deeds worthy of the oath they had taken and the cause they had espoused. The liberation of these men was intrusted to admiral Keates: as soon as he received his final instructions for that purpose, he wrote to the officers of the Spanish troops. Fortunately, on the very day on which he received his instructions, a Spanish officer, after a miraculous escape, brought communications to the English fleet from his commander in chief, the marquis de Romana. This general, after having formed his plan with admiral Keates, lost no time in taking effectual measures for carrying it into speedy and safe execution. On the 9th of August, with nearly six thousand of the Spanish troops under his command, he took possession of the fort of Nybourg in the island of Fuhnen; and by a combination of the same plan, above a thousand more arrived at the same place from Jutland. Another thousand were thrown into Langland, in order to strengthen the Spanish forces already there. Unfortunately, one of the regiments in Jutland was situated too remotely and critically to allow of its effecting its escape; and two, in the island of Zealand, were disarmed, after having fired on the French general, and killed one of his aides-de-camp. The Danish garrison in the island of Nybourg yielded to the necessity of the case, and did not presume to offer a weak and ineffectual opposition; but two Danish vessels made a preposterous and impotent attempt to obstruct the entrance of the English into the harbour. The Spanish general was unwilling to act against the Danes in any respect; it therefore became necessary for adm. Keates to attack these vessels with his boats: they were accordingly attacked and taken.

As soon as the English got into the harbour of Nybourg, the sloops and doggers which were found in it were fitted up for the reception of the artillery, baggage and stores of the Spanish troops. The whole of the army, amounting to 8000 men, were safely embarked on the 11th, about four miles from the town. These were immediately conveyed to the island of Langland, between Fuhnen and Laland, of which the Spaniards had possession, and where about 2000 more troops were stationed.—The whole of this force was afterwards brought to England; and having been supplied with every thing of which they stood in need, they were conveyed to Spain.

Though, on the arrival of sir Arthur Wellesley on the coast of Spain,

Spain, the assistance which he brought was declined, yet no long time elapsed before the Spanish government, become fully sensible of the immense army which would undoubtedly be brought against them, acceded to the renewed proposal of our ministry, that troops as well as money and military stores should be sent to the patriots. No time was lost in preparing an expedition, after the consent of the supreme junta had been obtained. Sir David Baird was appointed commander in chief of the forces to be employed: these amounted to about 13,000 men. They were landed at Corunna, after some unforeseen and unexpected delay, occasioned by the necessity imposed by the constitution on the laws of Spain, of obtaining permission from the government before the landing of foreign troops could take place. As soon as this permission was obtained, and the troops had refreshed themselves after their voyage, they were marched into the interior, in such a direction as would bring them to a junction with a larger force, which had been dispatched from Portugal under the command of sir John Moore. By the middle, or towards the end of October, it appeared therefore that the Spaniards might rely upon the army of the marquis of Romana, and those of sir David Baird, as well as upon the force under Blake, Palafox, and Castanos, which we have already noticed. Besides the effectual aid of armies, which Britain at this time supplied to Spain, she did not neglect those formalities which indicate and proclaim the friendly relation and intercourse of nations. An ambassador was sent from our court to the supreme junta as acting in behalf and in the name of king Ferdinand, and an accredited ambassador from them was received and acknowledged at St. James's.

But while Britain was thus forward and zealous in the cause of Spanish independence and liberty, the other nations of the continent gave no signs of taking advantage of the embarrassments of Bonaparte to rescue themselves from his power, or to recover the territories and honour they had lost in their wars with the French. The Spaniards, at one period, flattered themselves that Austria would step forward to their assistance, or at least that she would distract the attention and weaken the force of Bonaparte, by putting herself in a formidable and threatening attitude. But their expectations were in vain: they were destined to fight the battle of their own liberty, totally unassisted except by the armaments sent them by Britain. Sweden, indeed, looked to their cause as her own: but unfortunately her remoteness and her weakness rendered her totally incapable of offering them any thing but her sympathy and good wishes. Russia had too lately given herself up to the influence and interests of Bonaparte, to hold forth much probability that she would oppose him in his attempts on Spain, or even remonstrate with him on their tyranny and injustice. Against Spain, therefore, it appeared highly probable that the undivided hostility and force of Bonaparte would be directed; and the measures which he pursued soon put it beyond a doubt, not only that he meant to exert his whole strength to subdue the patriots, but that, while he was engaged in this undertaking, he was determined effectually to secure the neutrality of Austria.

The well known character of Bonaparte;

Bonaparte; the public manner in which he had pledged himself to place his brother on the throne of Spain; and, perhaps above all, the prospect of a war, which would employ his soldiers; gave little reason to expect that he would forgo his designs upon Spain. One of the first and most formal declarations of his purpose to employ all his army, if necessary, for the accomplishment of these designs, proceeded from the junta which met amidst the smoking ruins of Bilboa, on its first capture by the French. After censuring or lamenting what they presumed to call the infatuation of their countrymen, they announced that nothing which had occurred would have any influence on the emperor of the French; that he had formed certain arrangements with respect to Spain, which he would most assuredly accomplish notwithstanding the opposition that was made to them. Massaredo, the president of this junta, so far forgot his honour, his character, and his country, as to assert that all the distresses of the Spaniards, and all those which the whole kingdom at that time suffered, arose from the errors into which the general feeling of the people had led them, and from their allowing more weight to individual passions than to the general good; these, he adds, had arisen to such a height, that the cries of widows, the lamentations of children, the miseries of misguided families, and general desolation, were counted as nothing. Yet it never occurred to this junta, that the cause of all this misery dwelt with the man whose slaves they had become, and whose determined and unmoveable vengeance they had just announced against their countrymen.

Bonaparte himself, and his senate, always obsequious to his will, and the echo of his sentiments, soon laid open more fully his designs against Spain. On the 5th of September, soon after his return to Paris from Bayonne, he assembled the senate; when the ministers for foreign affairs and of war communicated their reports. The first report of the minister for foreign affairs is dated at Bayonne, the 24th of April. It is remarkable for stating explicitly and without reserve the reasons which had induced Bonaparte to seize on Spain. The most pressing object with the emperor they declare to be war against England; since she will not accept of any reasonable terms of peace with France. But the war, to be successful in producing a maritime peace, ought to be carried on with the utmost vigour. Spain, under her old government, was utterly incapable of making a vigorous and proper use of the maritime resources which she naturally possessed. Her government therefore must be changed, in order that she may join all her powers with France against the common enemy. Such is the unequivocal and official declaration of the motives which armed Bonaparte against the independence of Spain, and which induced him, by treachery and violence, to deprive her of her legitimate sovereign.

In the second report, dated September 1st, the minister for foreign affairs, after explaining the gracious reasons which had induced the emperor to interfere as a mediator in the midst of the divided Spaniards, and the benefits which he intended to have conferred upon them, proceeds to lament that his majesty's expectations had been disappointed, and his good intentions frustrated, by individual interests and foreign intrigues. The English, of course, come in for their share

of the blame, in having assisted the Spaniards to repel the attacks of Bonaparte. But they must not be permitted to succeed, and to be able to say that Spain is one of their provinces. To prevent this disgrace, two millions of men are affirmed to be ready to cross the Pyrennees. If the liberty of the seas, or peace, or the tranquillity of France, or the honour of Frenchmen, be objects of the first estimation and importance, Spain must be conquered, otherwise they will be lost. The prospect of meeting the English, and of fighting them man to man, is also held out, as no small advantage of the war into which Bonaparte was about to enter in support of his schemes on Spain. If they meet with a decisive and general check there, their means and their hopes will be annihilated, and peace must easily and speedily ensue. Such, intermixed with the usual proportion of flattery and gasconade, is that part of the second report of the minister of foreign affairs which immediately relates to Spain. The only power whom Bonaparte, from this speech, appeared apprehensive of taking advantage of the insurrection in Spain, is Austria. Her former conduct with respect to her military affairs is commended. Latterly, however, it is added, this power has carried its armaments beyond measure; its military force is out of all proportion to its population and finances! This hint, evidently inserted at the desire of Bonaparte, was meant to produce its proper effect on Austria; and when followed by the celebrated interview between him and the Russian emperor, it could hardly fail to alarm that power, and lead her to defer her military preparations.

The message of Bonaparte contains little that relates to Spain; but that little speaks the determination of his mind to carry on the war against that country with the utmost activity, and to destroy, if it lay in his power, any armies which England might disembark in support of the patriots. The report of the minister of war chiefly relates to the mode of raising fresh forces, and the ordering out the different conscriptions. An army of 200,000 men is stated to be at the service of the war in Spain, while at the same time, by the means they suggest, the armies of Germany, of the North, and of Italy, were to be increased upwards of eighty thousand men. After making every allowance for the exaggeration of this report, we must be compelled to acknowledge that it gave the fearful promise of such an army as would have appalled the spirits of the boldest, and shaken to the foundation the most powerful nations on the continent. In conformity to the report of the minister of war, the senate on the 13th of September unanimously adopted a *senatus consultum*, by which 160,000 men were to be raised, one half of whom were immediately to be placed in active service, and the other half to be employed on the coast, and not called out before the 1st of January 1809, unless before that period some other powers should be in a state of war with France. In this provision, as in the allusion to Austria in the report of the minister for foreign affairs, may plainly be perceived an intimation to that power not to oppose the views of France upon Spain, nor to take advantage of the contest that was about to employ Bonaparte.

But it was to his troops, assembled at the periodical parade on the Carousel, that Bonaparte expressed his wishes and opened out his plans,

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in the most violent and outrageous manner. Having ordered them to be formed into close columns, and the officers being assembled, he told them, that after having triumphed on the banks of the Danube and the Vistula, and passed through Germany by forced marches, he should, without allowing them a moment's rest, order them to march through France. He had occasion for their immediate service. The hideous presence of the leopard of England contaminated the peninsula of Spain and Portugal. It was incumbent on them to drive him with dismay and destruction from the continent. The pillars of Hercules must witness their conquering and avenging prowess. From it would result a prosperous and durable peace,—and the consequent prosperity of France. These were the objects the nearest his heart; the wish to obtain them alone induced him to call for their exertions. What they had already performed placed them on a level with the Roman legions: what remained, what he had no doubt they would perform with as much cheerfulness, promptitude and success, would, if possible, augment their glory, secure the happiness of their country, and imprint its remembrance deeply and permanently on his heart.

Soon after he had thus arranged his military operations, he set out from Paris, in order to meet the emperor of Russia at Erfurth. This conference had been announced some time before; but it was hoped that a remembrance of what was due to his own honour, if not to his own dignity and safety, joined to the unpopularity of the measure among his subjects, would have prevented the emperor Alexander from actually proceeding to it. When it did take place, some slight expectation was entertained that the remonstrances of Alexander would induce Bonaparte to forgo his attempts upon Spain. But unfortunately for the repose of Europe, this monarch had given himself up completely and without reserve to the views and interests of Napoleon. What were the most material objects, which induced Bonaparte to hold this conference, it is impossible absolutely to ascertain. He announced in a letter which he wrote to the prince primate, during his journey to Erfurth, that he was going to give peace to Europe! What meaning can be attached to this phrase, when proceeding from a man whose element is war, and from whose unprincipled and aggressive conduct alone all the calamities which he pretended to lament, had proceeded? As Spain was undoubtedly at that time the principal object of his meditations and plans, it may naturally be concluded, that the conference with Alexander was intended to further that object. We have already seen that he was jealous of the increased preparations and formidable attitude of Austria: to restrain and check these, he had caused his senate to declare his determination to increase his forces in the same proportion. But this power was to be held in more complete uncertainty and fear while he led his troops against France: it was evident that she would not dare to move, while she was in doubt respecting the views and intentions of Russia. It was therefore the interest of Bonaparte to hold this conference; in order that Austria might be firmly impressed with

with the complete union of plan and interest, which subsisted between him and Alexander. In this he succeeded; for the Austrian cabinet, naturally alarmed at the meeting of the two emperors, dispatched baron Vincent, who had followed the steps of Bonaparte during the campaign in Poland, on the important and delicate mission to Erfurth. On his arrival he was admitted to separate interviews with the two sovereigns: what passed is not known, but he probably satisfied Bonaparte, that his master would remain inactive and neutral, and that his military preparations either were not of the formidable and extensive nature represented, or that they were not carried on with any hostile views. Bonaparte having thus succeeded in one of the most important objects of the conference, found little difficulty or reluctance on the part of Alexander to enter completely into all his projects.

One determination and consequence of the conference at Erfurth was soon apparent. On the 21st of October a Russian officer and a French messenger arrived in England with proposals from the two emperors to enter into a negotiation. The intelligence of their arrival created no hope in the public mind, and indeed excited little surprise. It had been so usual a step in the policy of Bonaparte to proffer a negotiation for peace before he proceeded to direct the horrors of war, that many people confidently predicted that this would be one of the results of the conference at Erfurth. But there was a great variety of opinions respecting the motives which had prompted him to this step at such a time. The more sanguine friends of the Spanish patriots even hoped that, aware of the difficulty if not impossibility of succeeding against them, he had reluctantly determined to restore Ferdinand, on condition that England should make peace. To others it appeared that his sole object was to deceive us, by the proffer of negotiation, into the neglect or delay of our sending assistance to Spain, and to create distrust of us in the minds of the patriots. All agreed that we could not, consistently with our honour, listen to any terms which did not expressly include the liberation of Spain from French troops, and the restoration of her sovereign. And as these terms could not be expected from a man who set at nought every obstacle and all principle, when they stood in the way of his ambition, the people of England, so far from rejoicing at the arrival of the messengers, and at the appearance of a negotiation, were disposed rather to censure ministers for giving any countenance to the prospect of peace, by the intercourse they kept up with France. When however his majesty's declaration was published, it appeared evident that the British government, while on the one hand they had not rashly rejected the proffered negotiation, but had conducted it in such a manner, and so far as to put beyond a doubt the insincerity of the views of Bonaparte; on the other hand, they had not prolonged it from the slightest thought of compromising the honour of their country, or sacrificing the interests and the hopes of Spain. As this declaration is distinguished, above most other state papers, by a brevity which will hardly admit of abridgement or condensation; and by a plainness, precision and perspicuity, which

which would be injured by any attempt to alter its form, or to clothe it in different language, we shall lay it before our readers, entire and unchanged.

"The overtures made to his majesty by the governments of Russia and of France have not led to negotiation; and the intercourse to which those overtures gave rise being terminated, his majesty thinks it right thus promptly and publicly to make known its termination. The continued appearance of a negotiation, when peace has been found to be utterly unattainable, could be advantageous only to the enemy. It might enable France to sow distrust and jealousy in the councils of those who are combined to resist her oppression; and if among the nations which groan under the tyranny of French alliance, or among those which maintain against France a doubtful and precarious independence, there should be any which even now are balancing between the certain ruin of a prolonged inactivity, and the contingent dangers of an effort to save themselves from that ruin; to nations so situated, the delusive prospect of a peace between Great Britain and France could not fail to be peculiarly injurious. Their preparations might be relaxed by the vain hope of returning tranquillity, or their purpose shaken by the apprehension of being left alone. That such was, in fact, the main object of France in the proposals transmitted to his majesty from Erfurth, his majesty entertained a strong persuasion. But at a moment when results so awful from their importance, and so tremendous from their uncertainty, might be depending upon the decision of peace or war, the king felt it due to himself to ascertain, beyond the possibility of doubt, the views and intentions of his enemies. It was difficult for his majesty to believe that the emperor of Russia had devoted himself so blindly and fatally to the violence and ambition of the power with which his imperial majesty had unfortunately become allied, as to be prepared openly to abet the usurpation of the Spanish monarchy; and to acknowledge and maintain the right assumed by France, to depose and imprison friendly sovereigns, and forcibly to transfer to herself the allegiance of independent nations.

"When, therefore, it was proposed to his majesty to enter into negotiation for a general peace, in concert with his majesty's allies, and to treat either on the basis of the *uti possidetis* (heretofore the subject of so much controversy), or on any other basis consistent with justice, honour, and equality, his majesty determined to meet this seeming fairness and moderation with fairness and moderation, on his majesty's part real and sincere. The king professed his readiness to enter into such negotiation, in concurrence with his allies, and undertook forthwith to communicate to them the proposals which his majesty had received. But as his majesty was not connected with Spain by a formal treaty of alliance, his majesty thought it necessary to declare, that the engagements which he had contracted in the face of the world, with that nation, were considered by his majesty as no less sacred, and no less binding upon his majesty, than the most solemn treaties, and to express his majesty's just confidence that the government of Spain, acting in the name of his catholic majesty Ferdinand the seventh, was understood to be a party to the negotiation. The reply returned

returned by France to this proposition of his majesty, casts off at once the thin disguise which had been assumed for a momentary purpose, and displays with less than ordinary reserve the arrogance and injustice of that government. The universal Spanish nation is described by the degrading appellation of 'the Spanish insurgents;' and the demand for the admission of the government of Spain as a party to any negotiation, is rejected as inadmissible and insulting. With astonishment, as well as with grief, his majesty has received from the emperor of Russia a reply similar in effect, though less indecorous in tone and manner. The emperor of Russia also stigmatizes as 'insurrection' the glorious efforts of the Spanish people in behalf of their legitimate sovereign, and in defence of the independence of their country; thus giving the sanction of his imperial majesty's authority to an usurpation which has no parallel in the history of the world.

"The king would readily have embraced an opportunity of negotiation which might have afforded any hopes or prospect of a peace compatible with justice and with honour. His majesty deeply laments an issue, by which the sufferings of Europe are aggravated and prolonged. But neither the honour of his majesty, nor the generosity of the British nation, would admit of his majesty's consenting to commence a negotiation by the abandonment of a brave and loyal people, who are contending for the preservation of all that is dear to man; and whose exertions in a cause so unquestionably just, his majesty has solemnly pledged himself to sustain."

While the intercourse was carrying on between our court and the two emperors, Bonaparte was by no means idle, or inattentive to the means of prosecuting the war in Spain with his utmost strength and energy. Before he left Paris for Erfurth, the march of his troops towards that country had begun; and it was continued without intermission during his absence. On his return he addressed the legislative body in a speech filled with his plans and expectations. He made known to them the perfect union of sentiment between him and the emperor of Russia, with respect both to peace and war, and that they had determined to make some sacrifice, in order to enable the hundred millions of men whom they represented, the sooner to enjoy the commerce of the seas. That the relinquishment of his designs upon Spain was not one of the sacrifices which he intended to make, in order to procure peace, was announced in his resolution to depart in a few days, in order to put himself at the head of his armies; and by their means to crown the king of Spain in Madrid, and plant his eagles on the forts of Lisbon. The greater part of the troops intended to act against the patriots having arrived on the frontiers of Spain, and the imperial guard having also begun its route in the same direction, Bonaparte left Paris, and on the 3d of November he arrived at Bayonne. Here his impatience to put himself at the head of his army allowed him to stay but a few hours; and by the 8th of the month he arrived at Vittoria, bringing along with him a reinforcement of 12,000 men.

CHAPTER XI.

Affairs of Spain concluded—Position of the Spanish and French Armies at the Beginning of November—Repeated Attacks on General Blake—Dispersion of his Army—Remarks on its Dispersion—Defeat of the Army of Estramadura—Battle of Tudela—Remarks on the military Plans of Bonaparte, and of the Spanish Generals—Position of the British Troops in Spain—Proceedings of the Supreme Junta—Decree establishing the Tribunal of Vigilance—Royal Decree addressed to the Councils—Proclamation to the Spanish People—Proclamation on the Approach of the French to Madrid—Preparations for the Defence of the Capital—Proceedings of Bonaparte—The Pass of Somsiera forced—Attack and Summons of Madrid—Its Capitulation—Remarks on the Reverses of the Spanish Arms.

AT the beginning of the month of November the centre army of Spain, commanded by Castanos, quitted its position on the line of the Ebro, and concentrated itself on the left bank of the smaller river Alagon, occupying a line from Villafranca to Sanguessa. The advantages of this new position were great: he was thus enabled to interpose between the French army in Navarre, and the troops they had in the citadel of Barcelona; to cover the important province of Arragon, and to present a formidable barrier to any attempt which the enemy might make to penetrate to Madrid. His new position still enabled him to rest his right wing on the left wing of the army of Palafox; and their joint armies occupied a position on the left wing of the French. The army of Blake in Biscay was stationed on the right wing of the French. The army of Estramadura, with the expected assistance from generals sir John Moore and Baird, opposed itself to the front of the French. The army of Blake was estimated, before the junction of the marquis de Romana, at 23,000 men: the conjunct army of Castanos and Palafox at nearly 60,000 men; and the army of Estramadura at 20,000 men.

At the beginning of the same month, or, to speak more accurately, at the end of October, the head quarters of the French army were at Vittoria. The corps of the duke of Cornegliano was posted at Rafalla; the left wing of his army having its position along the banks of the Arragon and the Ebro. The division of the duke of Echlingen was at Guardia. The duke of Istria was at Muanda, while part of his corps formed the garrison of fort Pancuba. The heights of Durango were occupied by the division of general Merlin, and guarded the heights of Mondragon from the threatened attack of the Spaniards. As the army which was commanded by general Blake was at some distance from the united armies of Palafox and Castanos, the first offensive operation of the French was to interpose their whole force between the Spanish armies, and, if possible, to break into pieces the army of Blake. This manœuvre was performed but

too successfully on the 31st of October, and within the first fortnight of the ensuing month.

The army of Blake was attacked by 25,000 French on the 31st of October, at Lornosa. After a very obstinate, long, and well-contested action, the Spanish general was obliged to fall back, with the intention, if possible, of forming a junction with the Asturian army, and with that under the command of the marquis de Romana. The retreat was conducted in the best order, without the loss of cannon, colours, or prisoners. As the town of Bilboa lay in the line of his proposed retreat, he halted there on the night of the 1st of November. While he was there, the general altered his first intention of retreating upon the army of the marquis de Romana, and resolved to take post at Valmaseda. In his march thither he was joined by the Asturians, the troops of the north, and the fourth division of Gallicia. The French pursued him with great speed, and on the 3d of November they took possession of Bilboa; the few Spanish troops who were there having evacuated it in good order, and fallen back on Valmaseda.

General Blake had scarcely taken up his position and concentrated his army at Valmaseda, when he received information that a division of the French army, amounting to 10,000 men, were proceeding along the heights of Ontara, in order, if possible, to take by surprise, and cut off, a part of his army which occupied that place. In order to protect this body, and to turn the manœuvre of the French against themselves, he left his position at Valmaseda at break of day on the 5th of November, and by one o'clock came up with and attacked the enemy. The battle, which equalled in obstinacy and perseverance that of the 31st of October, lasted till dark. It ended, however, in the complete defeat of the French, who were routed with great slaughter, and lost a considerable number of prisoners. Blake pursued them a considerable way beyond Urutea. On the 7th he again attacked the French division, and succeeded in turning their left wing; but his centre being too weak to advance, he thought it prudent to re-occupy his position at Valmaseda. On the 8th the rear of his army was attacked by the French; but the engagement did not become general; nor was it, as far as it extended, of long duration, or a decisive nature. On the 10th, however, the enemy having augmented their force to nearly double the amount of general Blake's army, attacked the Spaniards at Espinosa. On that day they gained no advantage, though the fighting continued without intermission from one o'clock till it was completely dark; the advantage, if any, resting with the Spaniards. On the 11th the battle was renewed; when, unfortunately, the left wing of general Blake's army, which was composed of the Asturians, was routed; and a general retreat became unavoidable. This would have been effected in good order, and with little loss, had not the French got possession of a height, which commanded the road along which they were obliged to conduct their retreat: the consequence was very fatal to the Spanish army; they were thrown into great confusion, and a part of the army began to disperse. On the subsequent day general Blake fell back on Reynossa, one of the strongest positions in the chain of mountains which stretch from east

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to west, along the boundary of the province of Biscay. There he intended to have concentrated his forces, and to have made a stand against the enemy. But it was the plan of the French to allow him no respite or intermission, until they had succeeded in rendering his army ineffectual, by dispersion or slaughter. Accordingly, scarcely had Blake reached Reynossa, before he was attacked by fresh troops, who poured in with superior force, and in rapid succession:—a French column, at the same time, appeared on the road from Burgos; under these circumstances the Spanish general was again obliged to retreat. His first object was to gain St. Andero; but he afterwards altered his plan, and retreated to St. Vincente, a town situated near the former, on the shores of the bay of Biscay.

From the above account it appears that the army of Gallicia, under the command of general Blake, was engaged eight times in the short space of a fortnight. Indeed the French opposing army did not quit the attack, or give up the pursuit, till they put it completely out of the power of general Blake to take any formidable share in the subsequent operations of the campaign. The more sanguine friends of Spain congratulated or consoled themselves with the idea, that from these incessant attacks, uniformly made by superior, and generally with fresh forces, there had resulted no surrender of large bodies; no shameful capitulations; no seizure of important posts; in short, no consequences similar to those which had been the usual result of Bonaparte's victories in Italy, Germany, and Poland. But, unfortunately, it did not by any means follow from thence, that his victories over the Spaniards were less complete and decisive. The armies of Austria, Prussia, and Russia had been defeated with the loss of an immense number of prisoners: the army of Blake had been defeated and dispersed. A regular army—an army composed of men who have become habituated to a military life, and who have no home but the army—cannot, from its very nature and constitution, be dispersed: if defeated, it will keep together and surrender; or if it be put to flight, the greater part will collect again; for they have no motive, no temptation to quit their military profession. But it is otherwise with an army composed, like the greater part of Blake's, of men very lately come from their friends and their regular occupations: to them they naturally think of returning, if, in consequence of a battle, the corps to which they belong is routed and put to flight. The consequence, therefore, of the defeat of a regular army, composed of veterans, is the surrender of large bodies: the consequence of the defeat of an army composed of men who have voluntarily come forward to fight, and who have not forgot their former habits and occupations, is too frequently dispersion. It is even hardly to be expected that the enthusiasm which first brought them to the standard of their country, will remain in sufficient activity and strength to induce them to repair to it again when they have been once completely dispersed. These are melancholy truths: but that they are truths, the experience of a great part of the American war, and the result of the defeat of Blake's army, too plainly prove. When the marquis de Romana took the command of it, towards the

end of November, he complained that instead of a formidable and united army, he found only a comparatively trifling force, ill-provided, and dispersed. Certainly, if by any man it could have been brought back to the union, character, and strength of an useful or formidable army, it would have been by him; and yet his efforts were unavailing to raise a number even equal to that which he brought with him from the Baltic.

At the same time that one part of the French army was attacking general Blake's forces in Biscay, another part of it directed its course towards the city of Burgos. This city was occupied by a division of the army of Estramadura, consisting of Walloons and Spanish guards, a few regiments of the line, and the students of the universities of Salamanca and Leon, under the command of count Belveder. The duke of Istria led on the cavalry, which Bonaparte dispatched to the attack of the Estramaduran army, and the duke of Dalmatia the infantry. Three attacks were made on the city: in the two first, the French were repulsed with considerable loss; at the third attack, on the 10th of November, the issue was for a long time doubtful: the Spanish forces bravely resisted and repelled the French for thirteen hours, but at last by great superiority of numbers, especially in point of cavalry, they were compelled to leave Burgos, and to retreat to Lerma. The enemy pursued them immediately, so that count Belveder found himself under the necessity of continuing his retreat to Aranda. The remains of the Estramaduran army, after undergoing many hardships, at last formed its head quarters at Segovia. Immediately on the capture of Burgos, Bonaparte established his head quarters there.

Bonaparte, having thus succeeded against the patriotic armies in the north-west of Spain, suddenly and and unexpectedly directed his efforts against the forces under Castanos on the Ebro. For this purpose the divisions of Ney and Victor were dispatched with a celerity unusual even in the movements of the French army, from Burgos towards the Ebro. Bonaparte's plan evidently was, by means of these divisions, to have interposed between the Spanish army and Saragossa, whilst the principal attack was made upon it by the forces under the command of marshals Lasnes and Moncey. But, fortunately for Castanos, the divisions of Victor and Ney did not reach their appointed stations in time; had they arrived, and executed the plan which was laid down for them by Bonaparte, Castanos' defeat must have been much more fatal and decisive than it actually was.

The first advances of the enemy against Castanos took place on the 21st of November, on the lines of Coma, with 12,000 infantry and 4,000 horse. In consequence of this movement, the Spanish general fell immediately back, and occupied a position extending from Tarragona to Tudela, the troops of the army of Arragon resting upon the latter place. The order to retreat was scarcely given, before the enemy was perceived to be in motion to attack. He had advanced against Calahorra, and taken a commanding position near that town, for the purpose of commencing the attack on the Spanish forces early the next morning. Although the retreat of Castanos was rendered hazardous by this movement of the French, and difficult and troublesome

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through the extreme darkness of the night, yet it was conducted without interruption, disorder, or loss; and on the 22d the five divisions, of which his army consisted, took up the position which he meant them to occupy. On the 23d, three columns of the enemy were perceived marching in the direction of Tudela, and by eight o'clock in the morning he had occupied all the points of attack. Within two hours afterwards the whole line was engaged. The Spanish army sustained the attack with the utmost coolness and fortitude; and the enemy was very generally repulsed. It is probable no change of fortune would have taken place, had the position of Castanos been such as a man of military skill and experience would have occupied; but by every account it was very injudiciously chosen. Part of the field of battle was commanded by heights, which Castanos neglected to occupy. Of this oversight the French took advantage; and this, together with their penetrating the centre of the Spaniards, which consisted of the troops of Valencia and New Castile, completely turned the battle in favour of the French. One division of the Spanish army was successful in compelling the opposed divisions of the French to retreat; but following the pursuit too far, they were taken in the rear by a part of the enemy, which had penetrated through Tudela on the right. The fate of the day was thus decided. The Spanish army was completely broken into separate divisions, which could not support or assist one another; and a retreat became unavoidable. The badness of the situation which Castanos had chosen appeared very evident from what happened to this fourth division under general Lapena. This division, which was two hours march from the field of battle, found itself suddenly opposed by 3,000 French infantry, and 1,000 cavalry: these Lapena engaged, defeated, and pursued to the heights of Tudela; but here he was obliged in his turn to retreat; the enemy occupied the heights, and were thus enabled to attack him to very great advantage. It is very difficult to ascertain the exact loss which the Spanish army sustained in this battle. The French assert that the fruits of their victory were 5,000 prisoners; and that 4,000 were left dead on the field. Castanos himself seemed to admit a loss nearly to that extent; for of the five divisions, of which his army consisted previously to the engagement, he stated in his official account, that only four were collected at Calatayud, on which place he directed his retreat.

Having thus given an account of the successive attacks by which Bonaparte, in the short space of three weeks, was enabled to defeat, and in a great measure to disperse, the grand armies of Blake, Castanos, and count Belveder, on which the principal hopes of the patriots rested for the defence of the capital and of the north of Spain, it may not be uninteresting or useless to consider the plan on which all these attacks were formed, and the circumstances in the position or movement of the Spanish armies, by which Bonaparte was induced to form his plan, or which enabled him to carry it into such rapid and complete execution.

It has already been stated that about the time of Bonaparte's entry into Spain, the Spanish armies might be considered as occupying a semicircle; extending from Biscay on the west to the Ebro on the

east; and from that river up the river Arragon on the north. Blake had the command of the Gallician army on the left; Castanos of the centre army; and Palafox had the command of the right. Besides these main, and in some measure connected armies, there was a considerable army in Estramadura; and an army of inferior strength in Catalonia. Blake appears to have directed his operations in such a manner, as he thought would enable him at once to press upon the right of the enemy, and to preserve the province of Biscay from their incursions. The western division of the province of Castile was committed to the protection of the army of Estramadura; the eastern division to the army of Castanos. The capital was to be protected by their joint forces. The defence of the eastern provinces of Spain, with a particular view to Arragon, and its capital, Saragossa, was committed to the army of Palafox.

The first objection to this position of the armies, and to the plans which that position points out as within the views and purposes of the generals, is, that it spread them over far too great an extent of country. They stretched nearly across the whole breadth of Spain. In this tract there must necessarily be many points unfavourable to an army, whether its operations were meant to be offensive or defensive. It may indeed be questioned whether an army much more numerous than that which was thus employed, could have prevented its line from being broken in some point of its great extent. But there was still a more formidable objection. The army of Blake did not touch that of Castanos. A considerable space, unoccupied by the Spanish forces, lay between them. So that even allowing the practicability of an army being able to defend the whole breadth of Spain, every position which did not bring all the parts of that army into close contact, and enable them to rest upon each other, in such a manner as to afford immediate communication, if not speedy support, must be deemed ill-advised and insufficient. But there was also a defect of unity in the plan of the Spanish generals. At first sight, indeed, it would appear as if the defence of the north of Spain, however it may be objected to as being too great an undertaking, unless with an immense superiority of force, cannot justly be charged with a want of unity. But if we consider that, to accomplish this defence, the Spanish generals were obliged to turn their thoughts to different objects, unconnected with each other; Blake to the protection of Biscay; Castanos to the protection of Castile and Madrid; and Palafox to the defence of Saragossa and Arragon; we shall be convinced that the plan of the patriots wanted unity: the success of one did not necessarily and directly render the success of the others more easy and certain. Two faults then appear to have been committed: the armies were too distinct and distant from one another; and there was too little union of plan or object.

These faults would have been highly prejudicial to veteran troops, and experienced generals: to raw, undisciplined troops, led on by generals, who, whatever talents and activity they possessed, had not enjoyed the benefit of much experience, they could hardly avoid being fatal. While the great extent of their line, the unoccupied space between Castanos and Blake, and their want of a common and single plan,

rendered

rendered it impossible that they should act as one body; the enemy to whom they were opposed, directing his attacks upon them singly, was enabled to subdue each part as easily as if it had not been a separate and unsupported division of a grand army. Bonaparte, through all his campaigns, acts upon a simple principle: he brings his whole force to bear upon the weakest part of the line of his opponents; forces his way through it there; and after having destroyed the division he has cut off, he turns his attention towards the weakened, alarmed, and dispirited remainder. If this be his usual plan, even where the line of his opponents is not extended so far as to be destitute of speedy mutual communication and cooperation, and where every part of it rests closely and firmly on the adjoining parts, it is not to be wondered at if he puts it into practice against the too extensive and broken line of the Spaniards.

The first offensive operation of the French was to impel their whole mass forward upon the army of Blake. Several considerations seem to have led them to direct their attacks against him, before they attacked Castanos. He pressed much more closely upon the right of the French, than the eastern armies did on their left. He was besides in such a situation, that, if he were once completely defeated, it would be very difficult for him to join any other division of the Spanish army. At the time the French attacked him, they evidently thought that the British forces were near at hand, and more ready to cooperate with Blake than they actually were. It became, therefore, advisable to fall upon him before the supposed junction with the British should take place. When the French had resolved to make their attack against Blake, they dispatched for that purpose a force far superior to his. Three divisions, or about 60,000 men, were sent against him; they did not, however, all attack him at once; but, according to another part of Bonaparte's military system, fresh troops were brought up to carry through what had been begun: their attacks were incessant —no respite was allowed him, till he was judged to be in a situation that rendered him incapable of taking any advantage of the operations of the French against Castanos.

As soon as the success of the first attacks against Blake was ascertained, a force was dispatched against the army of Estramadura; the defeat of this put Bonaparte in possession of Burgos. There he established his head quarters; and from that city, as from a common centre, the different divisions of his army issued. The object of one was to cut off the retreat of Blake in the direction he was most likely to take; and to cooperate with the force previously sent, in the dispersion of his army. Bonaparte, having thus cleared his right, turned his attention towards Castanos. This general appears either to have been ignorant of the attacks upon Blake; or, if he knew of them, he had it not in his power either to assist him, or to take advantage of them. The battle of Tudela, in which he was defeated, was conducted by the French on their usual principle: they broke through the centre of Castanos' army, and cut off one of his divisions.

It is greatly to be lamented that the plan recommended in the precautions of the junta of Seville

was not adopted by the Spanish armies, as soon as the reinforcements of the enemy had crossed the Pyrennees. Then certainly, when they were opposed by superior forces, was the proper time to put in execution what these precautions so strongly and judiciously recommended. If the three armies under Blake, Castanos, and count Belveder had concentrated themselves in the strongest position they could choose, between the enemy and Madrid, Bonaparte himself would hardly have advanced, and left them in his rear: if he did, they would have had it in their power to harass him, and to prevent reinforcements from joining him. Or, if it were judged more expedient that the Spanish troops should act offensively, still a more concentrated force ought to have been formed. The great mistake undoubtedly consisted in a line far too extensive, and even broken; and in endeavouring to embrace objects which admitted of little or no cooperation or union of plan.

Unfortunately, during these disasters of the Spanish army, the troops which had been sent by Great Britain, to the aid of the patriots, were not far enough advanced, either to support their allies, or to be any check upon the operations or progress of the French. Sir John Moore, with about 15,000 men, arrived at Salamanca on the 14th of November: sir David Baird was at Astorga at the same time, with about 14,000 men; and a brigade of 10,000, under general Hope, were on their route towards Madrid. In consequence of the rapid advances and successes of the French, general Hope, after having reached the Escurial, found it expedient to retreat, and form a junction with sir John Moore: and upon the latter receiving intelligence of the army of Castanos, all the British forces began their retreat. In consequence, however, either of orders from our government, or of some favourable intelligence which general Moore received, the retreat was suspended, and the two divisions of the British army resumed their respective positions at Astorga and Salamanca.

The proceedings of the supreme junta of government, amidst the calamities of their country, were not marked by that activity, comprehension, and vigour of mind, which were so imperiously called for. Many of their acts and decrees would have been highly expedient and useful, provided the French had been completely driven out of Spain; but while they continued on the south of the Pyrennees, they were in a great measure inapplicable; and occupied that time and attention, which ought to have been devoted to more important and urgent considerations. In the beginning of November they passed a decree, ordering the formation of a special commission or tribunal for the trial of all persons accused of high treason in joining the enemies of Spain. This decree displays throughout a mildness, and anxious attention to secure the accused from oppression or injustice, which honourably distinguish it from the nefarious and bloody decrees that were issued by the revolutionary tribunals of France. In order that this character of it might be generally and easily known, the tribunal, which they meant to establish, is expressly called, in the decree, "An extraordinary and *temporary* tribunal of vigilance and *protection*."

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This decree declares, that while the armies of Spain are performing their duty to their sovereign and to their country, in repelling the unprincipled attempts of the enemy, it is incumbent on the junta to pursue with equal zeal and activity those enemies which are more concealed, but not less dangerous and formidable; since they are guided by interest and perfidy, and carry on their hostile designs under the mask of patriotism. Against them, therefore, the junta will take the most effectual measures; and thus they hope to cooperate in a manner most congenial to the character of their situation, and the demands of their duty, with the brave and loyal armies of Spain. But while their concern and regard for the public tranquillity and happiness will lead them to detect and to punish all who are enemies to their country, and who have discovered that enmity by an unnatural and unprincipled union with the French, they consider it as an obligation no less sacred on the supreme government, to stand up in defence of those who may be unjustly accused; and to protect the good and loyal against the blind and impetuous prejudices of the vulgar. In times of general commotion, suspicion takes deep root on the minds of the great body of the people. In the present situation of Spain, it must be so in a much stronger degree, and to a greater extent, than in most other public insurrections. Having suffered so much, the people of Spain would naturally distrust and suspect all whose conduct they did not clearly and fully comprehend. They would be apt to confound errors of judgment with the crime of disloyalty; and to brand with their censure, and load with their hatred, many ancient and faithful servants of the crown, as well as those who openly or secretly supported the designs and pretensions of the enemy. Their object therefore in forming this extraordinary tribunal was not more to detect and punish all traitors to their country, than to rescue from suspicion and obloquy those who had unjustly fallen under the accusation of disloyalty.

This extraordinary tribunal was composed of members from each of the great councils of the state. Its jurisdiction extended over persons of all ranks. It was declared competent to examine the conduct of every Frenchman in custody in Spain: such as were proved guilty of a conspiracy against the state, were to be punished; and those against whom no particular imputation was brought, were to be removed from the country. But this tribunal was not empowered to carry into execution any sentence which adjudged the loss of life, confiscation of property, or dismissal from office, without having previously laid the circumstances of the case, and the evidence upon which they had passed such a sentence, before the supreme junta. The less important and inferior business of the tribunal might be carried on by a certain number of its members; but if a writ for the arrest of any person, or for the sequestration of his goods, were necessary, it must be issued by the whole of the extraordinary tribunal. Great care was taken, in drawing up the powers with which it was invested, to guard against the abuse of them: clear and specific provisions were introduced, in order to prevent secret arrests, or long detention in prison. Even the papers of the accused were to be deemed sacred, and left untouched, as soon as it was ascertained that they contained

tained nothing relative to the crime with which she was charged. No action was to be grounded upon anonymous information; nor were informers to be admitted, if they insisted on their names being kept secret, unless the denunciation had been previously received from persons of respectability.

The attention and proceedings of this tribunal were particularly directed to the examination of the conduct of those who had taken their seats, as the deputies of the usurper at Bayonne, or who had yielded to his measures at Madrid. It was empowered to inquire and to decide whether the seeming compliance of the latter was the result of necessity and overruling circumstances, or their voluntary and cordial act and deed. The line which the tribunal ought to pursue in this difficult and delicate investigation, was marked out to them with precision and judgment: they were ordered "to proceed with that caution and prudence which justice and equity demanded, and which were due in a case, where, on the one hand, the public safety was at stake, and on the other hand, the fame and credit of many good and honoured citizens." Nor were they to be content with judicially clearing the character of unjustly suspected persons: they were to consult with the junta on the means of restoring them to all the credit and honour which they had previously enjoyed.

The supreme junta also issued a royal decree addressed to all the councils, and a proclamation to the Spanish people. As these papers, though undoubtedly valuable and important, contain nothing very new, we shall content ourselves with giving a very brief abstract of their contents. The first begins with an enumeration of the dreadful and accumulated evils, under which Spain suffered with long and patient endurance, from the period of her alliance with France, in the year 1796, to the commencement of the insurrection. Under every varying form of government, the interests of Spain had been neglected, or sacrificed to those of France, during the wars in which they had been engaged as allies, in the conventions they had formed with other states, and in the articles of the peace of 1801. Yet, though France neglected, and even sacrificed and insulted Spain, Spain continued true to her engagements: she bore every thing without even attempting any retaliation, or relaxing in her efforts to benefit France. After dwelling with considerable force and effect on all the grounds of complaint which Spain could justly bring against France, the junta proceed to detail and expose the atrocious perfidies and intrigues by which Bonaparte endeavoured completely to effect the subjugation of the country. The character of the favourite is fully developed; and the banishment of the royal family, after they had been compelled to renounce the throne, is dwelt upon with just indignation. The decree concludes with the solemn declaration of the junta, that they have bound themselves by an oath not to accept of any terms of conciliation or peace with France, unless Ferdinand be restored to his legitimate throne, and the whole Spanish empire, both in Europe and America, be secured in the most express manner, in its absolute integrity.

The proclamation of the supreme junta of government to the Spanish nation is of more interest and moment, from the circumstance of its being the first communication from

from that body, addressed directly and particularly to the people, than from the character of its contents, or its language. Indeed, there runs through this, as well as all the state papers which were issued by this junta, a tameness and prolixity in the style, and a want of vigour, comprehension, and appositeness to the circumstances under which it was written, in the thoughts, which place them far below the state papers of the junta of Seville. The critical and momentous circumstances in which Spain was placed, required a daring and bold mind, piercing and comprehensive in its views, and vigorous and rapid in its actions. Doubt, hesitation, delay, or half measures, were equally inapplicable, and might prove equally fatal. If the Spaniards wished to succeed in their attempts to regain and secure their national independence, it was to be supposed that for this object they were willing to sacrifice every thing which opposed it, and to perform and endure every thing which would bring it into their power. On this supposition, in its utmost latitude, the junta should have acted: they should have called with the voice, not merely of authority, but of undoubting confidence, for such supplies as the people had to bestow: and they should not merely have pointed out the necessity of raising and supporting, in a proper and efficient manner, an immense military force, but they should have instantly followed up the declaration of the necessity, with the adoption and unintermitted prosecution of the measures which, after mature deliberation and accurate inquiry, appeared to them most proper for this purpose. That their views of the danger which surrounded their country were imperfect and delusive, too plainly appears from the inadequacy of the means which they held out as necessary to rescue it, and place it in perfect security. Either they must have looked forward to the support of a very inadequate army, or they discovered themselves lamentably ignorant of the sums necessary to raise and support it, when they expected to derive them from savings in the expenditure of the royal household, the confiscation of the goods of the late ministry, and other funds either equally trifling or very precarious.

That this junta would have found itself more suitably placed at the head of affairs after the liberation of their country from the French, when it might have been necessary to regulate and settle the disorders introduced or created by the insurrection, than it was during the most critical moment of that insurrection, abundantly appears from the liberal and judicious remarks contained in the latter part of their proclamation. They express their determination to discuss and examine the proper objects of reforms, and the institutions which ought to receive the sanction of the nation. In order that nothing might be changed or introduced, but what the people wished, and what would assuredly benefit the people, and be conformable to their situation and habits, they express their desire to receive the advice and assistance of such of their countrymen as had devoted their attention and study to the investigation of the social principles. They point out in a clear and masterly manner the particular topics to which they mean to direct their own inquiries, and on which they hope to receive the result of the observation and thought of the intelligent

of Spain. The illustration of their ancient constitutional laws; the changes which the different state of society, and the difference of circumstances, might render necessary or expedient, when they were re-established; the gradual and cautious reform of their criminal, civil, and commercial code; the restoration and improvement of public education; are some of the grand objects of their solicitude and investigation. By pursuing these measures, even in the midst of the war which they trusted would terminate in the establishment of their liberty and independence, they express their firm hope, that the revolution in Spain would be gloriously and honourably distinguished from the French revolution; that, while in the latter the country was torn with faction, filled with a vast variety of contradictory and absurd opinions, and deluged with blood, Spain would exhibit the pleasing and cheering spectacle of a nation entertaining but one opinion and one desire,—a hereditary monarchy, and Ferdinand VII. on the throne; and pushing forward to the accomplishment of that desire, with steadiness, activity, and vigour, uncontaminated by violence, rapine, and slaughter.

How wise and virtuous are these sentiments; yet how premature and inapplicable! The danger was still hovering over them; it was every moment becoming more imminent and terrible: it was of a nature to demand and occupy the attention of the most vigorous and comprehensive mind. It ought therefore to have banished every other consideration: the means of avoiding or repelling it ought alone to have been permitted to enter the thoughts of the members of the junta: when they had fortunately accomplished the liberation of Spain from the presence of their formidable foe, then the time would have been sufficient and proper for the formation, development, and maturing of their plans of melioration and reform. The man who sought the subjugation and ruin of their country had this single object continually present to his mind: he permitted no other consideration to divide his attention with it; and yet he was much better prepared for the contest than Spain was, and much more completely master of his plan and his means than the supreme junta could possibly be.

The continued and unchecked successes of the French, and their consequent approach to the capital, at last alarmed the supreme junta, and induced them to address a proclamation of a different nature to the Spaniards. Intelligence, or rather a rumour, had reached Madrid, that the enemy had advanced to the neighbourhood of Somosierra, one of the strong posts which defends the capital to the north. It was to support and animate the people under the natural impression of this alarming information, that the supreme junta addressed them. In this address they assure the Spaniards, that their unremitted and anxious attention had been directed to the means of driving back and destroying those armies, who with continued temerity had advanced to the neighbourhood of Somosierra. This circumstance, though undoubtedly alarming, ought not to excite despondency, or create confusion. The artifices of Bonaparte were conspicuous even in the rumours which were circulated with so much care and eagerness in the capital; his agents were employed in spreading these rumours; and in order to alarm the well-disposed

but

but timid part of the inhabitants, they had greatly exaggerated the numbers of the enemy. The junta had taken particular pains and care to learn from the generals who had been previously sent to defend the passes to Madrid, the real number of the French troops who had audaciously advanced before their main army; and they could confidently and safely assure the people that they scarcely amounted to eight thousand.

After having contradicted in this official manner the rumours which had exaggerated the force of the enemy, the junta proceed to address the people of Madrid in a manner calculated to rouse their exertions. The country stood in need of them: their valour, which had been proved already in a contest with the French, and their circumspection, were relied upon by it for its defence. But now more than ever it became the well-disposed and the loyal part of the inhabitants to assist the arrangements of the captain-general and of the tribunal of vigilance, in order that those traitors, who might endeavour to introduce confusion, or to spread alarm and despondency, should be delivered over to merited punishment. No persuasion, no consideration ought to repress their activity, with which it became them to hasten to their appointed stations. The 2d of May should be always present to their mind;—on that day, deprived of all assistance, and even of the liberty of defending themselves, they had won the approbation and applause of all their fellow citizens by the loyalty and valour which they displayed. The enthusiasm which filled the breasts and animated the conduct of the Spanish soldiers, had given to the junta the highest satisfaction; it had inspired them with the most unbounded confidence. The English, strongly impressed with the justice of the cause for which Spain was fighting, and filled with the same enthusiasm, would march to defend the capital. The generals of the patriotic troops had already taken up favourable and strong positions: already the slaves of the oppressor and tyrant of all nations would have begun his dishonourable flight. Cowardice alone, inspired by treason, would exaggerate the dangers, in order that the inhabitants of Madrid might be disheartened. Against its rumours, therefore, the greatest incredulity should be opposed: if they were believed, the labours of the junta would be in vain. This apprehension, however, it was far from entertaining, after having had such ample and undoubted proofs of the obedience and unparalleled fidelity of their fellow-citizens.

The danger which threatened the capital was indeed great and alarming; and much more immediate than the junta, at the time when they issued their proclamation, seem to have apprehended. It was however expected and stated that the inhabitants would defend themselves to the last extremity: they were represented as rising in enthusiasm and determination, in proportion as the attack of the enemy became more near and certain. Vigorous preparations were resolved to be made for the defence of the city: the streets were barricaded; and deep trenches were ordered to be cut for the purpose of impeding and harassing the approach of the French. Madrid is accessible to an army only by two roads from the north; one of these passes through Guadarramma, and the other through Somosierra;

mosierra: the natural position of the latter is of uncommon strength; it is said that ten thousand men are sufficient to maintain possession of it against the most numerous force that could be brought to act against them. Both these places were guarded by strong bodies of troops; and the natural strength of their situation was greatly increased by the erection of works provided with a numerous artillery. In order to protect the city, if the enemy, aware of the difficulties of the passage by Guadaramma or Somosierra, should approach it from the eastward, the town of Guadalaxara, on that road, was fortified in such a manner as it was expected would effectually secure it from being carried by a *coup-de-main*. The defence of Madrid itself, and the preparations and works necessary to impede the advance of the French towards it, were intrusted to don Thomas Morla, who had already distinguished himself at Cadiz. But unfortunately, here also, what was necessary was delayed till it was too late. The address of Morla, calling upon the inhabitants to defend the city, was not published till some days after the defeat of Castanos, when nothing intervened between the French army and Madrid, and when no other object occupied the attention of Bonaparte, but its immediate assault and capture.

On the 23d of November, Bonaparte removed his head quarters from Burgos to Aranda on the Douro. His progression in this direction seemed to intimate an intention of pushing on immediately towards Madrid: this however he did not do, till his armies had defeated Castanos at the battle of Tudela. Soon after he learnt the result of that battle he advanced to the village of Bozeguillas; and on the last day of November the duke of Bellune appeared at the fort of Somosierra. The passes of this mountain were defended by 13,000 men of the Spanish army of reserve, who had taken up a very strong position, being entrenched in the narrow pass called the Puerto, with 16 pieces of canon. This pass was forced by the enemy, chiefly by means of the artillery under general Senarmont, and of a charge made by the Polish light horse under general Montbrun. It is impossible to form a clear and impartial judgment of the obstinacy or duration of the resistance made by the Spaniards, from the very circumstantial and immethodical account given by the French; but certainly, either from the pass not having been fortified with sufficient strength or sufficient skill, or from a want of persevering courage on the part of those who occupied it, the resistance was not nearly so obstinate, and lasting, as the junta appear to have expected and calculated upon, when they expressed their hopes that Madrid would be able to defend itself by means of the fortifications they had ordered to be raised. The French do not boast of having made many prisoners; all the soldiers they assert would have been taken, if they had not thrown away their arms and dispersed among the mountains.

The day after Bonaparte had succeeded in forcing this important pass, he removed his head quarters to St. Augustin; and on the 2d of December the cavalry of the duke of Istria commanded the heights of Madrid. The city was immediately summoned. As the supreme junta had quitted it on the approach of the enemy, a military junta had been formed, consisting of don Morla the governor, the

the captain-general of Andalusia, the inspector-general of artillery, and the marquis of Castelar, who acted as president. Sixty thousand men were in arms: of these 6000 were troops of the line; the rest were peasants. One hundred pieces of canon were planted for the defence of the city. Every thing announced enthusiasm and determination mixed with tumult and disorder. The summons of the duke of Istria gave birth to such a general and strong feeling of indignation that one of his aides-de-camp, who was the bearer of it, was nearly torn to pieces by the people; the interference of the troops of the line alone saved his life. The first summons was rejected. As the French infantry were still three leagues from the city, Bonaparte employed the evening, after the rejection of the summons, in reconnoitring, and forming the plan of attack, which he proposed to follow, provided the city would not capitulate. He ordered the suburbs to be occupied that night, and the artillery to be placed in the posts designed for the attack.

On the night of the 3d, another summons was sent from the prince of Neufchatel (general Berthier) by a Spanish lieutenant-colonel of artillery, who had been taken prisoner at Somosierra. In the letter containing this summons, Berthier calls upon the commandant of Madrid not to expose the city to all the horrors of a siege, nor to render so many innocent and peaceful inhabitants the victims of war. In order that the commandant might know the extent and nature of the preparations and force which the French had before the city, Berthier informs him that he had sent the summons by a Spanish officer, who had had an opportunity of ascertaining it. In reply to this summons the marquis Castelar, captain-general of Castile, requested a suspension of hostilities, for the purpose of consulting the constituted authorities, and of ascertaining the dispositions and determination of the inhabitants. While these letters were passing, the French were engaged in placing 30 pieces of artillery in such a position that their fire soon made a breach in the walls of the Reteiro, which was entered and the place taken. The capture of this important and commanding place, was followed by the occupation of most of the other situations in the immediate vicinity of the capital which the Spaniards had fortified.

A third summons was now sent in, containing a peremptory demand of immediate submission. In consequence of this, don Morla and another nobleman repaired to the tent of Berthier. They requested that the suspension of hostilities might be prolonged for another day, in order that they might endeavour to persuade the people to listen to the proposal of surrendering the city. Berthier presented them to Bonaparte, who abused them both, and particularly Morla, in the most outrageous and insulting manner. He upbraided him with his behaviour at Rousillon, in the war between France and Spain, at the beginning of the French revolution; and with his violation of the capitulation of Baylen. He finished his passionate invective with a declaration that, if the city did not surrender by six o'clock the next morning, the Spanish troops should all be put to the sword. During the night most of the troops and their leaders left the city; and in the morning

of the 5th of December it was taken possession of by the French.

The loss sustained by the French on this occasion is stated to have been very trifling, nor did the Spanish suffer considerably. The Reteiro was defended by one thousand men, who were killed when it was taken by assault; and this probably was nearly the whole amount of their loss. The French bulletins assert that 120,000 stand of English arms were found in the city: that the number is exaggerated there can be little doubt; but it is to be feared that a great proportion of the arms sent from England were deposited at Madrid at the time that city fell into the hands of the enemy.

Before the surrender of the capital, Bonaparte dispatched a corps of cavalry, and a division of infantry, under the command of the duke of Istria, and general Victor, to watch the motions of Castanos' army, which had advanced, after its retreat from Tudela, as far as the town of Guadalaxara. As this town is situated on the eastern road which leads to Madrid, it is probable that the object of Castanos was, if he found it practicable and safe, to push on and endeavour to defend or protect the capital. In order to prevent this, the French force was sent. The cavalry overtook the rear guard of the Spanish army, under the command of general Pena, attacked them and made 600 of them prisoners, dispersing the rest. While this corps was employed in preventing the approach of Castanos to the capital, another corps was ordered to cross the Tagus at Aranjuez, and to advance to Ocana, for the purpose of cutting off the retreat of the Spanish army towards the south. It does not appear that the French succeeded completely in accomplishing this object: they did succeed partially; for the army of Andalusia, which formed one division of Castanos' army at the battle of Tudela, was obliged, in consequence of the approach of the enemy, to give up their intended retreat into their own province, and to throw themselves upon the town of Cuenca. The remainder of Castanos' army are supposed to have pushed forward to the south of Spain, in order that they might occupy, along with the forces which left Madrid on its capitulation, the strong passes in the Sierra Morena.

It is impossible to close our account of the affairs of Spain, without picturing the contrast which they exhibited at the beginning of August and at the beginning of December. At the former period every thing connected with the cause of the patriots was bright and cheering: the armies of the tyrant, who had imprisoned their legitimate sovereign, and trampled on their liberties, were either flying before them, defeated by raw and undisciplined levies, or obliged to submit to a degrading capitulation. The man who had been placed upon the throne of Spain, after the nominal occupation of Madrid for a few days, fled in the most precipitate manner, at the approach of the Spanish armies flushed with the glorious and decisive victories which they had obtained over the troops of his brother. At that period the whole of the kingdom, with the exception of one or two provinces in the north, was freed from the presence of French troops; and those which remained, reduced in numbers, and dispirited by their flight and defeats, were

under the necessity of acting solely on the defensive. In the month of December how reversed was the picture! The armies of Blake, Castanos, and count Belveder had been defeated and dispersed; the capital was again in possession of the enemy; his immense armies, constantly increasing, were spreading themselves over the whole of the north and the centre of Spain; while the only remaining hope of the patriots rested with the southern provinces, and with the dispersed troops which might be able to collect and rally there.

It would be worse than useless, it would be both foolish and criminal, to shut our eyes to the dangers and disasters of the Spaniards, or to shrink from the patient and impartial investigation of the causes and circumstances which produced them. The bad effects of this obstinate blindness, of this weakness of mind which rests content with expressions of wonder and lamentation, and which dares not penetrate too deeply lest some national blame should appear or some new evil should be discovered, may be traced through all the wars which this country has waged for the delivery of Europe since the commencement of the French revolution. With respect to the gloomy appearance of affairs in Spain at the close of the year, especially when they are contrasted with her successes and her prospects in the month of August, it appears that the reverse she has experienced must, in a great degree, be ascribed to one of the three following causes. Either the enthusiasm and determination of the people was not, at the commencement of the insurrection, nearly so general and so strong as was represented: or those who were intrusted with the direction of affairs failed through want of talent, vigour, activity and promptitude, in keeping alive that enthusiasm and determination, and in taking advantage of the feelings of the Spaniards to increase the armies; neglected to adopt those measures which were necessary for their support, and their easy and regular communication, and intrusted them to men incapable of performing the arduous task of directing the operations of undisciplined and inexperienced troops, opposed to troops habituated to war, and led on by generals whose sole object and thought through the greater part of their lives had been the perfection of the military art: or, lastly, the cause must be sought in a still more dispiriting and melancholy consideration, that ten millions of people, determined to conquer or die, are unequal to combat with success against a regular army of two hundred thousand men.

It may indeed be remarked, that the cause of the Spaniards is not yet desperate: that a great part of their country is still unconquered: that the people of the south, who assisted the army of Castanos to defeat Dupont; the junta of Seville, who marked their conduct by all those virtues and talents which the state of their country required; and the people of Cadiz, who first openly opposed the French; are still to be conquered. We ardently and cordially hope, that a brighter day still remains for Spain; but that hope, instead of checking a severe and impartial scrutiny into the causes of the failures and disasters she has already suffered, ought rather to prompt and call forth their immediate investigation. If what has unfortunately happened in the

north of Spain is to be avoided in the south, it must be by ascertaining accurately and fully the real causes to which the misfortunes of the patriots ought to be ascribed. As Britons, it particularly becomes us to inquire whether this nation has done all that she promised, all that was expected, and all that she might and ought to have done, in support of the Spanish cause. We are unwilling to admit the heart-breaking supposition that the armies of Bonaparte are invincible; and if we do not admit that, or if we even admit that his victories in Spain have been much more rapid and decisive than could antecedently have been expected, it will be impossible not to seek the cause of those victories, partly at least, in the mismanagement of his opponents.

CHAPTER XII.

Affairs of Portugal—Manifesto of the Prince Regent on its Invasion—Report of the French Minister on the same—Edicts of Junot against British Property, and the wearing of Arms—Unsettled and gloomy State of Lisbon—Disposition of the Portuguese on the breaking out of the Spanish Insurrection—French driven from Oporto—State of the North of the Kingdom—Junot disarms and imprisons the Spanish Troops in Lisbon—Formation of a Junta in Oporto—Its Edicts respecting the Increase of the Military Force—The Suspension of Law-suits; the Trial of suspected Persons; and the Expenses of the War—Deputies sent to England—Expedition under Sir Arthur Wellesley—Proceedings before it landed in Portugal—Coolness between the British and Portuguese Generals—Battle of Roleia—Battle of Vimiera—Anecdotes of this Battle—Arrival of Sir Harry Burrard and Sir Hew Dalrymple—Armistice—Convention of Cintra—Protest of the Portuguese General against it—Disgraceful Plundering by the French—Appointment of a Commission to protect the Property of the Portuguese—Inquiry how far they could be of Service in this Respect—Delivery of their Arms to the Spanish Soldiers—Re-establishment of a Regency—Divisions among the Portuguese—General Hope's Proclamation—Delay in dispatching the British Force to Spain—Force left in Portugal—State of that Kingdom at the Close of the Year.

IN detailing the transactions which took place in Portugal, (secondary in the importance of their nature, and of their consequences, only to the events which we have just recorded) we shall avail ourselves of the manifesto issued by the prince regent soon after his arrival in the Brazils, so far as to enable us to trace the designs of France upon that kingdom back to the treaty of Tilsit, the period at which the plans of Bonaparte appear to have assumed their most mature and regular form. This manifesto is entitled, "A justificatory Exposition of the Conduct of the Court of Portugal with respect to France, from the Commencement of the Revolution to the Time of the Invasion of Portugal, and of the Motives which com-

compelled it to declare War against France in consequence of that Invasion, and the subsequent Declaration of War made after the Report of the Minister of Foreign Relations." As the former part of this manifesto, which relates to the conduct of Portugal prior to the treaty of Tilsit, is not interesting, either from the fulness and minuteness of its detail, or from its immediate connection with the invasion of that kingdom, we shall omit it, and confine ourselves to the substance of the latter part: we are aware, that we shall necessarily be obliged to retrace our steps beyond the commencement of the year 1808; but we trust that the importance of the part of the manifesto which we shall make use of, as well as the completeness which we shall by means of it be enabled to give to our narrative, will plead our excuse for indulging in a short retrospect.

The motives which led the court of Portugal to issue this manifesto, are detailed in the beginning of it with plainness and candour. By means of it they hoped to be able to establish, in the minds of the different nations of Europe, a firm persuasion of the purity of the conduct it had pursued, and of the principles upon which it had acted; as well as to exhibit another instance and proof of the duplicity and violence of the French government. One great purpose and object of the manifesto would be completely and happily answered, provided those states which still retained their independence should be incited to combine for the purpose of curbing and narrowing the power of France, and of restoring the Continent to its former state of tranquillity, equality of territory, and independence. The court of Portugal declared its firm intention to confine itself, in the manifesto, to a simple and moderate detail of facts, and to abstain carefully from all declamation or invective.

After stating the sacrifices Portugal had made in order to oblige France, or to keep at peace with her, and the benefits France had enjoyed by means of the neutrality of Portugal, in obtaining most of her colonial commodities and the raw materials for her manufactures; and the interruption which was given to the hostile designs of Bonaparte against the prince regent, first by the war with Prussia, and subsequently by the war with Russia; the manifesto comes to the period of the treaty of Tilsit, when no other object interfered with the views of the French government upon Portugal.

Immediately after the conclusion of this treaty, Bonaparte caused it to be notified to the court of Portugal, through the medium of the French *chargé d'affaires*, and by the Spanish ambassador, that he peremptorily required, First, that all the ports of Portugal should be shut against England: secondly, that all Englishmen resident in Portugal should be prevented from leaving the country; and, thirdly, that all English property should be confiscated. If the court of Portugal refused to accede to these demands, Bonaparte threatened that immediate war should be declared against it both by France and Spain. Three weeks only were given it to deliberate: if, at the end of that period, all the demands of the French government were not fully complied with, the French *chargé d'affaires* and the Spanish ambassador had orders to leave Lisbon. Bonaparte, however, did

not wait even this very short space of time; for, soon after his commands were notified to the Portuguese court, all the Portuguese merchant ships which happened to be in the ports of France were detained; and by this act hostilities were actually commenced.

The prince regent now found himself situated in a very awkward and perilous predicament: the long and tried alliance between his country and England forbad him to comply with the demands of Bonaparte; while, on the other hand, by an absolute and total refusal, he exposed himself and all Portugal to the enmity and vengeance of the unrelenting and ambitious tyrant. Persuaded that the British government would feel and make every due allowance for the extreme pressure and urgency of the difficulties and dangers by which he was surrounded, and ascribe any appearance of unfriendly or hostile conduct on his part to its real cause, the prince regent acceded to the shutting up of his ports, but refused to agree to the other two articles; alleging that they were contrary to the principles of public law, and to the treaties which subsisted between Portugal and England. As it was by no means probable, that this imperfect and evidently unwilling compliance with the demands of Bonaparte would avert the storm which was preparing, and seemed fast approaching, the court of Portugal began to adopt such measures as it thought would secure, or assist, its retreat to that part of their dominions where the power of the enemy could not reach it. For this purpose, orders were immediately given, that all the ships of war which were fit to keep the sea should be fitted out. While by this order the court prepared for their departure, in case Bonaparte should persevere in his hostile intentions, they did not neglect or delay to carry into execution that demand of the French government which they had expressed their willingness to comply with. The British ministry were informed that it might be necessary, for the purpose of saving Portugal, to shut her ports against England; and intimation was given to the British merchants resident in Portugal to the same effect. But the court of the Thuilleries had determined that no conciliatory measures on the part of Portugal should prevent the execution of those designs which had been formed against her. They insisted more peremptorily, and in a more haughty and determined tone than before, that all British subjects should be imprisoned, and their property confiscated; and having learnt that the prince regent intended to quit Portugal, and embark for the Brazils, they moreover demanded that this project should be given up. The prince regent, still relying on the generosity and candour of the British government, and convinced that every Englishman who yet remained in Portugal was naturalized there, and that all English property had been sold, reluctantly determined, in order if possible to avert the threatened danger, not only to shut the ports against the vessels of his old ally, but also to comply with the other demands of France. He declared, however, at the same time, that as soon as ever any French troops should enter Portugal, he was determined to remove the seat of government to the Brazils.

Notwithstanding the prince regent had thus fully complied with the

the demands of Bonaparte, he yet seems to have had just and well-grounded reason to apprehend, that he had not purchased the safety and independence of his kingdom, or his own personal security. In order to be provided against the evil he saw approaching, he ordered his whole army to move towards the coast and sea ports; and put things into such a train as would enable him to embark, without much difficulty or delay, as soon as he had ascertained, beyond the possibility of a doubt, that the French had entered Portugal in a hostile manner.

While he was engaged in these preparations, general Junot, with the van-guard of his army, entered Portugal. No previous declaration had been issued, nor had the consent of the prince regent been obtained; and yet the French general assured the people in the country through which he marched, that he and his army came as the friends and allies, not as the enemies, of the Portuguese; that he was sent by Bonaparte for the purpose of defending the kingdom against the threatened invasion of the English, and of acting in concert with the troops of the prince regent. Coming with these professions, and for this avowed purpose, the French army was every where received and treated in the most unsuspicious and friendly manner by the Portuguese; nor did they perceive, through the whole course of their march, any reason to believe that Portugal was in the least inimical to France. The corps with which Junot at first advanced, was by no means formidable either from its numbers or its equipment; and the prince regent, in his manifesto, asserts, that by rallying around him the troops which were at a short distance from him, and causing the English fleet to enter the port of Lisbon, he might easily have cut to pieces the French armies.

In this situation of affairs, the prince regent adopted the only measure by which he could preserve his own honour and safety, and afford a chance to such of his subjects as preferred liberty and tranquillity in the Brazils, to the degrading and crushing tyranny of the French, of accompanying him in his emigration. His fleet, which had long been in a state of preparation, sailed under the protection of the English to the Portuguese settlements in South America. He thus found himself at last obliged to escape from the power of the French, even after he had complied with every demand which the caprice of their tyranny had required of him.

Although, in this manifesto of the prince regent, he evidently takes credit to himself for more decision and firmness of character and conduct than he actually exhibited; yet so far as it unfolds the views and the plans of the French upon Portugal, and the measures of duplicity, artifice, and violence, to which they had recourse, it may justly be regarded as a valuable document. It is curious and not uninstructive to compare the demands which Bonaparte made upon the prince regent, and the purposes for which Junot assured the people that he had entered Portugal, with the scheme for dividing that kingdom which was laid down in the treaty of Fontainbleau, agreed to by Bonaparte and the king of Spain. By that treaty Portugal was to have been occupied and divided by the French and Spanish; according to the manifesto of the prince regent,

he might have preserved his kingdom, provided he would have yielded a ready, cheerful, and full obedience to the commands of Bonaparte with respect to the exclusion of English ships, the confiscation of English property, and the arrest of the subjects of that nation. In a report of the French minister of foreign affairs relative to Portugal, the pretexts of Bonaparte for his invasion and seizure of that kingdom are given with more fulness, and in an official form.

In this paper, which is interesting from its affording a clear insight into the oppressive character of the measures of the French government, its hatred against England, and the paltry and pitiable reasons it is obliged to assign for its most outrageous and unjustifiable acts; the Portuguese court are seriously accused of having suffered their ships to be visited by English ships; and this alleged violation of the independence of Portugal, committed by its own consent, is held forth as a proof of the enmity of that power against France, and consequently as a sufficient justification of the measures which Bonaparte had determined to adopt against the prince regent. Other accusations are indeed brought forward; that the English squadrons, which were sent to the river Plata, were permitted to touch at Janiero; that our troops, which were destined to act against Buenos Ayres, received provisions from the Brazils; and that the English troops which afterward proceeded to blockade Cadiz, to attack Constantinople and Ægypt, and to stir up revolt in the kingdom of Naples, were received and victualled in the harbours of Portugal.

After these accusations, the main charge is brought forward. Portugal had promised to join the cause of the continent, and to declare war against England; but she wished to adopt these measures in such a manner, that England would rather be benefited than injured by her professed enmity. The French government, it is alleged, were fully aware of the insincerity and want of attachment to the cause of the continent, of the court of Lisbon: but Bonaparte wished to spare that country; he relaxed in his demands; but as he still received indirect and equivocal answers, while at the same time he perceived the intention of the prince regent to emigrate, and the close connection he kept up with the English, he determined to acquire a positive and direct reply within the space of a month. Within that period the court of Lisbon resolved to leave Europe: "She broke off her last connections with the continent, by reducing the French and Spanish legations to the necessity of quitting Portugal."

A comparison of the different documents, the substance of which we have laid before our readers, will enable them clearly and fully to detect the duplicity and artifice of the French government in the whole of her conduct with regard to Portugal, and the deep-rooted and outrageous enmity which Bonaparte nourishes and manifests on every occasion and opportunity against this country. To make use of the jargon of the French, Portugal refused to join the cause of the continent; and therefore she was to be overrun and plundered by a French army: in other words, though comparatively feeble, and liable to be attacked by her more powerful neighbours the Spaniards, she refused to accede to the views

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of Bonaparte, and preferred an attachment to her old and tried ally, to an union, equally disgraceful and hazardous, with the declared enemy of the peace of the continent. Two grand objects occupy the mind of Bonaparte, and give birth to most of his acts of atrocity and violence; the aggrandizement of his own family, and the exclusion of British commerce from the continent of Europe: in order to further the accomplishment of these objects, Spain was deprived of her legitimate monarch, and made the seat of a dreadful war; and the prince regent was driven to seek a safer throne in the Brazils, while Portugal was overrun by the army of Junot.

As soon as the French general had fairly established himself in Lisbon, he began to put in practice measures of the utmost strictness and severity against English property, and such of the natives as should attempt to secrete it. A decree was issued, declaring that all moveable and landed property belonging to any subject of Great Britain in Portugal, and all goods of British manufacture should be confiscated. Whatever Portuguese should not make a true and exact declaration of the British property, or money, which he might have in his possession, was to forfeit ten times the sum proved to be actually in his possession; and in cases considered to be of an aggravated nature, corporal punishment was also to be inflicted. Notwithstanding the strictness of this decree, and the nature of the punishment which it threatened, it was not carried into general execution. There can be little doubt that many of the decrees against British property, though they may not be actually promulgated for that express purpose, are nevertheless of more benefit and advantage to the French agents, whose province it is to see their proper and legal execution, than to the French government itself. By a little management and address, this decree of Junot's was evaded; and the merchants who had British property were allowed to sell it themselves, and to make out their own account of the result of the sales.

The aversion of the Portuguese to the French, joined to their naturally revengeful disposition, soon rendered necessary a decree of a very different description. This proclamation, after stating that assassinations were daily committed, under the pretext of hunting and shooting, decrees that the carrying of fire-arms, for the purpose of hunting or shooting, is universally prohibited; that this prohibition extends more particularly to the districts reserved by the crown; and that every person not in the service, who shall be found armed with a gun or pistol, unless he has obtained leave of the commandant of Lisbon, shall be considered and treated as a highway assassin. Junot, indeed, soon found that his situation in Lisbon was by no means very desirable, nor likely to be long tranquil. By the constant and rigorous blockade of the port, the inhabitants began to experience much inconvenience, and were threatened with all the horrors and calamities of a famine. Trade was entirely destroyed; money was so scarce, that there was no sale for any goods but those of the most pressing necessity. Scarcely any merchants paid their bills, or accepted those which were drawn on them even by the

most respectable houses. The India house was shut up; and every thing bore the appearance of gloom and despondency; so that Lisbon, from having been one of the most busy and cheerful cities, presented nothing but quays totally deserted, and whole streets nearly empty. From all these causes, the minds of the people were in such an extreme state of irritation, that frequent disturbances took place. The very hoisting of French colours roused the populace against their invaders; and the soldiers were obliged to fire repeatedly upon them, before they could compel them to disperse.

It is highly probable, however, that the French force would have eventually brought the inhabitants of Lisbon under complete subjection, notwithstanding the pressure of the calamities from inadequate and dear provisions, and from the total stagnation of trade, under which they laboured, had not the Spaniards armed themselves in such a very general and determined manner against the tyranny and the designs of Bonaparte. The news of this insurrection soon reached Portugal: the inhabitants of Lisbon, kept in awe and subjection by the army of Junot, were prevented, at first, from manifesting their joy at the intelligence, except in a secret and guarded manner, from rising to expel the invaders and oppressors of their city. At Oporto, however, circumstances were more favourable to the wishes and the efforts of the Portuguese. A considerable body of Spanish troops occupied this town: as soon as they were made acquainted with the events that were going on in Spain, and learnt that their services were required in the glorious task of avenging the captivity of their monarch, and regaining the independence and tranquillity of their country, they determined to return. Before their departure, they took the French general and all his staff prisoners, and delivered up the government of the city to Louise D'Oliveda, who had filled that office before the arrival of the French. As soon as he resumed his functions, he ordered the Portuguese flag to be hoisted, and opened a friendly communication with the captain of an English frigate, which was cruising off that port.

The governor, however, soon manifested evident and undoubted symptoms of treachery to his country, and of attachment to the interests of the French. By his means the enemy were again enabled to establish a temporary authority; and had he not roused to the utmost pitch of indignation and fury the national feelings of the Portuguese, it is not improbable that the French would have preserved their power till they had gained assistance from Junot. But on the day of Corpus Christi, the governor, at the instigation of the French, refused to admit the Portuguese flag into the order of the procession, and attempted to substitute the flag of the enemy. This measure at once put his principles beyond all doubt, and drew upon him the vengeance of the populace. Irritated at this violation of the national custom, which at the same time proclaimed their supposed subjection to a power from whose troops they had so lately been freed, the inhabitants of Oporto broke forth into such loud and general murmurs of disapprobation, that the governor found it impossible to silence their suspicions, or to avert their threatened vengeance, unless

unless by yielding up his authority. The fury of the people was excited to such a degree, that they rose *en masse*, broke open the depôts of stores, and, having supplied themselves with arms, proceeded to destroy every vestige of French power, and to imprison every person suspected of being in their interest.

The bishop of Oporto, who, with most of the other priests, had been very active and zealous in rousing and directing the people against their invaders, was appointed governor in the city; and the most vigorous and decisive measures were adopted to defend it against any force, which might be dispatched from Lisbon for the purpose of regaining possession of it and quelling the insurrection. General Loison with about 3000 men actually advanced as far as Amarante; but when he learnt the formidable and determined spirit which the people of Oporto had manifested, and the state of preparation in which they were, he retreated towards Lisbon. During this march the hatred of the Portuguese against the French broke out in repeated and generally successful attacks upon the detached parties of his army.

Nearly the whole of the north of Portugal, comprising the provinces of Tralos Montes, Minho, and part of Bevia rose in arms against the French, and soon presented a very numerous force, partly composed of regular troops and partly of peasantry. The south of Portugal does not appear to have come forward so generally, or in so open and determined a manner, being kept back in some measure from their greater vicinity to the army of Junot, and also by a strong and numerous French party among themselves.

Although the army of Junot prevented the inhabitants of Lisbon from rising against the French, and following the example set them by the people of the north of Portugal in proclaiming the prince regent, yet they were enabled to keep up a friendly intercourse with the British fleet under sir Charles Cotton. By him they were encouraged in their patriotic sentiments, and carefully informed of what was going on in Spain and the city of Oporto. They looked forward with impatience to the time when they should have it in their power to avenge themselves on their invaders, and to cooperate with their countrymen in expelling the French from Portugal. This disposition of the people of Lisbon, of which Junot could not be ignorant, rendered extreme caution on his part absolutely necessary. As soon as he learnt the news of the Spanish insurrection, he ordered the troops of that nation which were in Lisbon to be disarmed, and put on board the hulks in the Tagus. This measure, however, either from the want of a sufficient force to execute it in an open and direct manner, or from that love of duplicity and artifice which seem inherent in the nature of Frenchmen, or from the operation of both these causes, he carried into execution by a manœuvre perfectly consistent with the nature of the government from which he derived his authority. The Spanish troops received orders to be on the parade at a very early hour, when the inhabitants of Lisbon were in their beds and the city was perfectly quiet, for the purpose, they were informed, of crossing the Tagus

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on their route to St. Ubes. As soon as they assembled in the great square, they were completely surrounded by large bodies of French cavalry and infantry, and ordered to ground their arms. Having thus prevented the Spanish troops from leaving Lisbon, and from assisting the inhabitants in their hostile designs against their invaders, Junot, who had received dispatches from Madrid, began to employ himself assiduously, and without intermission, in strengthening and provisioning all the fortifications in the city and its vicinity. He also called in the different divisions of his army, which had been stationed at a distance from Lisbon, so that his force, which at the time of his disarming the Spaniards did not reach 6000 men, was soon augmented to three times that number. Even this number he was apprehensive might not be sufficient to deter the Portuguese from rising upon him: in order, therefore, that they might be led to suppose that he was receiving reinforcements from Spain, regiments were frequently marched out of the city at a very early hour, when they would not be observed, and marched back again in the evening.

As soon as the French were expelled from the northern provinces of Portugal, and the authority of the prince regent re-established, provisional juntas, similar in their character and functions to those in Spain, were formed. Of these, that which met at Oporto exerted itself with the most zeal and effect in increasing and directing the enthusiasm and patriotism of the people, and in the establishment of such regulations and orders as the peculiar circumstances of the country required. The first edict which they issued related to the increase of the military force. They ordered the two regiments of the garrison of the city, which had been disbanded by the French, to be newly organized. They declared their resolution not to have recourse to conscriptional recruits or levies, as they were persuaded that the national ardour, which was so powerfully excited, would of itself soon place at the disposal of the provisional government, as many troops as would be deemed necessary both for the protection of the city, and for furnishing their due proportion towards liberating the whole of the kingdom. In order to give an additional stimulus to this ardour, the junta assured the inhabitants of Oporto by this edict, that all those who should enlist within the space of twenty days should not only receive the due and just reward of their services, but likewise an honourable discharge, whenever the exigences of the state no longer rendered their services necessary.

By another edict, the junta declared, that having taken into consideration the difficulty under which the people laboured, in carrying on their law-suits, from the undivided and close attention which was given by all ranks and classes to the defence of their country, the progress of all suits should be suspended, except of such as had reference to the public safety. This interruption and suspension, however, was not to be of any detriment to the rights of the parties, which were to exist in all their force, and might be taken up again and discussed whenever the circumstances of the nation would admit of their being heard in a full and regular manner. By the same

edict

edict the intendant-general of the police was authorized and required, without loss of time, to proceed to the trial of all prisoners of state: but as far as the mode of proceeding against them can be gathered from the imperfect and general manner in which it is mentioned, the junta of Oporto do not appear to have guarded against mere suspicion or unjust accusations, with so much wisdom, humanity, and justice, as the supreme junta of Spain did.

The next object towards which the provisional junta of Oporto directed their attention was the expense to which the measures they were about to adopt would necessarily subject them, and the means of meeting that expense in the most prompt and effectual way. They invited all loyal Portuguese subjects to contribute according to their respective ability, in money, clothes, provisions, or ammunition. In order, however, that all might join in the support of the public cause, and that a more regular source of revenue might be opened than that which would flow from voluntary contributions, they imposed several war taxes; among which that on wine exported was looked forward to as likely to be most productive. At the same time that these taxes were laid on, the inhabitants of Oporto were relieved by the junta from an impost which had been exacted from them by the French, under the pretext of passports.

After having thus taken such steps for the raising and support of their army, as their circumstances admitted or required, the junta of Oporto naturally turned their attention towards England for assistance and support. The intimate alliance which had long subsisted between Portugal and England, and the essential service which we had rendered the prince regent in his emigration to the Brazils, independently of the knowledge which the junta had of the favourable reception which the deputies from Spain had met with from the court of St. James, gave them strong and well-founded hopes of receiving prompt and cheerful assistance from Britain. Although, from many considerations and causes, the ministry and people of this country could not view the exertions of the Portuguese against the French with the same degree of sympathy and interest as they did those of the Spaniards, or attach to them the same degree of importance; yet the cause of a nation struggling against Bonaparte, in defence of their independence, and for the restoration of their old and legitimate government, could not be regarded with indifference or treated with neglect. Besides, the opportunity of weakening the French, and of strengthening the patriots, which would necessarily result from the insurrection of the Portuguese, and from that insurrection being countenanced and assisted by Britain, afforded obvious and strong motives for complying with the requests of the Portuguese deputies.

In our account of the affairs of Spain we have already noticed in a summary manner that the army under the command of sir Arthur Wellesley, which ultimately landed in Portugal, was in the first instance offered to the Spaniards. This army, consisting of about 10,000 men, set sail from Cork on the 12th of July, and arrived at Corunna on the 20th of the same month. A little before their arrival, the battle of Rio Seco had taken place, in which

which the Spaniards, under Cuesta and Blake, had suffered a partial defeat. In consequence of this intelligence, and of the instructions he had received from the British government, sir Arthur Wellesley offered the assistance of the force under his command to the junta of Gallicia. They, however, confident in their own strength, so far as regarded men, declined the offer, expressly assuring sir Arthur, that they wished for nothing from our government, except arms, ammunition and money. But while they declined the offer of the assistance of the British army in behalf of the Spaniards, they expressed their firm conviction that it might be of infinite service both to the Portuguese and to their own nation, if it were employed to drive Junot from Lisbon; and they expressed the utmost anxiety, founded on this conviction, that it should be employed for this important purpose. Another object they pointed out, by accomplishing which the British forces would essentially benefit the cause of the patriots. In the north of Portugal, and consequently at no great distance from Gallicia, the French were still in force: against them, in the first instance, the junta thought sir Arthur might direct his attack with every probability of success, and with the certainty of relieving the province of Gallicia, as well as the Portuguese, if the insurrection at Oporto, which took place about that time, still existed, or could be revived, when he reached that city.

As it was the express and determined purpose of the British government to be directed, in the disposal and employment of the forces they might send out to Spain, entirely in compliance with the wishes of the juntas, sir Arthur Wellesley left Corunna, and proceeded to Oporto. On his arrival there, the bishop informed him that the Portuguese force was sufficient to deter or repel the attacks of the French. In order, however, that sir Arthur might be better enabled to judge whether the grand object of the expedition under his command would be best accomplished by landing at Oporto, or proceeding forward to Lisbon, he left his forces off the former place, and joined sir Charles Cotton. With him he consulted about the possibility and the prudence of forcing the entrance of the Tagus, and attacking the forts in the neighbourhood of Lisbon. While he was there he received a letter from general Spencer, who was then with about 6000 men off Cadiz: this force was to be employed either in assisting the Spanish forces, under Castanos, in the operations they were carrying on against Dupont, or in conjunctionwith the expedition under sir Arthur Wellesley. As the junta of Seville did not deem the assistance of general Spencer's corps at all necessary towards the reduction of Dupont's army, and as sir Arthur was firmly of opinion that his own army, and that of general Spencer, could be of little service while they continued distinct and acted separately, towards the expulsion of the French from Portugal,—an object, he was convinced, of primary and great importance,—he gave orders to general Spencer to join him.

Sir Arthur found it extremely difficult to learn, with much accuracy, the numbers of the French. They were represented to him as about sixteen or seventeen thousand strong; fourteen thousand of which occupied the city of Lisbon, and the different forts in its immediate vicinity,

vicinity, and the remainder were dispersed as garrison troops, in the strong places, at a greater distance from the capital. This information, so far as it regarded the numerical strength of the enemy, was afterwards found to be inaccurate, as their force reached nearly twenty-four thousand men. Having made himself acquainted with the estimated strength and the disposition of the French army, sir Arthur thought it would be extremely dangerous to attempt landing his troops in any of the bays to the north of the Tagus, as he thus would unavoidably expose them to the attack of the principal body of the enemy's army. Having carefully weighed every circumstance, he finally determined that the landing should take place in Mondego bay. He thus would be enabled to effect it without any opposition from the enemy, while at the same time the Portuguese army, which had advanced to Coimbra, could speedily and easily be brought to cooperate with him.

Before he landed he received advice from the British government, that five thousand men under general Anstruther were proceeding to join him, and that above ten thousand more, under sir John Moore, would speedily be dispatched for the same purpose. He was also informed that Castanos had succeeded in compelling the French corps under Dupont to surrender, and that the army of Junot was considerably weakened by his having been obliged to send off general Loison, with about six thousand men, into the province of Alentejo, in the south of Portugal, in order to quell an insurrection which had broken out there. This information induced sir Arthur to commence the disembarkation of his troops without delay. Soon after it was completed, the corps under general Spencer also landed; and on the 9th of August the advanced guard marched forward on the road to Lisbon. The operations of the army were quickened by the information sir Arthur received that marshal Bessieres, although Joseph Bonaparte, in consequence of the defeat of Dupont, had fled from Madrid, seemed disposed to make an irruption into the north of Portugal. As this irruption could have for its object only the relief of Junot, or the placing of the army of sir Arthur Wellesley between two hostile corps, it seemed necessary to lose no time, but if possible to gain some important advantages before the French marshal could have an opportunity of putting his plan into execution. Unfortunately a coolness arose between the Portuguese and the English generals; owing, in a great degree, to a demand made by the former of a supply of provisions from the British stores, which it was impossible to comply with without exposing our own troops to insufficient or precarious sustenance. In consequence of the refusal to give them part of the British stores, the Portuguese corps separated from the English; and though sir Arthur Wellesley used all his endeavours, and made every reasonable proposal to reunite the two armies, he could not accomplish his purpose. He was even refused the reinforcement of 1000 infantry, 400 light troops, and 200 cavalry, whom he promised to support from the British stores.

The first intention of the British general was to have attacked the posts of the enemy which were stationed along the coast; but this intention he found himself compelled

pelled to abandon, principally on account of his not meeting with the cooperation he expected from the Portuguese. On the 12th the army reached Licria; and on the 15th the advanced guard for the first time came up with a party of the French at Oviedas. A slight action took place, occasioned principally by the eagerness of the British to attack and pursue the enemy. On the 16th the army halted, and the next day sir Arthur Wellesley formed the determination of attacking general Laborde at Roleia. This place is situated on an eminence, with a plain at the end of a valley on its front. On the hills on both sides of this valley the enemy had stationed his posts after the skirmish of the 15th. His army took its station on the heights in front of the village, the right resting on the hills, the left on an eminence, and the whole covering and protecting the passes of the mountains which lay in his rear. The French force, thus strongly and advantageously posted, consisted of about six thousand men, with five pieces of cannon, and the British general had reason to believe that the right of the enemy would be strengthened by the arrival of a fresh force in the course of the night, under Loison. He formed his plan of attack accordingly: the right, consisting of the few Portuguese who still remained, were appointed to turn the left of the enemy; and if they succeeded in this attack, they were ordered to penetrate into the mountains which lay on his rear: the left, under the command of general Ferguson, were destined to ascend the hills, in order to turn the enemy's posts on the left of the valley, and the right of that post which he had stationed at Roleia: the centre columns of the English army were destined to act against the front of the enemy.

By this judicious and skilful plan of attack, carried into execution on all sides with the utmost exactness and bravery, the French were soon driven from their position, and were compelled to retire by the passes into the mountains: their retreat they effected with very great celerity, and without the least confusion or disorder. The British infantry in vain endeavoured to overtake them, and to complete the discomfiture which they had so happily begun. Had our army been properly supplied with cavalry, the loss of the enemy on the plain must have been very great, as well as the chance of his escape much lessened. As soon as the French reached the mountains, they occupied a very formidable position. It, therefore, became necessary to alter the disposition of the British army so as to correspond with the different mode of attack which was to be pursued. All the passes, naturally difficult of access, and strongly guarded by the enemy, were to be carried. Corps of the English were sent round to make the attack on the flank, while at the same time other corps attacked the front All the passes were well defended by the enemy, particularly that which was attacked by the 9th and 29th regiments. These regiments had advanced with such impetuous rapidity, that they reached the front of the enemy before the corps which was dispatched to attack the flanks: a most desperate battle ensued, attended with very considerable loss on our side; but at last the enemy was driven from all the passes of the mountains which he had occupied, and part of our troops reached the plains

plains on their tops. The enemy, in order to cover the retreat of his defeated army, made three distinct desperate and gallant attacks upon the two regiments which first reached the tops of the mountains: in all of these attacks he was completely repulsed; and his retreat would either have been cut off, or attended with great confusion and loss, if the British army had been supplied with cavalry. Another circumstance favoured the retreat of the French: the sides of the mountains, on which they were posted, and where they attacked such of our troops as first ascended, were so very steep and difficult of access, that a sufficient reinforcement of troops and of cannon could not be brought up in proper time. The loss of the enemy in this action was very considerable. Three pieces of cannon fell into the hands of our army. Our loss, in killed, wounded, and missing, nearly reached five hundred. This action must be regarded as highly honourable to the British arms, when the advantageous positions occupied by the enemy, and the comparatively small portion of the army actually engaged, are taken into consideration. In its consequences this victory was of great moment; the passes from which the enemy were driven lay on the direct road to Lisbon; before sir Arthur could have advanced, it was, therefore, absolutely necessary for him to fight and drive them back.

On the day after the battle, the British army moved to Lourinha, in order to protect the embarkation of the troops under general Anstruther; and on the 21st they resumed their march. Junot having been informed of the reinforcements which the British army expected under the command of sir John Moore, resolved, notwithstanding the defeat of his troops on the 17th, to endeavour to drive back the British before their reinforcements arrived. For this purpose he left Lisbon with nearly the whole of the French forces under his command, and came up with our army, on the morning of the 21st, at Vimiera. This village stands in a valley, through which a small river runs; on the west and north of the village is a mountain, one end of which reaches to the sea, and the other is separated by a deep ravine from the heights. The greater part of our infantry with eight pieces of artillery were posted on this mountain, under generals Hill and Fergusson. The riflemen, under general Fane, and the brigade of general Anstruther, were posted on a hill, which lies to the east and south of the village, and which is entirely commanded by the mountain on which the troops under generals Hill and Fergusson were placed. The cavalry and reserve of artillery were placed in the valley between the hills on which the infantry were posted. Soon after the enemy appeared, it was obvious that his intention was to attack the advanced guard and the left wing; the positions of the British army were immediately changed with the greatest promptness, order, and judgement, to meet and repel the threatened attack. The French army, formed into several columns, began their attack upon the whole of the troops on the heights in the south-east quarter; and they advanced on the left, notwithstanding the fire of the riflemen, close to the bayonets of the 50th regiment; these they were unable to stand, and they were consequently driven back. In order to prevent them from penetrating

into the village, a small body of troops had been stationed in the church-yard: here also the engagement commenced early, and here also the enemy were repulsed in their attempt. While one column of the French advanced against the left of the English army, another body of them endeavoured to break through the right wing; but they were met and repulsed by the bayonets of the 97th regiment; while at the same time the 2d battalion of the 52d, by an advanced movement, took them in flank. On these points the British army had acted merely on the defensive; but general Anstruther advancing for the purpose of occupying his position on the left, attacked their flank, which suffered severely from his fire, and from the fire of the artillery, which was placed on the same heights as his brigade. The contest on this height was long and dreadfully contested; but at length the enemy were completely repulsed and thrown into confusion; leaving behind them, in their flight, seven pieces of cannon, and a great many killed, wounded, and prisoners. A detachment of our cavalry pursued the routed French; but owing to their great superiority in this description of troops, they were obliged to return, after having suffered severely.

The attack was made on the heights which lie near the road to Lourinha, nearly at the same time that the enemy advanced against the other divisions of our army. A large body of cavalry supported this attack, which was begun with the usual impetuosity of the French. It was received with the utmost coolness and steadiness by the brigade under the command of general Fergusson. As soon as the enemy came near them, they charged him in their turn; he did not, however, stand their bayonets, but almost immediately gave way. Our troops advanced as the enemy retreated, and took from him six pieces of cannon, and a great number of prisoners. He suffered also very much during his retreat, in killed and wounded. The last effort of the French was directed to the recovery of part of their artillery: for this purpose they attacked the 71st and 82d regiments, which had halted in the valley, where the captured artillery lay. These regiments retired till they reached the heights; when they faced about and fired upon the enemy, compelling him again to retire from the valley with great loss, and without having accomplished the object of his attack.

The great superiority of the British in that most essential quality of a soldier, cool, steady, and persevering courage, was decisively and gloriously displayed throughout the whole of this celebrated battle. The enemy were certainly much better provided with cavalry than the British: their artillery, though not served with such skill and effect, was yet more numerous; and the force actually engaged was also greater, as from the nature of the ground which our troops occupied, and of the attack which the French made upon them, not more than one-half of them were opposed to the whole army of the enemy. Yet their victory was decisive and splendid: the celebrated manœuvre, to which Bonaparte is indebted for almost all his victories—that of attacking by column, and endeavouring to break the line of his opponents, was attempted to be put into practice; but the attempt, though made with the characteristic impetuosity of the French, completely failed.

failed. The British line remained firm and unbroken; and when they in their turn charged with the bayonet, they proved themselves as much superior to the French in attack, as they were in defence. The enemy fled from the charge; and this, as well as every battle in which the British have had recourse to the bayonet, proves that with it they are irresistible.

In this battle the enemy lost 13 pieces of cannon, and about 3000 in killed and wounded. One general officer was wounded and taken prisoner, and another was killed. Our loss in killed, wounded, and missing, amounted to nearly 800.

Of the many anecdotes relative to the battle of Vimiera, that prove and illustrate the honourable disposition as well as the personal courage of the British soldiery, two are especially worthy of being recorded. When the French general Bernier was wounded, he was in danger of having been put to death by those into whose hands he fell. A corporal of the 71st regiment, of the name of Mackay, fortunately came up and rescued him. The general wishing to show his gratitude to his deliverer, and to reward him, made him an offer of his watch and purse. These Mackay positively refused to accept, to the surprise and astonishment of Bernier; who probably thought that the corporal, in rescuing him from death, had a view solely or principally to his own interest, and who, from what he knew of his countrymen, the French, would certainly not be led to anticipate the refusal of what, according to his ideas of the rules of war, might be regarded as lawful booty. The other hero was a Highlander, of the name of Steward, the piper of the grenadier company of the same regiment in which Mackay was a corporal. Early in the battle Steward was dangerously wounded in the thigh, and of course rendered unable to accompany his regiment. He refused, however, to be carried off the field of battle: but having been placed, according to his desire, in a situation where he might be secure and uninterrupted, and at the same time near his regiment, he continued during the remainder of the engagement to animate the men by his martial music. Mackay was very deservedly promoted to a commission. And the Highland Society at their next meeting unanimously resolved that a gold medal, with a suitable device and inscription, should be presented to Mr. Mackay, as a mark of the sense the society entertained of his meritorious, manly, and disinterested conduct; and that a handsome stand of Highland pipes, with a proper inscription engraved on them, should be given to Steward the piper for his highly spirited and laudable conduct at the battle of Vimiera.

After the dispositions for the battle at Vimiera had been made, sir Harry Burrard arrived at the scene of action; but he declined taking upon himself the command of the army. On the 22d, the day after the battle, sir Hew Dalrymple, who had been ordered from his situation as lieutenant-governor of Gibraltar, for the purpose of taking the command of all the different corps sent by the British government into Portugal, reached Cintra, the place to which the British army had moved. A very few hours after his arrival, a flag of truce came in from Junot, with a

proposal for a cessation of hostilities, in order that a convention, by which the French should evacuate Portugal, might be settled and agreed upon. An armistice was accordingly signed by general Kellerman and sir Arthur Wellesley, the principal articles of which were, that a suspension of arms should immediately take place, for the purpose of entering into a definitive convention: that it should be considered as a prospective agreement that the French army should not, on any account, be regarded or treated as prisoners of war; and that all the individuals who composed it should be sent to France, with their arms and baggage, and all their property, no part of which was to be kept from them; that whosoever had attached himself to the French interest, whether Portuguese or of a nation allied to France, should not be challenged or injured for his conduct; but, on the contrary, should be protected, his property respected, and liberty granted him to leave Portugal; that the neutrality of the port of Lisbon should be acknowledged, or, in other words, the Russian fleet in the Tagus should not be molested, but be suffered to depart without being pursued, till after the lapse of so many hours as were allowed by maritime law in such cases; and that all the artillery of French calibre, as well as their cavalry horses, should be sent to France. This armistice was not to be broken without forty-eight hours previous notice.

That this armistice, so disgraceful in all its articles, was not fully confirmed, we are indebted to sir Charles Cotton, who positively refused his assent to the escape of the Russian fleet. It was, therefore, necessary to new-model the article respecting them; and the substance of the definitive convention was as follows. The English government was to be at the expense of transporting the whole of the French army to any of the ports between Rochefort and L'Orient. When the army arrived in France, they were to be at liberty to serve again immediately. All the property of the army, *i. e.* their military chest, carriages attached to the commissariat, hospitals, &c. as well as the property of the individuals of the army, was to be sacred and untouched. It might either be carried off into France, or sold in Portugal. In the latter case, full security was to be given by the British to the purchasers, that the property they had bought would not be taken from them, nor they themselves molested on account of the purchase. The embarkation was to take place in three divisions, the first to sail within seven days of the date of ratification or sooner. No native of Portugal was to be molested or considered as accountable for his political conduct, during the time the French had occupied the country; and such of them as were desirous of leaving it were to have full liberty to dispose of their property. In return for the delivering up of the Spanish troops, which had been confined by Junot in the ships of the harbour, the commander in chief of the British army engaged to obtain from the Spaniards the release or restoration of such French subjects, either military or civil, as might have been detained in Spain in consequence of the events that occurred during the end of May and the beginning of June. Respecting the Russian fleet a convention

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was agreed to by sir Charles Cotton, and admiral Siniavin, by which the ships were to be delivered up immediately, with all their stores, to the English admiral, in order to be sent to England: there they were to be held as a deposit, and not to be restored till six months after the conclusion of a peace between Russia and Great Britain. The Russian admiral, officers, seamen, and marines, were to be allowed to return to Russia without any stipulation with regard to their future services; the British government were to be at the expense of conveying them thither.

Such is the substance of the principal articles agreed to in the convention of Cintra; the objections to it will be more properly noticed in another place: here we shall barely remark, that were it considered by itself, without any trace or remembrance of the battle, which preceded it, it must be pronounced to be a convention entered into by parties, which were equal in situation and prospect; or if either of the subscribing parties were regarded as inferior, the British and not the French would be viewed in that light. Did we not know that the battle of Vimiera preceded it, and that the British army were decidedly victorious in that battle, we certainly should not have been able to have deduced this fact from the convention of Cintra. If any thing can render this convention still more extraordinary and unaccountable, it is the fact, that during the suspension of arms, after the armistice had been signed, but before the convention had been agreed upon, the army of sir John Moore actually disembarked at a short distance from the army, now under the command of sir Hew Dalrymple.

It was not to be expected that the Portuguese, who had been pillaged in such a very shameful and outrageous manner by the French, would feel disposed to regard with satisfaction the convention of Cintra. On other accounts also it occasioned loud murmurs and great discontent among them, and contributed not a little to aggravate and extend that coolness and misunderstanding which unfortunately had taken place, so very early after the landing of sir Arthur Wellesley, between them and the British. General Bernardin Freire, commander of the Portuguese troops, entered a formal protest against the convention. In the preamble to his protest, he condemned the treaty as being totally void of the deference due to the prince regent, and as containing many stipulations evidently injurious and hostile to the independence and interest of the Portuguese government and nation. In a more especial and particular manner he protested against those articles which declared that the French should deliver up the Portuguese fortified places, stores and ships, to the English forces, without at the same time expressing that the surrender to the English be only momentary, and formal, and that they should immediately restore what was surrendered to them, to the legitimate government of Portugal;—and which protected from just punishment, those persons who had been notoriously and scandalously disloyal to their prince, by joining the French party. The want of attention to the safety of the inhabitants of Lisbon, was also marked and reprehended by the general with great severity and justice. As the convention had expressly declared that all the property belong-

ing to the individuals of the French army was to be considered as sacred, and that they might either dispose of it in Portugal, or carry it away under the name of baggage, the most shameful and rapacious pillage of the Portuguese took place very soon after its ratification. It was discovered that the French officers, so far from discountenancing and repressing these shameful proceedings of their men, rather encouraged them in it. In order therefore at once to protect the Portuguese, and to keep the execution of the articles of the convention to their proper and just meaning, it was absolutely necessary to appoint commissioners, who might determine what was and what was *not* private property. It is indeed difficult to conceive any circumstance which could be more grating to the Portuguese, than to witness the French soldiers embarking, under the protection of the British and in British ships, all the plunder which they had either sacrilegiously seized from the churches, or wrested from individuals. Had not some measures been adopted, which might pacify in some degree the indignation of the inhabitants of Lisbon, it is highly probable that they would have opposed by violence the embarkation of the French. Unfortunately no interpretation could fairly be put upon those articles of the convention, which related to the baggage and private property of the French soldiers, that could entirely free the Portuguese from the mortifying sight which presented itself on the quays of Lisbon, or convince them that, in the framing of these articles, the English had been as attentive as they ought to have been to the interest of the nation they came to protect and relieve.

The conduct of the French soldiers at length became so openly and grossly at variance with the most free construction, that the articles of the convention would bear, that the Portuguese, who suffered from their violence and rapacity, complained in such very strong terms to the British commander, and the evidence that Junot connived at the disgraceful behaviour of his officers and men was so clear and positive, that the first division of the French army, amounting to about 8000 men, who were actually embarked, were forbidden to sail till they had disgorged a great part of their plunder. A military committee was formed, for the purpose of ascertaining what might justly be considered as private property, and what ought to come under the denomination of plunder. This committe was composed of gen. Beresford and colonel Proby, on the part of the English; and of general Kellerman on the part of the French. They were declared expressly to be formed into a commission, for the purpose of restoring property of every kind, confiscated or seized from the subjects, or other persons residing in Portugal, or from the royal palace, public libraries, and museums.

In a proclamation issued by the commissioners, immediately after their appointment, they declared that any purchase made of articles taken from the public arsenals or stores since the 30th of August, or whatever should be proved to have been illegally sold or disposed of at any time, even previous to that date, should be null and void;—the articles so sold should be seized; and the persons who had purchased them should be subject to the punishment adjudged by the law in such cases. By comparing

paring that article in the convention which respects the contributions levied by the French, with the powers vested in the commissioners, we shall perceive how far and in what respects the Portuguese were actually benefited by their labours. By the 15th article it is evident that all the contributions which the French had levied, prior to the 30th of August, and which were actually paid to them, were declared to be valid and irreclaimable. Thus did a convention, signed and ratified by the allies of the Portuguese nation, deprive the injured inhabitants of all right to recover the heavy and exorbitant contributions levied upon them during ten months of French usurpation. On this point the commission which was instituted gave no redress; they were to confine their inquiries to two objects: 1st, Whether the property extorted by the French, by way of contribution for the maintenance of their army, was actually extorted before the 30th of August? If it were, it belonged to the French; if not, the commissioners were empowered to restore it. And 2dly, Was the Portuguese property in possession of the French army, the fruit of private robbery? In this case also it might be reclaimed by the right owners. Where surreptitious sales of public property had taken place, the commissioners were also empowered to declare the sales void, and to restore the goods so sold. From this view of the subject, it will too plainly appear how little the objectionable articles of the convention could be modified, so as at once to relieve the oppressed and injured Portuguese, and to preserve it from an absolute and palpable infraction. If we consider with what an unchecked and unprincipled love of plunder all ranks in a French army are infected, and how completely they had the city of Lisbon under their power for ten months, we may form some conception of what the inhabitants suffered, and what they were deprived of, of what the French carried away, and of the gross and criminal inattention and misconduct of those who sanctioned their proceedings, by allowing them to enjoy the entire and unmolested possession of their plunder.

One of the most pleasing circumstances which resulted from the victory of Vimiera, and the consequent liberation of Lisbon from the yoke of the French, was the freeing from bondage, and restoring to their country, the Spanish troops, which Junot had ordered to be disarmed and to be confined in the vessels in the Tagus. The day on which their arms were delivered to them presented an interesting and grand sight. In order that this act might be performed with the magnificence which was justly due to it, all the British and Portuguese troops were assembled on the occasion. The sword of the Spanish general was delivered to him by general Beresford, with an appropriate address, in which he congratulated himself on the honour which had been allotted him of delivering to a Spaniard, and therefore a man of honour, that sword, of which he had been deprived by the artifice and violence of the foes of his country, and which, now that he had regained possession of it, would undoubtedly be employed by him, for the purpose of cooperating with his patriotic and loyal fellow citizens in the liberation and defence of their country. As soon as the offi-

cers and soldiers were put in possession of their arms, they pronounced a solemn and unanimous oath, never to repose till they had seen their beloved Ferdinand re-established on the throne; and for him, their religion, and their country, to conquer or die.

After the English had liberated Portugal from the French, it was necessary to consider of the most proper mode of establishing a provisional government. Great and unforeseen difficulties arose; the regency which had been appointed and left in power on the emigration of the prince, was necessarily dissolved when the French obtained possession of Lisbon: many of the persons who had formed it had united themselves to the enemy, and therefore could not with any propriety or prudence be re-appointed on the expulsion of the French. Sir Hew Dalrymple took upon himself to name the new regency. The assumption of this power by a military man, in the service of a foreign state, sent out expressly for the purpose of affording assistance to the Portuguese, certainly bore an extraordinary and rather a suspicious appearance, which, after the many reasons for coldness and dissatisfaction that existed, ought carefully to have been avoided. Either from the regency having been named by the general of a foreign army, or from a dislike to some of the persons who composed it, a considerable degree of opposition was made to its appointment, and its authority was refused to be acknowledged in different parts of the kingdom. The bishop of Oporto, who had signalized himself by the spirit, vigour, and success of the measures he adopted for liberating the north of Portugal, appeared to many to have a fair claim to a considerable share in the provisional government. Thus two parties were formed; and it soon became apparent that a third party, much more hostile to the interests and liberty of the kingdom, existed in no inconsiderable degree of strength and influence. The south of Portugal had never cordially or generally united with the other parts of the nation in their detestation of the French, or in their measures for resisting and expelling them. And even in Lisbon, plundered and insulted as it had been by the French army, the partisans of the enemy were more numerous than under these circumstances might have been expected.

This statement respecting the state of Portugal and the disposition of its inhabitants will probably account for, and in some degree justify, a proclamation issued by general Hope at Lisbon on the 16th of September, which was severely blamed by many persons in this country. In this proclamation he assures the Portuguese, that the general in chief of the British army, after having freed the country from its invaders and oppressors, is anxious to replace the civil government upon the same footing on which it was left by the prince regent. In order, however, to prevent the evil-disposed from taking advantage of the extraordinary crisis of public affairs, and converting real liberty into unbridled licentiousness, the British commander in chief thought it necessary to establish and maintain, for a short time, strong guards, piquets, and patroles in different directions, for the purpose of taking into custody any who should attempt to disturb the public peace. That every opportunity or temptation of creating

creating or promoting disturbances or insurrections might be done away with, no person was to be allowed to enter the city with arms, or to wear them in the streets; and all the small inns and taverns were ordered to be shut at six in the evening, and not to be opened before sun-rise. There can be little doubt that the state of the city called for such regulations: it cannot therefore properly or fairly be objected to them, that they savour too much of military power and law. But it is certainly strange and unaccountable, that these regulations were issued and were to be enforced by the British, and not by the Portuguese, commander.

That the state and disposition of Portugal was not exactly what might have been expected, after the expulsion of the French, is likewise but too evident from the large proportion of our army which remained there, at a time when the services of all we could possibly spare were so imperiously and urgently called for the situation of Spain. As the defeat of Junot and the liberation of Portugal were only mediate and not final objects of our expedition, as soon as these were accomplished, it ought to have proceeded without delay, and in its full and original force, to the assistance of the patriots. By sea it could not be sent, as our transports were occupied in restoring the conquered army of Junot to their country. Instead, however, of making up in some measure for the greater length of time which a march by land would occupy, by quitting Portugal so much the sooner, the troops, from some cause not understood, or at least not yet explained, did not begin their march towards Spain till nearly two months after the convention of Cintra: and even then, for some reason, of which we are not aware, it is affirmed that 10,000 men were left behind.

The state of Portugal at the close of the year does not present a very interesting or flattering prospect. The inhabitants manifest no zeal or disposition to assist their neighbours the Spaniards; nor are they seemingly inclined to adopt such measures of defence as would enable them to repel the French, if Spain should unfortunately again fall under the dominion of Bonaparte. The arming of the people, though strongly recommended, has not even commenced, and the numbers of the regular troops are little if at all increased. While the inhabitants of Lisbon felt the pressure of French despotism and plunder, they were eager to escape from it; but, having escaped from it, they seem to have forgotten the calamities they suffered, and to be in doubt whether they should attach themselves to the French, whose entire conduct towards them has been that of a determined enemy, or to the English, against whom their only accusation is the convention of Cintra.

CHAPTER XIII.

Opinion and Proceedings in England concerning the Convention of Cintra—Great Expectations of the Public from the Victory of Vimiera—Their Disappointment and Indignation at the Convention—Meeting of the Common Council—Their Address to His Majesty—His Majesty's Answer—Remarks on them—Resolutions of the Common Council in consequence of His Majesty's Answer—Other Meetings on the Convention.—Attempted Defence of the Convention—Institution of the Board of Inquiry—Objections to it—Remarks on Military Courts—Principal Facts ascertained by the Board of Inquiry—Dissimilar Character of the Generals employed in Portugal.

THE people of Great Britain looked forward with eager, but by no means with anxious expectation, to the operations of the expedition which had been sent to Portugal under the command of sir Arthur Wellesley. They knew the courage and discipline of the men who composed the army, and the activity and skill of the general who was to lead them on to battle. Even had the French force been much more numerous than it actually was, and placed in circumstances more favourable and advantageous than the enmity of the Portuguese, the insurrection in Spain, and the insulated and unsupported situation of Junot necessarily produced, few would have bargained for less than a total defeat and unconditional surrender. When, therefore, the intelligence arrived, that in the battle of Vimiera the enemy had been most completely foiled in every attempt to break the line of the British, and had been compelled to retreat before our unappalled and unshrinking soldiers, the public joy was great; but it was great, if possible, more from the expectation of what the next account was confidently expected to bring, than from what had really taken place.

A fortnight of suspense elapsed: during this time conjecture and report were busy; but nobody asserted, or gave credit to, any result of the battle of Vimiera, which did not include either the total defeat of Junot, (when he was reported to have hazarded another engagement,) or his unconditional surrender. When, on the arrival of the intelligence respecting the convention of Cintra, the receipt of joyful and glorious news was as usual proclaimed by the discharge of the Park and the Tower guns (at a time of night too very unusual, if not quite unprecedented) the report of another victory more decisive and honourable to the British arms, even than the victory of Vimiera, was universally spread and credited. To the public mind, in such a very high state of expectation; of expectation too which was not indulged and cherished but upon the most rational and satisfactory grounds, completely separated from all exaggeration or partiality;—it may easily be conceived how very mortifying was the intelligence, that a convention such as that of Cintra had been concluded.

For a very considerable time there was scarcely to be found a single individual who raised his voice in defence or exculpation of this convention. No part of it gave satisfaction. That article which stipulated for our conveying the French immediately to France, and

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that on their arrival there they should be at complete liberty again to serve, presented itself perhaps with stronger claims than any of the rest to the indignation and regret of the British nation. We had thus taken upon ourselves to convey a French army, from a situation in which they could do comparatively little injury to the great cause of the patriots, in defence of which we professed to be engaged, to France; and to that part of France where they could quickly join the armies which Bonaparte was collecting against Spain. These armies they could not possibly have joined if we had not afforded them the means: to us, therefore, their enemies and their conquerors, they were indebted for their liberation from Portugal, and for being placed in a situation in which their services could be of effectual and speedy detriment to the cause of our allies. And by so doing, we at the same time deprived our troops of proceeding to meet the army which they had conquered at Vimiera, on the frontiers of Spain. Our transports were to be employed in the service of our defeated enemies, in order to enable them to join the grand army of their country; while the conquering troops of Britain were obliged to wait till the transports returned from this unsuitable employment, or to undertake a harassing and tedious march by land. Can it be supposed that Junot had any wish more near his heart, than that he might be able to transport his army safely and quickly from its inactivity and danger in Portugal, and unite it with the force which his master was collecting against Spain? Assuredly, this he must have descried; and this the convention of Cintra enabled him to accomplish.

The maritime treaty was also viewed with equally strong feelings of indignation and sorrow. It certainly was the first time that the fleet of an enemy was to be held in deposit; and that it was seen (as the Russian fleet actually was) entering a British harbour with its colours flying triumphantly at the masts' head. And with what gross and criminal inattention had we treated our ally the king of Sweden! At a time when he found the utmost difficulty in opposing the immense superiority brought against him by the emperor of Russia, and when he consequently amply deserved the assistance, or at least the compassion of his ally, we injure and insult him by agreeing to conduct from the blockaded port of Lisbon 6000 seamen to man the fleets of his enemy.

Many other objections were brought forward against this convention. Indeed no single article of it gave satisfaction; for, by not one had any party been benefited but the enemy. The Portuguese, as has already been remarked, complained loudly and justly of the sanction it gave to the pillage and plunder of the French. It had set at liberty against the Spaniards a considerable army, and provided them with stores and ammunition. It had strengthened the means of the emperor of Russia against our ally the king of Sweden. It had deprived our gallant soldiers of the glory,—as far as it could,—and of the consequences of the victory which they had achieved at Vimiera. But although there was but one sentiment respecting the demerit and infamy of the convention, opinions were divided respecting the person to whom the guilt ought justly to attach. Strictly and legally speaking, sir Hew Dalrymple,

Dalrymple, as the commander in chief, was the responsible person. But the state of mind into which the public were thrown, was not of so tame and tranquil a nature as to suffer them coolly to look to the man whom the law would fix upon as the real author of the convention of Cintra. It was argued that sir Arthur Wellesley would have most weight in suggesting or acceding to the articles; as, from his having been much longer with the army and having gained the victory, he must have been better acquainted with what that victory, and the state of the enemy authorized the English to demand. When to this it was properly replied, that he must have acted in the signing of the armistice, merely as a subordinate officer, it was indignantly asked, why he did not rather brave the consequences of disobedience, and refuse to put his name to an armistice, which rendered the victory he had gained of little or no benefit.

As the disposition and desire of the ministers to set on foot a speedy and effectual investigation into the causes which had produced the convention, for the purpose of pointing out and punishing those who were really culpable, did not by any means appear to keep pace with the eagerness and anxiety of the public on this subject, it was therefore determined in many parts of the country to address his majesty, expressing the grief and surprise of the people at the extraordinary and disgraceful convention concluded at Cintra, and praying his majesty to institute such an inquiry as would lead to the detection of the causes of the authors of that convention.

The city of London took the lead on this occasion; and as we are happy to have another opportunity of recording the revival of their old independent spirit, we shall give the substance of what was stated at the common council convened on this occasion. It was urged by the mover of the address, that Sir Hew Dalrymple, who confessed himself to be completely ignorant of the state of affairs in Spain, was selected for the chief command in that country: here there appeared to be gross mismanagement; and from this circumstance might in some degree have originated the conviction of which the nation complained. The objections to this convention were so obvious, striking, and numerous; they had occupied the thoughts and attention of all ranks and classes of the community so completely, ever since the fatal intelligence had reached the country, that it was totally unnecessary for him to point them out with much minuteness, or to dwell upon them at any length. It had indeed been maintained by some, who seemed disposed to justify or palliate the conduct of the British general, that by the convention we had liberated Portugal from the French troops; and that, if it had not been concluded, a considerable length of time, which might have been much more advantageously employed, must have elapsed, before we could have driven by force of arms the enemy from that country. But could it be expected that he or any man, who had read the account of the battle of Vimiera, of the glorious and decisive superiority in every essential quality of a soldier, which our troops displayed throughout the whole of that battle—would be persuaded, that our victorious troops, reinforced by an army almost equal to that which had gained the victory, were

were not fully adequate to compel the French to an unconditional surrender?

In reply to the objection brought forward on every occasion to addresses of a nature similar to that which he meant to move, that they were ill-timed; he should merely state that this objection was virtually acknowledged to be weak by the circumstance of its being so very generally resorted to. It might be said that there was no precedent for such an address: if there really were none, he should have been proud to have set the example. But his notion was by no means without precedent. The court of common council had addressed his majesty in a case very similar, when the expedition against Minorca, in the year 1756, failed of success, and disappointed the expectations of the people.

It could not be regarded as improper or premature to address his majesty, praying him to set on foot an inquiry into the causes which produced the convention of Cintra, when it was recollected that no investigation had taken place on the disgraceful failure at Ferrol, or on the unfortunate and dishonourable consequences to the British arms at Helder and Dunkirk. If the convention of Cintra was to be passed over in like manner, the country could have no security against disgrace and defeat. Had the nation loudly called for an inquiry into the conduct of general Whitelocke, and demanded to know who gave him his appointment, it was highly probable that more competent generals would have been chosen to conduct the campaign in Portugal. He did not mean, however, to affix the blame of the convention, either on the generals or the ministry: he merely wished for a proper and thorough investigation. From every thing that hitherto appeared, the convention was most disgraceful: blame therefore must attach to some quarter: and the only mode of ascertaining fairly, and to the satisfaction of the nation, where it ought to attach, would be by the institution of a speedy and effectual inquiry.

He must again advert to the objection that the motion was premature;—that his majesty would of his own accord undoubtedly institute, without delay, such proceedings as to him appeared most proper and fit. But he wished to recall to the mind of those who pressed this objection, that his motion could not be considered nearly so premature, as the resolution which the court had very recently made to address his majesty for the wise and magnanimous part which he had taken in support of the cause of Spain. This address passed at a time when his majesty had only declared his determination to assist Spain; before any assistance had actually been sent. If it were urged that his majesty's ministers would undoubtedly institute an inquiry: that to address his majesty for that purpose, bore too much the appearance of doubting that he felt for the honour of the country, or was willing to punish those who had injured it, he would beg leave again to cite the address voted by the court, to which he had just alluded. When it passed, no one contended that it was useless or indecorous to put his majesty in mind of his duty, or to beseech him to do that which he had declared his determination to do. The purport and object of both addresses were the same; not to admonish or advise his majesty, but humbly to express to him the senti-

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ments, feelings, and wishes of the nation.—After some discussion, the motion for an address and petition to his majesty was carried unanimously.

In this address the common council, after dwelling with considerable force and feeling upon the splendid achievements which the valour of the British troops had performed;—the expectations in the public mind, to which the intelligence of the result of their valour had given birth;—the dishonourable and disgraceful terms to which the British commanders had acceded in the convention;—and the consequent disappointment and indignation of the nation;—concluded with humbly praying his majesty, in justice to the outraged feelings of a brave, injured and indignant people, whose blood and treasure had been thus expended, as well as to retrieve the wounded honour of the country, and to remove from its character so foul a stain in the eyes of Europe,—immediately to institute such an inquiry into this dishonourable and unprecedented transaction, as would lead to the discovery and punishment of those by whose misconduct and incapacity the cause of the country and its allies had been so shamefully sacrificed." The answer of his majesty was by no means commendatory or encouraging. He gave credit to the motives which had given birth to the address; but he reminded the common council that it was inconsistent with the principles of British justice, to pronounce judgment without previous investigation! His majesty also expressed his surprise, that the common council had not been convinced by recent occurrences of his readiness at all times "to institute inquiries on occasions in which the character of the country or the honour of his arms was concerned; and that the interposition of the city of London could not be necessary for inducing him to direct due inquiry to be made into a transaction which had disappointed the hopes and expectations of the nation."

This answer being considered, according to the true and genuine spirit of the British constitution, as proceeding from ministers, was received by the nation in general with strong feelings of discontent and disapprobation. The common council in their address had only, along with the rest of the nation, expressed their conviction, that blame was imputable to some persons on account of the convention of Cintra. In the answer it is admitted that this convention had disappointed the hopes and expectations of the people;—were these expectations well founded? Perhaps, if they looked forward to the unconditional surrender of Junot's army, they might be deemed too sanguine; but they could hardly be charged with this character, if they only looked forward to such a convention as should have prevented the French army from being again employed during the Spanish war, and restored to the plundered Portuguese at least the greatest part of their property. Such a victory as that of Vimiera deserved and demanded a convention of this nature, and was surely well calculated to excite in the minds of the British nation the expectation of such a convention. If then the expectations of the people had been disappointed, not merely in the point where they were too sanguine, but also in those points where they were perfectly well grounded, assuredly the blame or guilt of disappointing their expectations

tations must attach some where; and they had a right to request, that such an investigation might be set on foot as would effectually discover and punish the authors of the convention.—The common council did not pronounce judgment; they merely gave it as their opinion, that the convention was dishonourable to the British name, and prejudicial to the cause of our allies. And had not every individual in the kingdom formed an opinion on the subject? If their address be objectionable in any respect, it is in their not admitting the possibility that there might be no blame; that there might be circumstances which rendered the convention of Cintra necessary or expedient.—If the convention had been merely highly favourable to Junot; if it had not contained articles absolutely prejudicial to our allies and dishonourable to ourselves, then circumstances might have been conceived to have arisen, even after the victory at Vimiera, which rendered it prudent and proper. If therefore the common council erred, they erred in supposing that no possible circumstances could justify or excuse a British general for entering into a convention which disgraced the British name. In requesting his majesty to institute an inquiry, they did not mean to imply a doubt of his Majesty's readiness to do what was proper on this occasion; they only communicated to him what they, in common with the rest of the nation, wished to take place; presuming that his majesty, when he was made acquainted with the feelings of his people, would be, if possible, still more anxious to set on foot an immediate and efficient investigation.

At a court of common council held on the 27th of October, his majesty's answer to the address was taken into consideration: and after some very spirited and bold speeches, resolutions to the following effect were put and carried by a large majority: "The common council conceiving it to be the undoubted and constitutional right of the subjects to petition his majesty, and being persuaded that there was nothing improper or disrespectful in their late address, are at a loss to know why they should have been accused, in his majesty's answer, of a desire or intention to "pronounce judgment without previous investigation." To charge them with acting in a manner inconsistent with the principles of British justice had a manifest tendency to throw on the corporation of London an odium they were conscious they did not deserve, and to raise a barrier between the crown and the free and constitutional inquiry of the subject. If they had refrained from expressing their feelings and opinion on the convention, they must have forgot their character as Britons, and proved themselves regardless of the honour, independence and security of his majesty's crown. They are particularly sorry that his majesty should have appealed to recent occurrences, as a proof that the interposition of the city of London was not necessary to remind him of his duty, or incite him to the performance of it, in cases where the character of the country was concerned, since "during the eventful period of the last fifteen years" various expeditions had failed, in which the character of the country was concerned, without any due inquiry having been made. During all these calamitous events, and amidst the most wasteful profusion of blood and treasure, the city of London did not interpose

terpose nor call for inquiry, though they are convinced that it would have been highly beneficial to the nation. Considering the answer they had received from his majesty, as proceeding from the advice of his ministers, they cannot forbear expressing their conviction, that whoever advised his majesty to put so unwarrantable an interpretation on their address, has abused the confidence of his sovereign, and is equally an enemy to his majesty and the just rights of the people." The common council concluded their resolutions with an express denial of the charge, that they meant to attribute guilt to any one, or to pronounce judgment without previous investigation: they requested nothing but prompt and rigid inquiry, and the punishment of guilt wherever it might be found.

Meetings were also held in the counties of Stafford, Essex, Hampshire, Middlesex, and Berkshire; and in the cities of Winchester and Westminster. In the counties of Stafford and Essex, the opponents of the address were the majority: they contended that there was every appearance of willingness, and even anxiety, on the part of his majesty and his ministers, to institute an immediate and effectual inquiry into the causes which produced the convention of Cintra; and that therefore it was not merely unnecessary, but would be indecorous and bear strong marks of want of confidence in the government, to request that which they were so well disposed of their own accord to grant: that his majesty, in his answer to the city of London, had stated his intention so explicitly, that it might properly be considered as a declaration made to the whole nation, and therefore a sufficient reason for abstaining from all further proceedings. Those who supported the address contended, that his majesty's ministers were evidently backward and unwilling to follow up the wishes and the declared intention of their sovereign; that, by addressing his majesty, they were far from feeling, or meaning to hint, a doubt of his readiness to institute a proper inquiry; and that, even if the inquiry had actually commenced, still it might be useful, and certainly could not be viewed as indecorous, to inform his majesty, by means of the addresses presented to him, that the nation coincided with him respecting the necessity of investigation.

Although, when the intelligence of the convention reached this country, there was scarcely a single voice lifted up in its defence or favour, yet soon after his majesty's discouraging reply to the city of London, not a few began to perceive, that it was not nearly so blameable and disadvantageous as had been at first supposed. It was urged that we had gained much by it; that Portugal had been freed from the rapine and tyranny of a French army; and that our troops, which could not have assisted the patriots in the north of Spain, while Junot lay in their rear, might now, after his departure from Portugal, proceed without danger to cooperate with the Spanish armies. But this defence, proceeding rather from a desire to exculpate or approve, than from a conviction of the strength and justice of the cause in which it was brought forward, was treated as weak and contemptible by the opposite party. They alleged that, when the force we had in Portugal, and the victory which a small part of that force only had

achieved

achieved, were taken into consideration, the country had a right to expect, not merely the delivery of Portugal, but that the army of Junot should have been rendered incapable, either by a subsequent defeat, or by the terms of capitulation, of injuring the cause of our allies. Or that, if our troops were actually unable even after the victory of Vimiera, and the reinforcements they received, to force Junot to yield to better terms than those of the convention of Cintra, our commanders should have considered, whether the cause of our allies would not have been much less injured by leaving Junot in quiet possession of Portugal, from which, after the defeat of Dupont, he had no temptation or means to escape, than by liberating him from it, and restoring him to France; while at the same time we were obliged to lock up our own army in the former country, useless and idle. Thus, it was contended, that even granting the nation had no reason to expect more than the liberation of Portugal, still we had purchased that liberation at the expense of a much greater good. The arguments of those who were dissatisfied with the convention in every respect, derived additional force from the long continuance of our troops in Portugal, while the army which they had conquered was again in a condition to act offensively.

In the mean time, the ministry were slow and apparently reluctant in proceeding to institute the promised inquiry: they did not at least keep pace with the eagerness and anxiety of the public. Perhaps they might have expected that the disapprobation would cool; that the convention of Cintra would be forgotten, and gradually removed from recollection by the intervention of other events. But it so happened, that most of the events which succeeded it were of a nature to recall it to the memory of those who had almost forgotten it, and to fix it there more deeply, by pointing out more clearly the mischiefs to which it had given birth. The intelligence which was received of the disasters in Spain, and of the inactivity of our army in Portugal; and the belief that those disasters might have been prevented by a more speedy junction of the British and Spanish troops; and that they would, too probably, be increased by the arrival of Junot's conquered army at the scene of action before his conquerors had crossed the frontiers of Portugal, rendered the convention of Cintra still more the object of the public indignation. At length, on the arrival of sir Arthur Wellesley, sir Hew Dalrymple, and some of the other officers as witnesses, the long promised and anxiously expected investigation was set on foot; not by a court martial, as was usual in such cases, but by a board of inquiry. The very name of the tribunal which was to be employed on this occasion seemed to indicate the doubt of ministry, whether any blame ought to be attached to the convention. Against it many objections were urged: it was not known or acknowledged by the laws of the country: it had no power to examine upon oath, nor were the members who composed it sworn to the strict and impartial performance of their duty. Without any precedent to direct their proceedings, it was justly to be apprehended that there would be much delay, intricacy and disorder: that no point would be brought out fully and clearly; and that both from the prejudice of the nation against the court, as inade-

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quate and unprecedented, and from their want of power to examine upon oath, their opinion, whatever it might be, would by no means satisfy the country.

It would appear to be necessary, in the constitution of a military court, to guard it, as much as possible, against the intrusion of partiality or prejudice. In our civil courts, there is much less danger that these feelings will operate. The judges are trained by education and habit to that state of mind which enables them to divest themselves of all partiality and personal feelings, and to give admission to no thought or consideration but what relates to their duty and to the interest of the public. They are also guarded against partiality by the strong motives of personal interest. To determine on cases of law is the sole occupation of their lives; by acting justly and without partiality, therefore, they can alone hope to succeed. To these circumstances of education, habit and interest operating unitedly to guard them against partiality or prejudice, it may be added, that they can seldom be put in the way of temptation. Few cases will come before them, in the performance of their duty, where they must sit in judgment on those towards whom they entertain any particular feelings; and even in cases of crimes against the state, where a desire to gratify the wishes of government, by the condemnation of the accused person, may be supposed to operate, their habits, feelings, honour and regard to their character and interest almost invariably preserve them in the path of their duty. It should also be remarked that much depends upon the jury: so that even if a judge were disposed to indulge in partiality or prejudice, he might show this disposition, and incur all the dishonour and injury, without being able to gratify his injustice. But in a military court it is very different. The members who compose it cannot have the habits and feelings of judges. It will be difficult for them to divest themselves entirely of partiality and prejudice, and in many instances they must sit in judgment on those whom they are disposed to regard with these feelings. As men of honour, they will undoubtedly guard as much as possible against the improper execution of their duty; but such is the weakness of human nature, that honour cannot be too well fenced by every consideration or circumstance, that will increase the obligation and solemnity of the duty which is to be performed. In a court martial, the members cannot, as a in board of inquiry, satisfy their conscience, if they neglect to examine the cause thoroughly and impartially, by the reflection that as the witnesses were not on oath, their evidence ought not implicitly to be believed; that the want of precedent necessarily produced confusion in their proceedings, so that they could not fully and accurately ascertain the nature and amount of the proof; and that by the very constitution of their court, they were not called upon to acquit or condemn, but merely to inquire. Where there might be reason to suspect that the conduct of ministers was implicated in the failure of an expedition, it would be more peculiarly incumbent to guard against an unsatisfactory and partial investigation, by constituting the court in the most constitutional and unobjectionable manner, guarding by every means against the careless or partial execution of its duty, and investing it with the fullest

powers

powers to ascertain and expose the truth.

On these and similar grounds, the nation in general expressed disapprobation and dissatisfaction at the institution of a board of inquiry, instead of a court martial: they were apprehensive that they should not get the truth from the witnesses, nor a fair and strict opinion from the members. As one object of the investigation was to satisfy the people, it does appear strange and unaccountable that a court should be appointed, against which such a general prejudice existed; a prejudice, too, founded on such strong reasons, as its being unknown to the laws, implying a doubt of the dishonourable nature of the convention, and not possessing sufficient authority to come at the truth. Is it uncharitable to suppose that the members of a court from which, before it began to sit, the nation loudly declared they expected no good, would be as anxious to perform their duty, as they would have been had they possessed the good opinion and the hopes of the people?

The board of inquiry met for the first time, at Chelsea, on the 14th of November. Sir David Dundas was the president: the other members were, the earl of Moira, gen. Craig, lord Heathfield, earl Pembroke, sir G. Nugent, and lieut.-gen. Nicholls. On the first day of their sitting little took place but the reading of the warrant by which they were appointed. By it they were authorized and commanded to inquire into the conditions of the armistice and convention, the causes and circumstances which led to them, and into the conduct of sir Hew Dalrymple, or any other officer or person connected with the armistice and convention. For this purpose they were directed to summon and examine all who could give evidence or information on these points. Their opinion, whether any or what further proceedings should be had respecting the armistice and convention, was to be laid before his majesty, along with a statement of their proceedings, and the evidence that should be given before them.

As the opinion of the board of inquiry and the decision of his majesty were not made public till the beginning of the year 1809, an abstract of their proceedings belongs more properly to our next volume. We shall, nevertheless, in this, state very briefly some of the most important and interesting facts that were produced in evidence.

In the first place, sir Arthur Wellesley expressed his general concurrence in the terms of the convention, founded on his opinion that the French should be permitted to evacuate Portugal. On some of the articles he disagreed with sir Hew Dalrymple; but he had not signed it, as had been asserted in this country, because he had been compelled, or even ordered.

Secondly, From the evidence of several naval officers it appeared that the coast of Portugal is very dangerous and difficult of access during the months of autumn and winter; and consequently, as the British army could not have been supplied with provisions by the Portuguese, it was desirable to remove them from the country as speedily as possible.

Thirdly, With respect to the practicability of having compelled Junot to an unconditional surrender after the battle of Vimiera, it seemed the general opinion of the witnesses who were examined on this point,

that after the French had recovered from the confusion, disorder and dismay into which their defeat had thrown them, they had it in their power to occupy such a strong position as would have defied the attacks of the British army for a considerable length of time.

This opinion naturally led to the investigation of the causes which had prevented the victory our troops had gained at Vimiera from being followed up immediately, in such a manner as would not only have put it out of the power of the French to have retreated upon the forts near Lisbon, but would also have completed their defeat. As sir Harry Burrard was here the responsible person, the sitting of the board of inquiry was suspended till he arrived. On his examination, he acknowledged that sir Arthur Wellesley was extremely anxious that the French should have been immediately pursued, after their defeat; but that to him the measure did not appear warranted by the relative situation and circumstances in which the two armies were placed. On this point there was considerable difference of opinion among the officers who were examined:—to some it appeared that our superiority was so very great, and the French army so broken and dispirited, that, had they been instantly pursued, the consequences would certainly have been much more decisive and splendid than they actually were. Other officers, on the contrary, were inclined to think that, destitute as our army was, in a great measure, of cavalry, and provided with artillery horses by no means equal to the pursuit of the enemy, it would have been imprudent and unsafe to have pushed forward, especially as a large proportion of the French had soon recovered from their confusion and dismay, halted, and formed again.

It appeared too evidently, from the proceedings of the board, that a considerable difference of opinion and coolness had existed between sir Hew Dalrymple and sir Arthur Wellesley; and that sir Harry Burrard and the latter were by no means of similar or compatible dispositions and characters. Sir Arthur was active, enterprising, and bold; rather inclined to what was hazardous, than to what was barely prudent and safe: sir Harry Burrard appeared to have been directly the reverse; cautious, deliberate, and content with performing the part of a brave but not a *dashing* soldier. Under the present circumstances of Europe, which, if they cannot be deemed actually desperate, must be regarded as highly unfavourable and alarming, such characters as that of sir Arthur Wellesley are, perhaps, more needed, and more likely to retrieve or save the continent, than generals endowed with the contrary qualities. To the dissimilar character of the generals, and to the circumstance that our army in Portugal had three different commanders within as many days, who were by no means likely to inspire it with the same sentiments, or to conduct it in the same manner, may in part be attributed the disgrace and ill consequences of the convention of Cintra. (See PUBLIC PAPERS.)

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CHAPTER XIV.

Affairs of the North of Europe—Treaty between Sweden and England—Invasion of Finland by the Russians—Russian Declaration of War—Swedish Answer—Danish Declaration—Swedish Answer—Traitorous Correspondence of the Russian Ambassador—His Arrest—Russian Proclamation on the Subject—Buxhovden's Proclamation to the People of Finland—Military Operations there—Abo taken—Masterly Retreat of Klingspor—Unexpected Surrender of Sweaborg—King of Sweden's Orders and Proclamation on the Occasion—Cruelties of the Russians—Partial Successes of the Swedes—Armistice—King of Sweden's Dissatisfaction with his Guards—Campaign in Norway—Sir John Moore's Army sent to Sweden—Supposed Cause of its Inactivity, and Return—Naval Operations in the Baltic—Russian Ship of the Line destroyed—Russian Fleet blockaded in Rogerswick—King of Sweden's Letter to the Emperor of Russia—The Emperor's Subserviency to France—Renewal of Hostilities in Finland—The Swedes cede Finland—Affairs of Denmark—Charges introduced by Bonaparte in Italy—Annexation of Rome, Tuscany, &c. to France and the Kingdom of Italy—Settlement of the Throne of Italy—Taking of Capri—Internal Affairs of France—Institution of hereditary Nobility—Decrees respecting the Jews—Annual Exposition of the State of the Empire—Constitution of Bavaria—Revolution in Turkey—Proceedings in America respecting the Embargo—Message of the President—Correspondence of Mr. Pinkney and Mr. Canning—Disposition of the Spanish Colonies towards the Mother Country—Proclamation of Liniers—Brazil.

IN the north of Europe the consequences of the treaty of Tilsit soon began to unfold themselves. Russia, become the abject and willing instrument of the designs of Bonaparte, not only deserted Sweden, but prepared to attack her, as soon as the season of the year would admit of hostile operations. Denmark, which had thrown herself completely into the arms of France, in consequence of our bombardment of her capital and seizure of her fleet, viewed Sweden, as the ally of England, with more than her usual feelings of hatred and enmity. These feelings were likewise increased and exasperated from the suspicion she entertained, that Sweden approved of the attack on Copenhagen, and had been by no means indisposed, if she had thought that her interest had required it, to occupy the island of Zealand when it was left by the English. Of this Denmark openly accused Sweden; and the answer that was given to the charges is more remarkable for the adroitness with which she declines the absolute denial of it, than for any expression of innocence, or detestation of the alleged crime.

In this perilous situation of the king of Sweden,—threatened with an invasion of the southern part of his dominions by the joint forces of Denmark and France, for the troops of the latter had crossed over into the islands in the Baltic,

and with an attack, much more easy to be put into execution, on the side of Finland, by his powerful neighbour the emperor of Russia,—it became the evident duty as well as the interest of Great Britain to assist her firm ally by every means in her power. Accordingly, on the 8th of February a convention was entered into between his majesty and the king of Sweden. The preamble to this treaty refers in simple language to the consequences of the treaty of Tilsit. They were evidently beginning to manifest themselves in such a manner, as put it beyond a doubt, that, by the united hostile measures of France and Russia, Sweden was, if possible, to be compelled to accede to the French system, and to desert the alliance of England. His Swedish majesty being thus placed under the necessity of coming forward, for the defence of his dominions, with a much greater force than the resources of his revenue would enable him to raise and maintain; and the king of Great Britain being animated with a sincere desire to contribute to the support and defence of his ally, and thus at once to fulfil the spirit and terms of the alliance which subsisted between them, and to promote the interests of both states; it was mutually agreed that Britain should pay to the king of Sweden the sum of twelve hundred thousand pounds sterling, in equal instalments of one hundred thousand pounds a month: this sum was to be employed, by the king of Sweden, in putting in motion all his land forces, such part of his fleet as might be deemed necessary, and particularly his flotilla. By a separate article, the respective sovereigns agreed to arrange and concert, as speedily as circumstances would allow or might require, the measures which ought to be adopted, and the auxiliary forces which Britain ought to send into the Baltic, whenever the war between Sweden and Russia, or Denmark, should actually take place. It was expressly declared, that no peace, truce, or convention of neutrality should be entered into with the enemy, unless in concert and by mutual agreement.

A very short time after this treaty was entered into, and before the season of the year had rendered Finland fit for the operations of a campaign, the Russian troops, to the amount of nearly 40,000 crossed their own frontier, and proceeded without interruption as far as Helsingfor. Thus hostile measures were commenced by the emperor of Russia, without the previous formality of a declaration of war. This, however, was not long delayed; and, as proceeding from a sovereign who had so very lately been united in his views and plans with the power whom he was now about to attack, it is deserving of attention and record.

The treaty which was concluded in 1780 between Catharine and Gustavus III., and a subsequent treaty in 1800 between Paul and the present king of Sweden, proceeding on the principle, that the Baltic is an inclosed sea, and that, therefore, these two powers would unite to oppose or avenge any acts of hostility which might be committed on its coasts, are appealed to by Alexander. In consequence of these treaties, this monarch called upon Sweden to cooperate with him in a war against England, on account of the violence and hostile aggression committed by that power against the king of Denmark. The king of Sweden did

not deny that, by the terms of the treaties appealed to, he was bound to unite with Russia to avenge the violation of the Baltic in the attack on Copenhagen; but, before he cooperated for this purpose, he called upon the emperor of Russia to procure the liberation of the coast of that sea from the presence of the French army, and the opening of the German harbours to English vessels. These circumstances, it was evident, ought to be viewed as equally opposed to the spirit of the treaties to which Alexander appealed, as the English attack on Copenhagen. While a French army occupied the coasts of the East Sea, and the navigation of its harbours was, by means of that army, shut up from the access of any power, it could not possibly be regarded as an inclosed sea, warranted "against all acts of hostility and violence which might be committed on its coasts," as the treaties referred to expressly declared that it ought to be considered. The answer of the king of Sweden rested on a simple, but conclusive argument:—He was called upon to go to war with England, because she had committed an act of hostility in the Baltic sea, which Sweden, along with Russia, was bound to preserve free from violence: this he by no means refused to do; but he called, in his turn, upon the emperor of Russia, previously, to liberate, by negotiation or arms, the coasts of the Baltic from the French army, which, by shutting up its ports, had, equally with the English, committed such an act of hostility, as, by the treaties of 1780 and 1800, Sweden and Russia were bound jointly to avenge.

The observations made by Alexander, in his declaration, in reply to the king of Sweden, on this point, are very weak and inapplicable. He asserts that the king of Sweden wished to defer the execution of the treaties, and was only solicitous to oblige and benefit England, by opening the German harbours on the Baltic. This he declares to be a most striking proof of partiality towards England. But it is clear that the offer of the king of Sweden cannot fairly admit of any such interpretation. The neutrality of the Baltic had been invaded by the presence of a French army and the shutting up its ports: it had also been invaded by the attack on Copenhagen. The emperor of Russia, overlooking the invasion of this neutrality in one instance, calls upon the king of Sweden to cooperate with him, in order to avenge it: in the other, the king of Sweden very properly and justly declares his willingness to cooperate, provided the entire and not the partial neutrality of the Baltic is to be the object of their cooperation, and that the French, as having been the first to commit the act of aggression, should be the first compelled to respect the neutrality of the Baltic.

The declaration proceeds to state, that the emperor of Russia, after having in vain made use of all the means in his power to persuade his Swedish majesty to return to a line of policy compatible with the interests and welfare of his kingdom, and having ascertained that a secret treaty was negotiating at London at the very time when the Russian notes were lying unanswered at Stockholm, cannot any longer suffer the relations between Russia and Sweden to remain uncertain, nor allow of her neutrality. He must, therefore, use all

the power which Providence has put into his hands, for the purpose of securing the welfare of his empire, which he is convinced is threatened by the connection of Sweden with England. Still, however, if Sweden would attach herself, without delay, to the cause of Russia and Denmark, by shutting up the East sea against England till a maritime peace should be concluded, the emperor Alexander professed his readiness to change the hostile measures he was compelled to take.

To this declaration, which betrayed the injustice of the war on which Russia had entered, by the weakness and insufficiency of the facts and arguments which she brought forward to defend it, it was by no means a difficult task for the Swedish monarch to give a strong and satisfactory reply. The emperor Alexander had invaded Finland, without a previous declaration of war: he had placed at the side of the general whom he appointed to the command of his armies, Springporten a traitor to his native country. Such conduct could scarcely be paralleled for its treachery and violence in the annals of mankind: yet, when it was viewed in connection with what had occurred but a very short time before between Sweden and Russia, its enormity must be deemed highly aggravated. For what is Sweden attacked by the armies of Russia? —Of what is she accused? Simply of this, That she perseveres in a system which the emperor Alexander had but very lately regarded as necessary to the salvation of Europe. The king of Sweden is attacked because he remains firm and true to the principle and object of that alliance into which he and Alexander entered for the purpose of resisting the aggression and tyranny of France. This is his only crime:—he is consistent and persevering; the emperor of Russia is not.

The king of Sweden, when he formed this alliance, was actuated by the purest motives. The emperor of Russia had been insulted in the most gross personal manner, because he had refused to ratify a treaty of peace agreed to by his ambassador at Paris. Had not therefore the king of Sweden the strongest reason to believe, that when he formed an alliance against the French, with a monarch who had been insulted by the French—whose people had been proclaimed to all Europe, in the French bulletins, as savages and barbarians—he had secured to himself a firm friend? Could he have expected that, under these circumstances, the alliance would not have been inviolably kept by the emperor of Russia? But he grounded his hopes not merely on the just indignation which Alexander must have felt against the French. The emperor himself had declared "that he would reject all declarations of peace, whether more or less advantageous, if they were not consistent with the glory of the Russian name, the security of the empire, *the sanctity of alliances, and the tranquillity and peace of all Europe.*"

How have these great objects been obtained? Are they not sacrificed by the emperor Alexander? The king of Sweden was not made acquainted with the armistice concluded between Bonaparte and the emperor: he learnt none of their proceedings, till he was invited in a cold manner to assist in the object of the peace which they had already concluded. He then called upon Russia to negotiate an armistice

mistice for him: but from her reply he was convinced that he ought not to place much reliance or confidence on Russian cooperation. Thus deserted by that power which was bound by express treaty to unite its fate with the fate of Sweden, the king was compelled to give up his German territories. He withdrew into Sweden;—there he flattered himself he would be permitted to live in tranquillity and peace, notwithstanding Russia had thought proper to change her principles and system of conduct. The king had acted up to the alliance which he had formed with the court of St. Petersburgh, in the most explicit and frank manner. Conscious of not having broken or evaded any of the terms,—but on the contrary of having fulfilled them in many respects to the evident benefit and support of Russia,—he certainly did not expect that his fidelity in this respect would have been branded and treated as a crime.

But Russia knew that the king of Sweden had merit of a higher order than what could be claimed from the faithful observance of a treaty of alliance. France had tempted him to break with the emperor in the midst of a war, when the Russian frontiers and capital were in a very defenceless state: and the reward offered was by no means trifling;—the restoration of all the provinces wrested from Charles XII. and any part of the Russian empire on which the king might fix, were offered, provided the king would desert his ally. These offers he had not only rejected;—from this he claimed no very high merit;—he had immediately acquainted the emperor with the designs of France.

The war which Russia had commenced against Sweden might easily be traced to the treaty of Tilsit. It was absurd and ridiculous to talk of the commercial monopoly of England. This pretext was made use of by France, in order to persuade the continent to accede to measures which could only end in its ruin and complete subjection to that power. Paris was to be made the common centre from which were to emanate the mandates that were to dictate the principles, laws, and institutions to the enslaved continent of Europe. The part which Russia was to act had been marked out for her at the treaty of Tilsit. In conformity with it, she had called upon the king of Sweden to assist, agreeably to the convention made in 1780, in shutting the Baltic against foreign ships of war. To this his majesty signified his assent, provided the neutrality of the Baltic was first actually reestablished by the removal of the French armies from its shores. When the emperor of Russia appealed to the armed neutrality, the king of Sweden recalled to his recollection the events of 1801; in consequence of which that armed neutrality entirely ceased, and the emperor had entered into a convention with England, which he was assuredly bound to fulfil, so long as England fulfilled her obligations. The king, in order still further to manifest his anxious wish to preserve the neutrality of the Baltic, undertook to prevail on his ally the king of Great Britain, not to send any ships of war into that sea, provided armaments were not made there by any other powers.

While the king was pressing forward this arrangement, which he considered likely to be of the great-

est benefit to Russia, and which proposed no terms but what she might accede to consistently with her engagements with France, the Russian troops entered Finland and commenced hostile operations. But Russia, already instructed by her new ally, calls forth, in aid of her attack on a province to which the season of the year prevents assistance from being sent, the aid of treachery and treason. The Finlanders are called upon to desert their legitimate sovereign, and to transfer themselves *en masse* to their invaders. Every method which perfidy can suggest or adopt is put in practice, to seduce the soldiers from their duty and allegiance.

The declaration concludes with a warm and spirited address to the people of Finland, in which the king expresses his firmest confidence, that, sensible of his paternal kindness, and aware of the deceit and treachery of their enemy, they would exert all their energy and strength, and remain with their hearts unseduced and their courage unsubdued, till he could employ his whole force and that of his ally in protecting and avenging them.

The declaration of Denmark against Sweden dwelt at great length, and in a very emphatic manner, on the attack of Copenhagen. While all the rest of Europe resounded with a cry of indignation at this atrocious crime, committed against a neutral and unoffending state, Sweden alone preserved a total silence. Instead of expressing herself injured and insulted by this conduct of Great Britain, when she did explain her sentiments and feelings on the occasion, she preferred complaints the most unfounded, and brought forward charges the most calumnious and unjust, against Denmark. Such behaviour recalled and strengthened the suspicion before entertained, but at that time repelled as uncharitable and unfounded, that Sweden was not merely indifferent to the attack on Copenhagen. There were many circumstances which could not well be accounted for, unless on the supposition that Sweden was not only acquainted with the designs of Great Britain against Denmark, but that she actually approved of them. Unless this be admitted, must it not be deemed very extraordinary that the Swedish monarch, several weeks before Stralsund was reduced, should consent to the departure of the English forces from Pomerania, whither indeed they seem to have gone for no other purpose but to screen their designs on Zealand? Of the assistance which the English received in the ports of Sweden it is difficult to speak in explicit or accurate terms; but there can be little doubt that by means of that assistance it was enabled to deal destruction on the capital of Denmark.

Would the king of Sweden have become a witness, from the opposite coast, of the injustice and outrage committed against a neighbouring nation;—would he have received with so much attention and kindness, those who had led on the English forces employed on this occasion, if he had not approved of their proceedings? These, however, were but appearances: for the full development and proofs of the fact, that the king of Sweden was hostile to Denmark, the Danish government is indebted to Great Britain. When he was called upon to free himself from the charge, his majesty gave an insulting, indirect, and equivocal

reply.

reply. Still the Danish government restrained itself, in the hopes that, as the treaty between Sweden and Great Britain was on the point of expiring, his majesty would not renew an alliance with a power which had behaved in such a violent and unprincipled manner against a neutral unoffending state. But as the Danish government had been mistaken; as Sweden had actually renewed her alliance with a power which still threatened the neutrality of the Baltic, and the ports of Zealand with her armaments, his majesty the king of Denmark found himself compelled to adopt entirely the resolutions of Russia in respect to Sweden, and to declare that he will not separate his cause from that of his august and faithful ally.

The answer of the king of Sweden to the Danish declaration of war was simple and satisfactory. The relations of the two countries were merely those of peace: they were not united for war. When therefore, in 1806, Sweden, Russia and Prussia were leagued against France, Denmark preserved her neutrality, without being called upon by Sweden to assist her in the war. From this circumstance the king of Sweden was persuaded, that the naval force of Denmark would never be of service to him; and after the treaty of Tilsit, he had every reason to fear that Denmark, overawed or persuaded by Russia and France, might employ it against him. With these impressions and apprehensions, the king of Sweden did not think himself called upon to interfere when England attacked Copenhagen.

Denmark has unjustly asserted that Sweden was privy to this attack; and has hinted that she not only approved of it, but also gave assistance to the forces which were employed in it. The king of Sweden declares that the court of London did not invite Sweden to join in the expedition; that it did not even acquaint him with it, till every thing was prepared to accomplish its object. The auxiliary troops landed by England in Pomerania were actually sent back in consequence of a separate article between that power and Sweden, and not, as the Danish declaration insinuates, for the express purpose of the expedition against Zealand. With respect to the justification of this expedition, it rests with the court of London. If what it has already given to the world as the reasons which induced it to attack Copenhagen be deemed insufficient, it is only necessary to look to the numerous French armies which still overawe the nation, and whose sole object and employment is to shut the ports of the East Sea against England.

As it is very plain by whose instigation the Danish government has declared war against Sweden, —Why has it not the openness and courage at once to avow it? It would not then be obliged to find out pretended grievances, and to state causes for its hostility of the most futile and absurd nature. It would not then be led into the most palpable contradictions; nor would it accuse Sweden of committing those very hostile acts, of which it has itself been guilty in a much more gross and aggravated manner. It would not then have reproached Sweden for having entered into a subsidiary treaty, nor employed the epithet *mercenary*, most probably at the instigation of the government under whose influence it evidently acts, while it was conscious that a similar charge and epithet might, with much greater propriety

propriety and justice, be applied to itself.

The king of Sweden takes this opportunity of doing justice to his Britannic majesty. So far from imitating the conduct of France towards other states, he never demanded of Sweden any thing that might involve her in hostilities, or intrench in the smallest degree on her independence or tranquillity. On the contrary, when the king proposed to his ally, that, in order to secure the neutrality of the Baltic, no ships of war should be sent thither, his proposal received the most prompt and explicit acceptance. This, of itself, is a sufficient refutation of the complaints with which the Danish declaration is filled; and must prove to Denmark, when she regains a knowledge of her true interests, the honourable difference which subsists between her allies and the ally of Sweden. His Britannic majesty exercised the same moderate and liberal sentiments towards Denmark, till she became absolutely dangerous. She was suffered to maintain her neutrality, and to reap the fruits of it, quiet and undisturbed, when Sweden, England, Russia, and Prussia had united for the purpose of avenging the devastations committed by France upon Lower Saxony and the Hanseatic towns. Had England acted on the principles by which France is governed, this neutrality of Denmark, at a time when it was so evidently her duty to join in repelling the French, would have been deemed a sufficient reason for invading her: but she did not resort to this measure till she was actually compelled to it by a regard to her own safety.

In all the charges so unjustly brought against Sweden, the court of Denmark in vain endeavours to conceal the humiliating fact, that she is the ally of France, or rather her vassal, commanded by her to commence hostilities against a state from whom she cannot prove that she has received the smallest injury. But his Swedish majesty, firmly persuaded that truth and honour will finally triumph over injustice and falsehood, and relying on the blessing and protection of Providence and the cheerful assistance of his subjects, entertains not the smallest doubt that he shall be able to conduct the war in such a manner as will tend to the confusion of his enemies, and restore to Sweden a safe and honourable peace.

So entirely was Alexander under the dominion of Bonaparte, and so completely loosened, by the influence of this new connection, from every principle of honour, that he did not hesitate or scruple to have recourse to the most base and infamous methods, for the purpose of securing and accelerating his views against Finland. His projects, however, were discovered by the interception of some dispatches sent from count Romanzow at Petersburgh to M. Alopeus, who still remained at Stockholm. In consequence of this violation of the law of nations, the Russian ambassador was arrested; and the king of Sweden, in justification of the arrest, published the dispatches which had been intercepted. In one of them, count Romanzow states, that he understands that baron Armfeldt is to command the Swedish army destined to protect the province of Finland. As some difference had arisen between this nobleman and the king of Sweden, during the campaign in Pomerania, the count wishes M. Alopeus to sound him, and, if possible,

sible, to detach him from the interests and cause of his sovereign, by flattering his ambition, and by the promise of great rewards. The circumstance of the baron being a Fin by birth is particularly dwelt upon by the count, as likely to further the views of the Russian court.

In another letter, the count transmitted the Russian declaration, and some proclamations to be distributed in Finland. These however were to be kept secret from the Swedish ambassador at the court of St. Petersburgh; nor was he to be made acquainted with the declaration till some days had elapsed. M. Alopeus is therefore commanded to observe the most strict and scrupulous silence, except to the Danish minister, to whom he is to reveal every thing, and to give the most pointed and satisfactory assurances of the friendship of the emperor of Russia towards his master. M. Alopeus is then furnished with rules and directions for his behaviour and conduct at Stockholm; and he is particularly advised to protract his stay there, for the purpose of transmitting to his court whatever useful information he might be able to collect.

Though the emperor of Russia must have been sensible of the real cause of the arrest of his ambassador at Stockholm, and that he was merely treated according to his deserts, he yet published a declaration on the subject. In this he dwells much more fully on the same topics with which he had filled his former declaration, than on the avowed object of it. It is only in one paragraph that he adverts to the arrest of M. Alopeus; and this he does without any of that violent language which he most probably would have used, had he not known that the arrest was perfectly justifiable. Instead of using reprisals, which he says he might have done, he preferred giving directions that more than the usual attention and respect should be paid to the Swedish ambassador at St. Petersburgh, and that, whenever he was disposed to set off for Stockholm, he might have full liberty, and be protected, during his journey, from every occurrence that would impede or incommode it. The declaration concludes with a public and official notice to all Europe, that his imperial majesty will henceforth consider the province of Swedish Finland as a province conquered by his arms, and that he incorporates it for ever with his empire.

As the detail of the operations which were carried on in Finland are in general totally devoid of interest, and would moreover occupy a disproportionate space in our volume, we shall content ourselves with giving an account of some of the principal occurrences, and pointing out the unprincipled and barbarous manner in which the war was carried on by Russia.

Count Buxhovden, who was appointed general in chief of the Russian army in Finland, had scarcely crossed the frontiers before he issued a proclamation to the following purport. His imperial majesty, impressed with a lively recollection of the confidence which the Fins placed in the good faith and protection of Russia, during the last war, which the king of Sweden, without the least cause and contrary to the constitution of Finland, carried on, near the frontiers of Russia, is concerned that he should be compelled to enter Finland in a hostile manner. But the

emperor

emperor had no alternative: the tranquillity of Europe, the honour and safety of his nearest ally, and the security of his own dominions, compelled him to take up arms against Sweden; and to place Finland under his protection, in order to secure himself due satisfaction, in case the king of Sweden persevered in his refusal to accept the just conditions of peace which had been offered to him. The Russian army did not however enter as enemies, but as friends: their object was to render Finland more prosperous and happy, to defend it, as much as possible, from the horrors and calamities of war. The inhabitants therefore would not only expose themselves to the just vengeance of the Russian army, but also act in a manner inconsistent with their own good, if they allowed themselves to be seduced to take up arms. His imperial majesty is determined to incorporate Finland with the Russian empire: it would therefore be treated in every respect as the other provinces. The ancient laws will be preserved so long as the troops occupy it, and the Russian officers and soldiers will be ordered to pay them proper and strict obedience. As a proof of the paternal regard of his imperial majesty, magazines will be established, from which the more indigent inhabitants will be supplied with necessaries, in common with the Russian troops. Deputies are to be sent to Abo, for the purpose of consulting on such measures as may be conducive to the welfare of the province.

The army which was sent by the king of Sweden to the defence of Finland was commanded by count Klinspor, a general of uncommon talents and skill. On him, also, Buxhovden endeavoured to prevail, by means of bribery and promises, to betray the cause of his master; but Klingspor remained firm and unshaken in his integrity, loyalty and zeal. He returned no answer to the traitorous communications of the Russian general, but very properly transmitted them to Stockholm. But though the Swedes thus showed themselves unassailable by the weapons of corruption, they were by no means in such force, as to enable them to oppose, with any prospect of success, the first advances of their enemies. Buxhovden, after some trifling and partial skirmishes, gained possession of Abo, the capital of Swedish Finland, within a month after his invasion of that province. The entrance into this town took place in a very formal manner. The province, which a very short time before the emperor of Russia declared he found himself compelled to enter, merely as a protection against Sweden, and to oblige its king to join in the league against England, was solemnly incorporated with his empire. Biorneberg, a strong place, was also taken: in defending it, the Swedish army suffered much; and after its capture, and that of Abo, count Klingspor found himself under the necessity of retreating. The Russians flattered themselves that a column of their army, under the command of general Tutschkow, would be able to outflank the Swedes, and compel them to surrender. In this manœuvre, however, they were most completely foiled by the skill and activity with which Klingspor conducted his retreat. Though greatly inferior in numbers, and in the face of an army well provided with every thing, assisted by the services of several French engineers, and directed

rected in their pursuit by several traitors, who were perfectly well acquainted with the country, he fought his way with the utmost bravery and success. Almost every day skirmishes took place, which the Swedish army conducted in such a manner as enabled them, at the same time, to harass and weaken the enemy, and to continue their own retreat. This retreat continued upwards of 400 English miles, through a country almost without roads, and deeply covered with snow. Nor was it only his army that he saved; he preserved all his magazines, stores, and ammunition; and at last succeeded in uniting his harassed, but not disorderly or weakened troops, with another division under count Cronstedt. When all the circumstances attending this retreat are taken into consideration, it may, not without justice, be compared to the celebrated retreat of Moreau from Germany. The Russians, disappointed in their attempt to surround or cut off Klingspor, returned from pursuing him, towards the southern part of Finland.

The next place against which the Russians directed all their means both of artifice and force was Sweaborg. This place, from the great strength of its natural position, aided by the works which have been raised for its defence, has justly been called the Gibraltar of the North. In the beginning of April they began to bombard it; but they were not able to do so much injury either to the houses or fortress, as might have been expected. Very few of the garrison were killed or wounded by the attack; and not more than one third of the ammunition had been expended, when the Swedish governor listened to terms of capitulation proposed by the enemy. The nature of several of these terms, as well as the short and inadequate defence which he made, naturally expose him to the suspicion of treachery, or the charge of great weakness and incapability. By the first article the governor stipulates to give up the fortress, provided it shall not have received, within the space of a month, effectual succours by at least five sail of the line: yet, notwithstanding this conditional engagement to surrender, he did not dispatch any notice of his situation, either to the commander of the Swedish army or to Stockholm. By another article, the governor gave his assent and approbation to the proclamation of Buxhovden, which was issued and calculated to withdraw the Finnish regiments from their allegiance to Sweden; for it is expressly stipulated, that such of them as are disposed to enter the service of his imperial majesty shall enjoy all the benefits held out by that proclamation. The governor also agreed to give up all the shipping in the harbour; thus cutting himself off from all chance of transporting the garrison to the seat of war; and he moreover consented that such as might be able to reach Sweden, should not serve against Russia nor her allies. But the most singular article is that which relates to the Swedish flotilla. This was not only very numerous, but comprised some of the best galleys belonging to Sweden. It was expressly stipulated that this flotilla should "be restored to Sweden, according to the particular return made thereof after the conclusion of peace,

peace, in case that England should also restore to Denmark the fleet which she took last year."

The king of Sweden was justly incensed at the conduct of the governor of Sweaborg. He officially declared it to be of such a nature as to render him, as well as all who took part in the capitulation, unworthy of the character of *liege-men*, since they had abused his majesty's confidence, and acted contrary to the orders which had been given them. All those, therefore, who did not resist so degrading a procedure were dismissed from his majesty's service and that of the state. As the capture of this important fortress made a strong impression on the minds of the Swedes, the king issued a proclamation, calling upon them to remember the character of their ancestors, their own honour, and the protection which Providence always afforded a just cause; and reminding them that the situation of the country called for that exertion, which could be put forth only by tranquil and persevering minds.

After the capture of Sweaborg, the Russians advanced into the north of Finland. In many places, particularly at Wasa, they committed the most atrocious and barbarous cruelties. Buxhovden even forbad, under pain of death, the people of Finland from retreating along with the Swedish army. For a short time, however, the Swedes were enabled to act on the defensive, and to drive the Russians back towards the south of Finland. But these successes were but of a temporary nature; the Russian army suffered more from want of provisions than from the partial victories gained over them; and when they had been recruited and supplied by their vicinity to the more fertile part of the province which borders on Russia, they were again enabled to advance against the Swedes with a very superior force. Klingspor, after having well performed the part of an able and skilful general, found himself obliged to conclude an armistice with the enemy. By this the military operations in Finland were suspended, and were not to be renewed without eight days previous notice. An exchange of prisoners was also agreed upon.

The king of Sweden, indeed, now found himself in a very difficult situation. The perseverance with which he carried on the war against Russia, and the fortitude with which he bore up against the reverses he had experienced, were not met and supported, as they ought to have been, by similar dispositions on the part of his army. He perhaps required from them more than they were able to perform. The Russians were much more numerous, and had much better opportunities of being supported and reinforced, from their vicinity to their own country, than he enjoyed. Yet as the king himself set the example, and never shrunk from the most arduous and dangerous duties to which he called his soldiers, they certainly ought to have yielded a ready obedience to his commands. He expressed his dissatisfaction in a particular manner against his guards, who were principally composed of the sons of the leading families in the country: they refused to engage the enemy, who were much superior to them in numbers: as a punishment for what he deemed their cowardice,

dice, he broke 4000 of them. Under these circumstances, the king found himself compelled to give his assent to the armistice which Klingspor had concluded with the Russians.

The king of Sweden was not more successful in his campaign against Norway. At first his army succeeded in defeating the unprepared Norwegians, and advanced beyond the frontiers; but as soon as the peasantry had put themselves into a state of preparation, and were joined by the regular forces, they drove the Swedes out of the country; and having discovered and fortified the weak passes in the mountains, they were enabled not only to preserve their own territory from the irruptions of the enemy, but also to act offensively with some success against the Swedes. No action, however, occurred which is in the least worthy of notice.

Amidst the difficulties to which the king of Sweden was exposed, Great Britain was not unmindful of the assistance which she had promised to send him. Sir John Moore with about 14,000 men arrived in the Baltic as soon as it was accessible to our fleet. But from causes, which have never been explained, this army, after having remained on board the transports several weeks, returned to England without having been of the least service to the king of Sweden. All that is known respecting this singular and unfortunate circumstance, is, that some difference arose between our commander and the king, respecting the employment of the troops. The king wished them to be sent on a service, which either was not included in the instructions given by our government to sir John Moore, or which he thought would expose them to dishonour and loss without the smallest probability that they would benefit the king by their operations. The king, it is said, was so enraged at the refusal of sir John Moore to comply with his demands, that he put him under arrest; and it was not without some difficulty that he effected his escape on board the British fleet.

The squadron which was sent into the Baltic by our government was of more service to Sweden. The Russian fleet, consisting of thirteen sail of the line, besides frigates, was discovered on the 25th of August by the Swedish admiral, who had along with him two British line-of-battle ships, commanded by sir Samuel Hood and captain Martin. Pursuit was instantly given by the combined fleet; but from the superior sailing of the British ships, they soon gained on the Swedes; and in the evening the Russian fleet was observed in great disorder endeavouring to avoid a general battle. Early the next morning the Implacable, captain Martin's ship, brought one of the enemy's vessels to close action. The Russian admiral in vain attempted, by bearing up with his whole force, to prevent or render useless the manœuvres of the Implacable. After a gallant action of twenty minutes, the enemy's ship was completely silenced. By this time, however, sir Samuel Hood was obliged to call off the Implacable, as the Russian fleet were close upon him. The Russian admiral, having ordered a frigate to take the disabled ship in tow, again hauled his wind. Chase was immediately given by the British. The frigate was obliged to cast off her tow, and the Russian admiral again bore down, with several of his line-of-battle ships. The British commanders used every manœuvre to bring on a general action; but the

Russian admiral, afraid of their inferior force, and aware of their intentions, took refuge in the port of Rogerswick.

The ship which had been engaged with the Implacable grounded at the entrance of the harbour. In this situation she was attacked by sir Samuel Hood in the Centaur. Every exertion and endeavour were made use of to bring her away; but owing to the shallowness of the water, and an anchor which had been let go, it was impossible to accomplish it. She was however compelled to surrender after an obstinate resistance. As she was nearly filled with water, and continued fast on shore, sir Samuel Hood, after having taken the prisoners out of her, was obliged to set her on fire.

As soon as the Russian squadron had entered the port of Rogerswick, the men were employed in fortifying it against the attacks of the combined fleet. This they were enabled to effect in the most complete manner, and in a very short space of time, by the cannon from their vessels and the artillery which they brought from Revel. At first the British admiral entertained some hopes that he should have it in his power to gain possession of the port and the fleet; but when he perceived the fortifications which were erected for its protection, and that the situation of his own fleet would be extremely dangerous, in case the wind blew strongly from a certain point, he was reluctantly obliged to raise the blockade.

At the time when there was good reason to suppose that the Russian fleetwould be obliged to capitulate, the king of Sweden, who was then with his army in Finland, addressed a letter to the emperor of Russia. In this letter he remonstrated in very strong and pointed language against the cruelties which had been committed by the Russian armies in Finland. He endeavoured also to rouse the mind of Alexander to a conviction of the folly as well as the injustice of his conduct, in the war which he was prosecuting. What was its object? Of that perhaps the emperor would find it extremely difficult to satisfy his own conscience; but the effect, which must necessarily be produced by the manner in which it was carried on by Russia, was evident. It must excite the strongest aversion to the Russian name. Could not the emperor perceive, that by punishing the people of Finland for their loyalty, and because they possessed too much firmness and attachment to their legitimate sovereign to be drawn away or frightened from the performance of their duty by the promises or threats of the Russian generals, he was acting contrary to his own interests? He was shaking the foundation of the throne on which he sat. The king of Sweden then adverted to the successes which at the date of his letter attended his arms in Finland, and to the probability that the imperial fleet would not be able to leave the port of Rogerswick, unless as a conquest.

This letter, however, produced no effect. The emperor of Russia was too much under the influence of Bonaparte to listen to the voice of reason or justice. No measures had been neglected, by which the French emperor thought it likely that his influence over Alexander would be preserved or increased. Of the extent and nature of that influence there were many proofs. Caulincourt, who had been chiefly instrumental in the seizure of the duke d'Enghien, against whose murder Alexander had uttered a strong

strong and indignant protest, was sent to Petersburgh as ambassador from Bonaparte. There he was received with the highest marks of attention and respect. And he soon took effectual measures to guard the mind and conscience of the emperor from every consideration or feeling which interfered with the views of his master. The interests of Russia were sacrificed; and in order to inflict a feeble blow on English commerce, the Russian nobility were deprived of the means of disposing of the produce of their estates. The English merchants who remained at St. Petersburgh were continually harassed with new restrictions, and exposed to every indignity and insult which the French ambassador thought proper to suggest. He alone possessed the confidence of Alexander, whom, sometimes by the allurements of pleasure, and sometimes by obscure threats of his master's vengeance, he managed with that facility, which a man of experience and superior mind will always possess over one of a feeble and unsteady character. At the very time that the king of Sweden wrote his letter to Alexander, that monarch was uniting himself still more closely with Bonaparte, at the famous conference held between them at Erfurth.

The king of Sweden was soon made to feel the influence which Bonaparte had exerted at that conference over the mind of Alexander. Scarcely had the latter returned to Petersburgh, before orders were sent to his generals to renew the war in Finland. The Swedes were successful in the first engagement; but they soon perceived that they did not possess the means of opposing the Russian army. While it was greatly reinforced, to the extent of 20,000 men, and furnished with 60 pieces of cannon, the Swedish army was reduced to 7000 men by losses in the field and sickness. In addition to these unfavourable circumstances, the Russians had turned the position which the Swedish general occupied, and fallen upon his rear. It became therefore absolutely necessary to open a negotiation, to which the Russians consented with more readiness than might have been expected from their great superiority, and the advantages they actually enjoyed, and had within their power. By the convention, the Swedes agreed to evacuate Uleaborg, and to retire to the west side of the river Kiemi, the utmost limit of Finland. Thus terminated a campaign, during the whole of which the Swedish army had behaved with the greatest bravery; nor did they yield till they were overpowered by a greatly superior army.

Little occurred in Denmark during this year. The French, who had passed over to the islands in the Baltic, for the purpose, it may be presumed, of invading the southern part of Sweden, soon discovered that the project was impracticable while the British and Swedish fleets kept possession of that sea. The Danes, therefore, confined themselves to attacks on our merchant ships, by means of their gun-boats. In these they were generally successful, sometimes from the negligence of our convoy, but more frequently from our frigates not being able to injure the gun-boats, while they, lying low in the water, being in great numbers, and making use of their sweeps, had it in their power to rake, with the heavy metal they carried, our ships of war. The king of Denmark

died in the beginning of the year; but as he had been long in such a state of mind as rendered him totally incapable of taking the management of public affairs, his death caused no sensation, and produced not the least change in the measures of that kingdom.

The same ambition, and enmity towards England, which gave rise to Bonaparte's attack on the independence of Spain, induced him to make considerable changes in Italy. Under the pretence that the temporal sovereign of Rome, as he styled the pope, had refused to make war against England, and that the two kingdoms of Naples and Italy ought not to be divided by a hostile power, he decreed that Urbino, Ancona, Macerata and Camarino, should be united with the latter kingdom. As the pope, in reply to some former aggressions of France, had appealed to his spiritual power and authority, Bonaparte, in the decree of annexation, turned his own arguments against him, by resting his rights on those of his predecessor Charlemagne. That monarch had given to the holy see the territories in question; and as they could not be supposed to have been given for the purpose of benefiting the enemies of the church, Bonaparte thought proper to resume them. To this decree the pope replied in a very long declaration, which, considering the person from whom it proceeded, and the person against whose encroachments it was directed, gives indications of greater vigour and spirit than might have been expected. He protests solemnly against the aggressions of Bonaparte, and enters into a minute and circumstantial proof of his own adherence to the interests of France. But his protest was of no avail; the purpose of Bonaparte was fixed and irrevocable. He treated with the utmost disdain and insolence the venerable pontiff, whom he had but a short time before held forth as worthy of the highest veneration and respect.

At the same time that the territories of Rome were incorporated with the kingdom of Italy; Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia were incorporated with the empire of France. The reasons assigned for this change proceed on the usual principles of French policy. It is expressly declared that the whole coast of the Mediterranean sea must form a part of the French territory; that the Adriatic ought to be considered as naturally belonging to the kingdom of Italy; while the kingdom of Naples, lying on both seas, must be regarded as a distinct state, subject, however, to the same federative system and the same state policy.

Bonaparte also fixed the settlement of the kingdom of Italy. He adopted his son-in-law, Eugene Beauharnois, as his own son, and settled that kingdom upon him in tail male. But at the same time there are expressions in some of the articles of the settlement, which seem to reserve to Bonaparte the power of revocation. It is expressly stated, that the right which Eugene received by adoption should never, in any case, authorize him, or his descendants, to bring forward any claim or pretensions to the crown of France, the succession to which is invariably fixed. The kingdom of Naples was bestowed upon Murat, after Bonaparte thought proper to call his brother Joseph to the throne of Spain.

The only military event in Italy this year was the capture of the island of Capri, situated in the bay of

of Naples. This island was garrisoned by some English and Maltese regiments. At the beginning of October the French general Lanargne sailed from Naples, with about 5,000 men, in order to attack it. He attempted to land on the eastern part of the island, where a division of the English troops were posted; but the French were repulsed with the loss of 500 men. They then proceeded to a different part of the island, where the Maltese were stationed, who are represented as not having behaved with the same gallantry which the English displayed. The French, having gained possession of this part of the island, summoned lieut.-col. Lowe, who commanded on the eastern side, where they had first attempted to land; but he refused to surrender. As soon as the hazardous situation of the garrison was known in Sicily, reinforcements were dispatched; but, unfortunately, they did not arrive time enough to prevent the entire conquest of the island.

The only circumstances which respect the internal state of France that deserve particular notice, are the creation of a hereditary nobility; the decree concerning the Jews; and the annual *Exposé* of the empire. In the speech delivered before the senate, by the arch-chancellor, it is expressly declared that hereditary distinctions are in some measure essential to monarchical government. Thus is France rapidly returning to that state in which she was placed before the revolution! The most remarkable article of the statute which established a hereditary nobility, decrees that a certain annual income shall be assigned to the different degrees, which, along with the title, shall pass to lineal and legal descendants, whether of the body, or adopted, from male to male, according to the order of birth. No title was to be taken from any place in the French empire. It was specially provided that the legion of honour should not lose any of its dignity by the new establishment. It was henceforth, like the titles of nobility, to become hereditary. It must have been remarked by those who have attended to the policy of Bonaparte, that in many points he appears anxious to approach to the regulations of the feudal system. This is particularly manifest in the oath, which was prescribed to his new nobility. They swore "to be faithful to the emperor and his dynasty; to be obedient to the constitution, laws and institutions of the empire; to serve his majesty as good, upright and faithful subjects; to educate their children in the same feeling of fidelity and obedience; and to march in defence of their country as soon as its territory should be threatened, or his majesty go to the army."

By a decree of the 17th of March, Bonaparte ordered the measures he had resolved upon with respect to the Jews, to be carried into immediate execution. Every 2000 Jews are to form a synagogue, but there can be only one consistorial synagogue in each department. The business of the consistory is to superintend the rabbis, and to take care that they teach nothing but what is conformable to the doctrines of the grand Sanhedrim. They are also to give information respecting the Jewish conscripts in their districts. No Jew is to be permitted to settle in France or Italy, before he has given three months previous notice to the nearest consistory. By another decree,

all obligations for loans made by Jews to minors, without the sanction of their guardians, to married women, without the consent of their husbands, or to military men, without the authority of their superior officers, were annulled. Bills granted by French subjects to Jews cannot be demanded, unless the holders can prove that there was no fraud, and that full value was given. All contracts were declared usurious, where the interest accumulating on the capital exceeded twenty-three per cent. No Jew is allowed to trade without a patent, which is to be renewed annually. In many of the departments the Jews were forbidden to settle, unless they abandoned commerce, and purchased landed property. Such Jews as belonged to the conscription were not to be allowed to find substitutes, but were compelled to perform personal service. These and similar regulations were to be in force for ten years; and if at the termination of that period their moral character was not rendered similar to that of the other citizens of the empire, they were to be continued. This declaration fully develops Bonaparte's object in the measures which he has taken respecting the Jews: he discovered them to be not only of no use in a military government, but absolutely prejudicial. He, therefore, directed his endeavours to the alteration of their character.

The exposition of the state of the French empire, which was laid before the legislative body in the beginning of November, is distinguished by the same triumphant disclosure of trifling improvements which forms its usual character. Trial by jury, on the exact principles of the English law, is by far the most important and interesting topic that is noticed; and if there were any security that this institution would be conducted with the same freedom and purity as it is in this country, we might safely congratulate the French on having gained no weak counterpoise to the despotism of their military government. The improvements in the manufactures, of which the exposition takes notice, are very insignificant, and not at all calculated to create any alarm in the minds of our commercial men, nor to hold out to the French the prospect of being soon in a situation to do without our goods. The privations and distresses to which the French nation had been obliged to submit, in consequence of the operation of our orders in council, are noticed, but it is principally to praise the resignation with which they were endured, and the genius of invention to which they had given birth. By them they have been taught that a nation essentially agricultural "can, by possessing in abundance all articles of utility, easily forgo those which only form certain luxuries or conveniences of life, particularly when its independence and glory are at stake."

That division of the exposition which relates to agriculture has few improvements to boast of; and those are of such a nature as would be regarded by our English farmers as decisive proofs of the very low state of that useful art, in a country which is called essentially agricultural. The attempt to raise cotton in the south of France appears not to have succeeded. But the culture of tobacco is represented as in a very flourishing and promising state.

The finances are represented to be in a state of the highest order and prosperity. The amount of

the

the receipts is 800 millions; in a period of peace 600 millions will be sufficient to defray the public expenses. From this statement it is difficult to perceive how the finances can justly be termed prosperous: if the peace expenditure reaches 600 millions, the war expenditure, it is probable, must nearly double that sum, and yet the receipts are rated only at 800 millions.

Under the head of the marine the boasts of the ministers of the interior are low indeed. Notwithstanding the English, Corfu had been supplied with men, artillery, provisions, and ammunition; and admiral Gantheaume had returned safe, through all the difficulties of a boisterous navigation! He boasts with more reason of the rich prizes taken, through the negligence of our fleets, in the East and West Indies. The building of ships of war at Antwerp and the other naval arsenals is represented as proceeding with great activity and spirit: twelve sail of the line were launched within the year, and 25 more, with as many frigates, were on the stocks.

The statement of the military power and resources of France, contained in this exposition, unfortunately rests on a better foundations. After making every deduction and allowance for the native and inseparable vanity and exaggeration of a Frenchman, there is sufficient in this statement to prove that the views of Bonaparte extend to conquests not yet begun, and to create in the minds of the friends of peace and independence the most alarming fears for what yet remains of liberty in Europe. It is not only on account of the magnitude of the French military force, that such fears ought to be entertained: the perfection of the military system, evidenced by its simplicity and effect, and carried into execution by men who are perfectly acquainted with every part of it, and who permit nothing to interfere with the consideration and wish which is nearest the heart of every Frenchman,—that this system should raise the glory of their country to a height unknown in the annals of mankind; these circumstances must give rise to sentiments of despondency and alarm.

The reply of the president of the legislative body to this exposition of the state of the empire, is filled with the most gross and fulsome adulation of Bonaparte. He is very inconsistently held up to the admiration and gratitude of France, both as an accomplished warrior and as the sincere friend of peace. We shall probably deceive ourselves, however, if we endeavour to trace all the flattery which this reply contains, to a mean spirit of adulation: did the French nation give utterance to sentiments totally foreign to their feelings and wishes, when they flattered Bonaparte, his power would neither be so formidable, nor placed on such a firm foundation. As has been already remarked, that vanity of a Frenchman which induces him to think his country destined and fit to be the mistress of the world, mingles itself in no inconsiderable portion with his cringeing spirit, in the adulation he bestows on one whom he both fears and admires.

The policy of Bonaparte in placing between France and Austria kingdoms of his own erection, the sovereigns of which must be devoted to his views, both from a feeling of duty and from a regard to their own interest, has often been remarked. In this view, though they

they are actually as much a part of the empire of France as any of its provinces, the constitution which Bonaparte has given them, becomes a subject of considerable interest and importance. The situation of Bavaria particularly, as directly interposed between France and Austria, must make her political conduct of great importance, in the event of another contest between those powers. From this consideration we are induced to give a short sketch of the constitution which took effect the latter end of this year: it will be clearly seen, that it is calculated and intended not only to increase her resources and internal strength, but to place them most completely under the influence and at the disposal of Bonaparte.

It is especially fixed in the first title of the constitution, that the kingdom of Bavaria shall form a part of the confederation of the Rhine: this in fact gives Bonaparte, as the head of that confederation, the virtual command of the kingdom. All hereditary offices and particular privileges are abolished. There is to be but one national representation, and one system of taxation. The land-tax is limited to one-fifth of the revenue. Vassalage is every where abolished. The nobles are deprived of their exclusive right to offices of state and dignities: they are to be subject to taxation; but they are to retain their titles and manorial rights. The crown is declared to be hereditary; and is to descend to the heirs male, to the exclusion of the female line. The whole kingdom is to be divided into circles as nearly equal as possible: in each circle seven members are to be chosen from the 200 proprietors, or merchants, who pay most to the land-tax. The members of all the circles so chosen, are to constitute the grand assembly of the kingdom. The functions of the deputies are to continue six years, and they are re-eligible. The assembly must meet at least once in every year. The king has the power to call them together.

From this sketch it will be perceived that, in some respects, the condition of the lower and middle ranks must be benefited by the new constitution. One good certainly results from the conquests of Bonaparte. Policy obliges him to deprive the nobility of the different little states of Germany, of those privileges which were most obnoxious and oppressive. In order to secure and confirm his conquests he endeavours to attach the great body of the people to him, at the expense of those classes which, he knows, must regard him with feelings of resentment and hostility.

Turkey this year was again the scene of revolution and bloodshed. It is at all times difficult to ascertain the full and exact particulars of events that take place in this weak and distracted empire; but, according to the most authentic accounts, the following are the principal circumstances attending this new revolution. The grand vizier, and a general of the name of Mustapha Bairacter, marched to Constantinople at the head of nearly 40,000 men. The latter, with part of this force, surrounded the seraglio, where he was joined by the captain pacha and a number of janissaries. In answer to his demand that Selim should be delivered to him, with the threat, in case of refusal, that he would carry the seraglio by assault, a dead body was thrown from the walls with the exclamation

exclamation "Here is Selim!" He had been murdered by the new sultan in the most barbarous manner. At sight of the dead body, the captain pacha was inclined to retire; but Bairacter persevered, assaulted the seraglio, seized the sultan in the act of wounding his younger brother, declared him unworthy of the throne, and proclaimed the brother whom he had rescued grand seignior. He then nominated himself grand vizier, and announced the revolution which had taken place, to the people of Constantinople, by the firing of cannon. Bairacter, a man in the prime of life, of firm resolve and undaunted courage, had no sooner fixed himself in the office of grand vizier, than he turned his attention and endeavours to the establishment of his authority, and to the reformation of abuses. He issued strict and peremptory orders to the different pachas, punctually to carry into immediate execution the instructions he should send them; and threatened any neglect, delay, or opposition to his commands, with the most severe and exemplary punishment. But he turned his thoughts and plans principally towards the janissaries. He was sensible that there could be no stable and independent government, nor any improvement introduced into the administration of the empire, till their power was effectually curbed. He endeavoured to introduce by degrees proper discipline among them, and to lead them to consider themselves, and to be considered by the nation, as the servants, not as the masters, of the grand seignior. The slightest instance of insubordination he punished with instant death; but at the same time he removed every cause of just complaint, and particularly ordered that their pay should be punctually paid them. Although the unfortunate Selim lost his throne for having trained and exercised some of his troops in the European manner, yet Bairacter determined to carry on and complete what Selim had begun, and gave orders that the whole army thould be instructed in European tactics. Finding himself unable, however, to mould the janissaries in the manner he wished, he at length took the decided resolution to abolish them entirely; or at least to transfer such of them as were the least refractory to a new corps, formed according to the system which he meant to introduce, and to deprive the rest of their name and military character. These vigorous measures, and the public declaration he made, that the Turkish empire ought to be placed in such a situation as would render it respectable and formidable to its enemies, inspired many with some faint hopes that, by his activity and vigour, it might be preserved from falling an easy prey to the intrigues or arms of Bonaparte.

The United States of America presented this year a very singular spectacle. By the embargo they had cut themselves off from the old world. Those who imagined that they were well acquainted with the character of the Americans confidently predicted that the embargo would soon be taken off. They thought that its effects would immediately press hard on many classes of the nation; and that, if it were continued, that pressure would extend itself over the majority of the people. If such an event took place, they knew that the government must yield; or that, if it did persevere, the union

would

would probably be dissolved, or greatly shaken, by disaffection and internal commotion. Every account that reached this country seemed to confirm these predictions: the American newspapers were filled at one time with the most bitter and violent invectives against the government, on account of the folly of the measure, and the ruin which it had produced;—at another time, they represented the opposition to it as so very formidable and alarming, that no alternative seemed left, but taking off the embargo. Still, however, Mr. Jefferson continued firm; while at the same time he employed every method to induce the British and French governments to rescind their anti-commercial decrees.

The people of the northern states were the most aggrieved, and discovered the most opposition to the embargo. Petitions were sent from many towns in that division to the president, stating the evils under which they laboured, and expressing their wish that he would convene congress. Mr. Jefferson, in his reply, calmly set before them the reasons on which the embargo had been at first resolved upon; which being founded on the insults and attacks to which American vessels had been subject from the belligerent states of Europe, and on the decrees they had issued against neutral commerce, he declared must operate to the continuance of the embargo, till a suspension of hostilities, or a rescinding of the decrees, should take place. With respect to assembling congress, he called to their recollection, that a special summons could not possibly assemble them before the legal period of their meeting.

It soon appeared from the result of the elections that the American newspapers had greatly misrepresented the sense of the nation. A considerable majority of such members as were known to be attached to the principles and measures of Mr. Jefferson, was returned to congress. On the 8th of November the message of the president to the senate and house of representatives was read. In this he informed them, that being anxious to remove the ill consequences of the embargo, if that could be effected in a manner consistent with the honour and safety of America, he had authorized the ministers of the United States at London and Paris to propose, that the commerce of America should be exclusively opened to whichever of the belligerent powers rescinded the decrees which had occasioned the embargo. Great Britain had rejected this offer. France had returned no answer to it. In this state of things nothing remained for America but to persevere in a system, which, though it subjected her to some evils, was by no means unproductive of advantage. Mr. Jefferson next adverted to the attack which had been made on the Chesapeake. He complained that the British government had taken no measures towards redressing the wrong which they had committed; on the contrary they still adhered to the principle, which must obstruct any adjustment on the subject; and they had now, moreover, brought it into connection with the distinct and irrelative case of the orders in council.

Not the least interesting part of this message relates to the new direction, which the suspension of commerce had given to the industry, skill, and capital of the United States. The internal manufactures and improvements were carried on with

with more spirit and success, and to a greater extent. The disadvantages which arose from want of experience, from their comparative inferiority in machinery and capital, were abundantly compensated by cheaper materials and subsistences, by the freedom of labour from taxation, and by protecting duties and prohibitions. The embargo, therefore, when viewed as the means of changing the direction of a portion of their industry and capital, and of thus rendering them less dependent upon foreign nations, might justly be deemed a benefit, though unavoidably attended with partial and temporary mischief.

The revenue of the United States he represents as in a most flourishing state. By the beginning of 1809, thirty-three millions five hundred and eighty thousand dollars of the funded debt, being the whole that the law and the contracts entered into would allow to be paid, would have been extinguished: by this liquidation, two millions of dollars would have been taken from the interest and transferred to the disposable surplus.

Of the documents which accompanied the president's message, the most important are the letters of Mr. Pinkney and Mr. Canning. The former, after referring to the reasonings which Mr. Maddison had urged in his correspondence with Mr. Erskine, against the principle and operation of the British orders in council, proceeds to lay before Mr. Canning the proposition mentioned in Mr. Jefferson's message. By America taking off the embargo, and England rescinding her orders in council, he contends that the commercial intercourse of the two countries will be immediately resumed; while at the same time, if France persevered in her decrees, the embargo, still operating against her, would stand in the place of the orders in council. On the other hand, if France should agree to rescind her anti-commercial decrees, every purpose of the British orders in council would be answered.

To this Mr. Canning replies, that if the embargo be, as it has uniformly been represented by the government of the United States, simply a measure of internal regulation, his majesty has no right to complain of it; nor is it clear why, in order to induce the American government to alter this measure of internal regulation, he should be called upon to surrender his right of retaliation against his enemies. The embargo, though undoubtedly not intended to come in aid of the blockade of the European continent, yet certainly had that effect; and if that blockade could possibly have succeeded, its success would greatly have been assisted by the time chosen by America to lay on her embargo. This blockade, however, the enemy raised even before it was well established. Britain, firm and determined in her resistance, had not conceded in the least, for the sake of weakening the effect of this system of France; and it was still necessary to her reputation that she should persevere, that not a doubt might remain that she possessed the power to resist and overcome the violent and unjust measures of her enemy. The confederacy which had been formed must be totally broken before England would relax in the smallest degree; so that not a doubt might remain, "whether the plan devised for her destruction has or has not either completely failed or been unequivocally abandoned." Mr. Canning

at the same time assured Mr. Pinkney, that "if it were possible to make any sacrifice for the repeal of the embargo, without appearing to deprecate it as a measure of hostility, his majesty would gladly have facilitated its removal as a measure of inconvenient restriction upon the American people."

This letter, like most of the official papers of Mr. Canning, is written in a tone not exactly suited to diplomatic correspondence. If he detects his opponent in the use of weak and inconclusive arguments, he urges his replies in a tone of such triumphant superiority as might suit a literary controversy, but ill becomes a man in whose hands are placed the important concerns of a nation. He seems not to be sensible, that whether the object be victory or truth, a calm, liberal, and dignified refutation of what is erroneous in statement, or weak in argument, will be much more successful than flippancy, sarcasm, and irony. If the indulgence of these almost unavoidably either gives rise to the suspicion of an unfriendly state of mind in the person by whom they are used, or creates that state in the person against whom they are directed, they cannot be too warmly deprecated in a minister for foreign affairs.

While Bonaparte was carrying on his schemes against Spain, he was not inattentive to her valuable colonies in America. No sooner had he procured from Charles and Ferdinand the abdication of the throne in his favour, than he sent dispatches, by different fast-sailing vessels, to their principal settlements. Fortunately most of these vessels were taken by our cruizers; so that before the statement of Bonaparte appeared, the inhabitants of Spanish America were accurately informed of the events which had occurred in the mother country; of the treachery and violence that had been employed against their sovereign and his family; and of the insurrection of the Spaniards against their French invaders. On the arrival of such of the vessels, therefore, as had escaped the British cruizers, the crews were seized and imprisoned. Hostilities were declared against France in the Spanish West Indies, and in many parts of the Main. Ferdinand the Seventh was proclaimed; the English were received and treated as friends; and voluntary contributions in aid of the patriots were raised and transmitted to Spain.

Liniers, the governor of Buenos Ayres, however, hesitated with respect to the line of politics he should adopt, and the measures he should pursue. The supreme council of the Indies had ordered him to proclaim Ferdinand; and he appears to have taken some steps in obedience to this command, when a French agent arrived. Soon after his arrival, Liniers issued a proclamation, in which he informs the inhabitants of Buenos Ayres, that the emperor of the French had been compelled to recognise the independence and integrity of the Spanish monarchy, both European and Trans-atlantic; and that though the fate of Spain was not quite decided, yet it would soon be so at a meeting of the cortes at Bayonne, composed of the deputies of cities and other persons of all ranks. To the compliment which Bonaparte paid, in the dispatches which he transmitted, to the loyalty and constancy of the inhabitants of Buenos Ayres, Liniers informs them that he had replied, that the fidelity of the city to its lawful sovereign was the character

racter which chiefly distinguished it, and that he should thankfully admit every description of aid, consisting of arms, ammunition, and Spanish troops. At the same time, either from his knowledge of the disposition of the people, or wishing to act an ambiguous part, till he learnt the issue of the contest in Spain, he gave orders that the proceedings relative to the proclaiming of Ferdinand should be continued.

From the Brazils little or no information of any moment has reached Europe. Before the prince regent received intelligence of the Spanish insurrection, he had concerted measures for an invasion of La Plata; certainly a very unwise and impolitic direction of the resources of a state which requires so much attention and management as that of the Brazils necessarily must do. There are no symptoms of wisdom or vigour in the administration of affairs: and those who predicted the rise of a flourishing empire under the house of Braganza will probably be disappointed, and will learn from their disappointment to put more faith in the maxim of the poet, that the climate may be changed and the character continue the same.

PRICES of STOCKS for 1808. N. B. The highest and lowest Prices of each Stock in the course of each Month are set down in that Month.

1808.	Bank Stock.	3 p. ct. red.	3 p. ct. cons.	4 p. ct. cons.	5 p. ct. Navy.	5 p. ct. 1797.	Long Ann.	India Stock.	India Bonds.	S. Sea Stock.	Old Ann.	New Ann.	Exch. Bills.	Omn.	Irish 5 p. ct	Imp. 3 p. ct.	Lottery Tickets.
Jan.	226 224¾	64 62¾	64⅜ 62¾	82¼ 80⅞	98¾ 96	100⅛ 99⅞	18 17⅞	172¾ 172	par. 3 dis.	67¾	63⅞ 63⅛	63⅛ 62½	3 pr. 2 dis.	2¾ pr. 1¼ pr.	93⅞ 93¾	63¼ 62¼	20l. 19s.
Feb.	234 227½	64⅜ 64	63⅞ 63¼	82¾ 82¼	97⅛ 96⅜		18⅜ 18¼	172½ 169¾	par. 3 dis.	69 68⅝	64⅜ 63⅞	63⅜ 63⅛	3 pr. 2 dis.	3 pr. 2¾	94½ 93¾	63¾ 63¼	21 0
March	233 231½	64⅝ 64½	64⅝ 63¾	83 82¾	97¾ 96⅜	100⅞	18⅜ 18¼	173½ 172¼	3 pr. 2 dis.	69½	64½ 64⅜	64 63¾	5 pr. 2 dis.		96 95⅝	64⅞ 63⅝	21 0
April	234½ 232¾	65⅞ 65¼	66¾ 64½	83⅛ 82⅞	98⅝ 96¾		18½ 18¼	180½ 175	2 pr. 2 dis.	72½ 69½	65⅝ 65	66⅝ 64¼	10 pr. 1 pr.		95¼ 94	64⅜ 64¼	31 10 21 8
May	240 235	67⅝ 65⅞	68½ 66½	85⅛ 83	100⅛ 98½		18¾ 18⅜	182¼ 177	5 pr. 2 dis.	73⅝ 73	67½ 66¾	68⅛ 66⅜	10 pr. 2 pr.		96¾ 95	66½ 65⅝	20 19
June	244 239	69 66⅞	70⅜ 67¼	86 83			19 18½	182¾ 177½	2 pr. 1 dis.		69 68⅛	67⅞	6 pr. 2 pr.	4 pr. 1½ pr.	97¼ 96⅛	68 66¼	21 10 21 0
July	243½ 241	70 68¼	70⅜ 68½	86 84⅓	99⅞ 99	100¼ 100	19 18⅜	186¼ 185	5 pr. 3 dis.	74¾	69 68	68½ 68	8 pr. 3 dis.	3¾ pr. 2¼ pr.	98½ 96	68¼ 67⅛	22 6 21 10
Aug.	243½ 239	68¾ 66½	68⅛ 66	85⅛ 82⅝	99 97¾		19 18½	185 176¾	6 pr. 2 pr.	73¾	68⅝ 66⅝	67⅝ 65⅝	5 pr. 2 pr.	2¼ pr. 2 dis.	98 97¼	67¼ 64¾	22 6
Sept.	240¾ 239½	67⅜ 66½	66¾ 65½	83 82¾	98⅝ 97½		18⅝ 18⅜	179 177¾	5 pr. 2 dis.	72½ 70¾	66½ 65¾	66⅝ 65⅝	5 pr. 2 dis.	1 pr. 2¾ dis.	97½	66⅜ 65¼	
Oct.	236 232	66¼ 65¼	67 65¾	81¾ 79⅞	99½ 97¾		18 5/16 17 15/16	180½ 176½	5 pr. 3 dis.	72 71	65⅞ 65⅛	66⅝ 65¾	7 pr. 1 dis.	1 dis. 3 dis.	95¼ 95	66 65⅝	21 15
Nov.	238 236	67 65⅜	67⅜ 65⅞	83 81½	100 99½		18 5/16 17⅞	182¾ 180¼	7 pr. 4 pr.	73⅛	66½ 65¾	67⅝ 67⅛	8 pr. 5 pr.	par. 1½ dis.	95⅜ 95⅛	65⅝ 64⅛	21 15
Dec.	236 234¼	66 65¼	67⅛ 66⅛	82 81⅝			18 1/16 17 15/16	181½	10 pr. 4 pr.		66⅓ 65⅛	66⅛ 65⅜	8 pr. 9 [illegible]	1 dis. [illegible]	95⅜	65	35 0

PRINCIPAL

OCCURRENCES

In the Year 1808.

PRINCIPAL OCCURRENCES

In the Year 1808.

December 10, 1807.

MR. JEFFERSON'S ADDRESS

To the hon. P. C. Lane, speaker of the senate, and T. Sanders, speaker of the house of representatives.

To the general assembly of Pennsylvania.

I RECEIVED in due season the address of the general assembly of Pennsylvania, under cover from the speaker of the two houses, in which, with their approbation of the general course of my administration, they were so good as to express their desire that I should consent to be proposed again to the public voice, on the expiration of my present term of office. Entertaining as I do, for the general assembly of Pennsylvania, those sentiments of high respect which would have prompted an immediate answer, I was certain, nevertheless, they would approve a delay which had for its object to avoid a premature agitation of the public mind, on a subject so interesting as the election of the chief magistrate.

That I should lay down my charge, at a proper period, is as much a duty as to have borne it faithfully. If some termination to the service of the chief magistrate be not fixed by the constitution, or supplied by practice, his office, nominally for years, will, in fact, become for life; and history shows how easily that degenerates into an inheritance.

Believing that a representative government, responsible at short periods of elections, is that which produces the greatest sum of happiness to mankind, I feel it a duty to do no act which shall essentially impair that principle; and I should unwillingly be the person, who, regarding the sound precedent set by an illustrious predecessor, should furnish the first example of prolonging beyond the second term of office.

Truth also requires me to add, that I am sensible of that decline which declining years bring on:—and, feeling their physical, I ought not to doubt their mental effect; happy, if I am the first to perceive and to obey this admonition of human nature, and to solicit a retreat from cares too great for the wearied faculties of age.

For the approbation which the

general assembly of Pennsylvania has been pleased to express of the principles and measures pursued in the management of their affairs, I am sincerely thankful; and should I be so fortunate as to carry into retirement the equal approbation and good will of my fellow citizens generally, it will be the comfort of my future days, and will close a service of forty years with the only reward it ever wished.

T. JEFFERSON.

DREADFUL SHIPWRECK.

Captain Russel, arrived at Salem on the 13th Nov. from Petersburgh, communicates the following distressing account of the loss of the English transport Alexander: Oct. 20, lat. 47, long. 51, W. fell in with a boat having on board 21 living persons, among whom were a woman and child in a most dreadful situation. They sailed from Monte Video on the 9th of August, in the Alexander, capt. Howard, an English transport ship, No. 421. They had sailed under convoy of the Unicorn and Thetis. There were about 110 persons on board the Alexander; on the 20th Oct., the ship being in a very leaky condition, they were under the necessity of carrying short sail, by which means they lost the convoy; and on the 22d the leak so increased, that with both pumps going, and bailing at the hatchways, they could not keep her free. The captain took a small boat for his preservation, and rowed round the ship several times. Meantime the long-boat was got ready and hoisted out, but unfortunately bilged in going over the ship's side.—Thirteen sailors, fifteen soldiers, one woman and a child, however, kept in the boat, and found means to keep her from sinking. They had not got far off, when the ship seemingly blew up, and foundered immediately. They afterwards spoke with the captain in the small boat, who told them to steer N. E. and N. E. by N. as that course would carry them near the coast of England, from which he said they were but a short distance. They had only four biscuits in the boat, three gallons of spirits, and one pound of raisins. They had been in the boat six days, during which seven soldiers died for want (two of whom lay dead in the boat when she came alongside). They had cut one man up, and eaten part of his flesh; some remained in the boat when they saw the ship, but, on seeing her, they threw it overboard. Capt. R. and the captian of another American ship took the remaining sufferers on board, and carried them to Salem.

The Jamaica papers contain eight resolutions, which had been brought up from a committee appointed to inquire into the effects of abolishing the slave trade, and which resolutions were read and unanimously agreed to by a committee of the whole house of assembly, on the 29th of October last. The gentlemen of the house of assembly express their feelings very warmly, both on the subject immediately under discussion, and also on a variety of others which are connected with the state of the island. The first resolution states generally, "That the act of the imperial parliament for abolishing the slave-trade is pregnant with evils to this island, militating not only against its general welfare and interest, but threatening its total destruction as a British West India colony."

After explaining the evils which are likely to result to the colony from

from the abolition act, the resolution diverges into a variety of other topics illustrative of the causes of the present distressed state of the British planters, such as the relaxation of the navigation act, as far as it imposes restrictions upon neutral powers, and the rigorous enforcement of it in relation to our own subjects; the consumption of a foreign brandy in the navy, and otherwise; the continuing a high duty upon coffee, &c. The resolution concludes with a recommendation of the committee, adopted by the house, to appoint another committee "to prepare a most humble address to his majesty, setting forth our grievances and oppressions, earnestly beseeching his majesty's commands on his ministers to adopt proper measures for our relief and redress."

The second resolution states the abolition of the slave-trade to be "not only a breach on the part of government of the conditions under which his majesty's subjects embarked in the settlement of this island, but a novel, unjust, and unconstitutional interference with its internal government and affairs; calculated to defeat and subvert our laws, to deprive us of our dearest birth-rights, the trial by jury, to raise envy and jealousy in the breasts of the settled negroes; subversive of an antient and admitted principle of the British constitution, that no laws can be binding on those who are not represented in the parliament which enacts them; placing not only our rights and properties, but also our lives, in the most imminent danger, and tending to promote disaffection in the minds of his majesty's most loyal subjects."

The third resolution claims for the legislature of Jamaica the sole right of legislating for the island; and declares, "that it is their duty, by all constitutional means, to resist any attempt that may be made to destroy or abridge that right."

The 4th, 5th, 6th, and 7th resolutions contain a threat, that all supplies afforded to his majesty's troops, for the building of barracks and other military purposes, will and must be suspended from and after the 31st of December, 1808: till which time funds are appropriated for that purpose. The 8th and last resolution sums up the whole of their grievances; and demands, "above all, an abandonment by the imperial parliament of every pretension to an interference with their internal government or affairs."

The republic of America is beginning to be emulous of the arts. Capital casts from all the noblest statues of antiquity in Paris, and they are almost all in the world, have reached New York and Philadelphia, for the rival academies of painting just established in those aspiring cities. To such enthusiastic rivalry among cities, Greece was indebted for half its renown. Next May an exhibition of paintings will be opened in a grand rotunda in Philadelphia, which will boast of having the Lear and the Ophelia of the president of the royal academy in London. Though America has not yet nurtured, she has given birth to several distinguished artists; and among others, to the president West, to Trumbul, and Copley.

From authentic documents it appears, that in a period of twenty years the population has increased nearly three millions! The dwelling-houses have increased in the same period from 640,000 to

 1,225,000!

1,225,000! The number of horses has increased from 600,000 to 1,200,000; the horned cattle from 1,200,000 to 2,950,000; the merchant vessels have increased from 250,000 to 1,207,000 tons! The imports have risen from 11 to 20 millions of dollars. The exports of domestic production have increased from 9 to 42 millions of dollars; and the exports of foreign goods from 1 to 36 millions. The national revenue has increased, in a period of twelve years, from 8 to nearly 17 millions of dollars; while the expenditure, making an allowance for the extinguishment of the public debt, has been nearly stationary. The specie in circulation has increased, in the period of twenty years, from 10 to 17 millions. In the state of Massachusets alone there are seamen employed in their fisheries, foreign and coasting trade, at least 30,000, and in case of a war, these men are ready for national or private armed ships; and in the various other ports on the coast to Georgia, there are an equal number.

Regulations made by the marquis Wellesley concerning the publication of newspapers in India, viz.—

1. Exery printer of a newspaper to print his name at the bottom of the paper.—2. Every editor and proprietor of a paper to deliver in his name and place of abode to the secretary to government.—3. No paper to be published on a Sunday.—4. No paper to be published at all, until it shall have been previously inspected by the secretary to the government, or by a person authorized by him for that purpose.—5. The penalty for offending against any of the above regulations to be immediate embarkation for Europe.

Rules for the guidance of the secretaries to government in revising the newspapers.

To prevent the publication of—1. All observations on the state of public credit, or the revenues, or the finances of the company.—2. All observations respecting the embarkation of troops, stores, or specie; or respecting any naval or military preparations whatever.—3. All intelligence respecting the destination of any ships, or the expectation of any, whether belonging to the company or to individuals.—4. All observations with respect to the conduct of government, or any of its officers, civil or military, marine, commercial, and judicial.—5. All private scandal, or libels on individuals.—6. All statements with regard to the probability of war or peace between the company and any of the native powers.—7. All observations tending to convey information to an enemy, or to excite alarm or commotion within the company's territories.—8. The republication of such passages from the European newspapers as may tend to affect the influence and credit of the British at peace with the native states.

JANUARY.

1. Some interesting intelligence has been received from Lisbon, relative to the embarkation of the Portuguese court. It appears that lord Strangford, on returning to Lisbon, directed his steps towards the palace, expecting to find there its former inmates. Nothing, however, could equal his lordship's surprise to find the bird flown, and those apartments empty which he had left occupied by a court. From this

this it would appear that British interference was not so immediate a cause of the emigration as has been represented. Don Roderigo and don John d'Almeida were on board the Principe Real along with his royal highness; Araujo was on board the Minerva frigate, but not, as reported, in disgrace; and the Portuguese assert that he has done nothing to deserve it. The prince is said to have particularly desired that capt. Moore, the officer appointed to accompany him, might take only four sail of the line, and not proceed beyond a certain latitude. It is further stated, that only one English land-officer (general Forbes) has gone with the prince, and not one of the many British sea-officers who were in the Portuguese service. Don Pedro, a Spanish prince, nephew to the prince of Asturias, is likewise said to have quitted Portugal along with the royal family of that country. He is now about eighteen years of age, and has been educated at the court of Lisbon from his infancy. It is not surprising that he should prefer sharing the fortunes of his earliest friends and protectors to returning to his native land, beset as it is with dangers, and agitated by intestine discords. It is stated, that an aide-de-camp of gen. Junot's reached Lisbon on the day the court embarked; and having requested an audience of the prince, then on board the Principe Real, dropped down the river with the royal family, and was set on shore on the 29th, before the junction of the British with the Portuguese fleet. It was supposed to have been the object of the aide-de-camp to amuse his royal highness with new offers, until his retreat should be cut off by the French troops getting possession of the forts St. Julien and Cascaes, which, it appears, they were strenuously endeavouring to accomplish. The main army was, on the 29th, at some distance from the capital.

The following are the principal members of the royal family of Portugal, who have embarked for the Brazils:

Maria Francisca Elizabeth, queen of Portugal and Algarva, born December 17, 1735, married her uncle, Don Pedro III., king of Portugal, who died 25th May, 1806.

Juan Maria Joseph Lewis, infant of Portugal, prince regent, born the 13th of May, 1767, and married June 9, 1785.

Charlotta Joachima, infanta of Spain, and princess of Brazil.

Maria Ann Francisca Josephina, sister of the queen, born Oct. 7, 1736.

Maria Francisca Benedictina, sister of the queen, born July 24, 1756; married Joseph Francis Xavier, prince of Brazil, who died the 10th Sept. 1788.

The following are the children of the prince regent:

Don Antonio, prince of Beira, born Aug. 12, 1798.

Michael, &c. born October 26, 1802.

Maria Theresa, born April 29, 1793.

Isabella Maria Francisca, born May 19, 1797.

Maria Francisca, born April 22, 1800.

Isabella Maria, born July 4, 1801.

The melancholy fate of captain Sargeant, (see the last vol. p. 203) of Hants, followed by the destruction of the murderer, Allen, it was hoped would, however dearly purchased, have freed the country

from the alarm occasioned by this new and dangerous mode of depredation: but this expectation has been unfortunately disappointed; for, about a fortnight since, Mr. Brent, living at Portsea, was stopped on the turnpike road between Havant and Emsworth, by a footpad, wrapped up in a loose great coat, and armed with a gun, who robbed him of what money he had about him. A few days subsequently the assistant of Mr. Hicks, surgeon at Havant, was stopped near the same place, by a person answering to the above description, who demanded his money, but not happening to have any about him, he was suffered to pass on. On Thursday the 17th instant, Madgewick, a baker, living at Havant, was stopped between five and six o'clock in the evening, on the same road, about a quarter of a mile from Havant, and apparently by the same person, who robbed him of fourteen shillings. About an hour afterwards, a clock-maker, of the name of Avenel, who resides near Emsworth, was attacked near the mile-stone between Emsworth and Havant, and robbed of a clock, which he was carrying on his arm; and not being so ready to part with it and his money, as the robber wished, he was severely beaten and wounded by the villain, and his pocket cut off. He soon after robbed another person of what money he had about him. The three last-mentioned robberies being committed in so short a space of time, in one evening, caused a considerable sensation in the neighbouring towns of Havant and Emsworth. At the latter place, on the alarm being given, the corps of volunteers immediately turned out, and scoured the neighbouring country, but without any success as to the principal object of their pursuit. On Saturday evening, at eight o'clock, Mr. Tribe, a respectable farmer at Lordington, near Stanstead, about four miles from Emsworth, on his return from market, near his own house, was suddenly fired at by some ruffian, by which his horse was severely wounded. He narrowly, but happily, escaped injury, though six slugs were discharged at him. A few days previous to this Mr. Knight was robbed of his watch and money near Sir Harry Featherstonehaugh's, at Uppark.

BRITISH NAVY.

The amount of the British navy up to the 31st ult. is as follows:

At sea, 85 ships of the line; 9 from 50 to 44 guns; 121 frigates; 150 sloops, &c. and 159 gun brigs and other vessels; total 524.—In port and fitting, 29 ships of the line; 6 from 50 to 44 guns; 46 frigates; 71 sloops, &c.; and 65 gun brigs and other vessels; total 217. Guard ships, hospital ships, &c. 30 ships of the line, 5 from 50 to 44 guns; 11 frigates; 5 sloops, &c.; and 3 gun-brigs, and other vessels; total 54. Building, 47 ships of the line, 18 frigates, 23 sloops, &c,; and ten gun-brigs and other vessels; total 98.—In ordinary, 62 ships of the line, 9 from 50 to 44 guns, 65 frigates, 50 sloops, &c. and 21 gun-brigs and other vessels; total 207.—Grand total 1,100.

Marlborough-street.

7.—A woman, of the name of Martha Davis, was charged with violently assaulting Charles Tettwell, a youth fifteen years of age, dragging him into a loathsome dark room, and there, with deradful menaces and violence, robbing him.

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The youth is servant to Mr. Lewis, of Covent Garden theatre, of whom his master spoke in the highest praise. He stated in evidence, that he had been sent with several messages, on Wednesday evening, to different parts of the town, and on his return from the last place, he had called in the vicinity of Bedford-square; he was returning home through Dyot-street, St. Giles's, when he perceived the prisoner standing at the door of a wretched habitation, who seized him by the arm, and dragged him through a passage into a dark room, where there was another wretched female. Terrified at the sudden deprivation of liberty, the youth attempted to excite alarm, when the prisoner knocked him down, and with horrid imprecations threatened him with instant death, if he persisted in making any resistance. The boy was partly stripped; his hat, which had on it a silver band, was taken off by the prisoner, and concealed under a bedstead, and she also, together with her associate, took from his pockets half-a-crown, which was all the money he had. The door of the room was at length thrown open, and the youth retired with his hat, which he had taken from under the bedstead; but on the prisoner perceiving that he had got his hat, she followed him, and, assisted by a third person, took it from him, and the man who thus assisted took the youth up in his arms, threatening to take him to the watch-house. The boy continued to resist, and some watchmen interfered, when the man escaped, but fortunately the prisoner was secured. She was fully committed for trial, and the parties were bound over to prosecute.—The woman was afterwards tried and convicted.

A MANIAC.

8.—A man of respectable appearance obtained an interview with the hon. Mr. Villiers, at Windsor park, and applied to him to procure him an audience of the king, stating that he had several plans to lay before his majesty, and to expose to him a number of abuses. Mr. Villiers soon discovered that he was deranged, and in consequence agreed with all he had said, promised to get him introduced to the king, and would give him a letter to a gentleman at Windsor, who would settle his business. He accordingly wrote a letter to Mr. Dowsett, one of the resident police officers at Windsor, describing the conduct of the man, and his opinion of him; the man took the letter to Mr. Dowsett, who informed generals Fitzroy and Manningham, his majesty's equerries, who directed him to take care of the man, and to bring him to London on Tuesday morning. Mr. Dowsett accordingly made preparations for setting off with the man on Tuesday morning; but when the time arrived, he discovered that the man had neither shirt nor stockings to wear, having contrived to send them to be washed without his knowledge; which prevented them from leaving Windsor till he afternoon. The man travelled very quietly with Mr. Dowsett, he having told him he was taking him, by the command of the king, to magistrates and others, who would attend to every thing he had to say. He at length confessed that he had broke out of a private mad-house on Bethnal-green, which he thought was no harm,

harm, as they had ill-treated him very much, and if it was any sin he was very sorry for it. When they arrived in London, Mr. Dowsett took him to the Brown Bear public-house, and gave him into the care of two men; when he was provided with some refreshment and a bed, and Mr. Dowsett went to Mr. Read to inform him of the directions he had received from his majesty's equerries. Early on Wednesday morning Mr. Read dispatched R. Limberick to the madhouse on Bethnal-green to make inquiries respecting the description the man had given of himself; when he found it correct, and one of the keepers set off with Limberick to the Brown Bear public-house, Bow-street, and took the man back with him, secured in a straight waistcoat. During his confinement in a room in the Brown Bear public-house, on Wednesday morning, he broke open the room door, and was fighting his way out of the cage against two men, and would have made his escape, had not Dowsett come up to their assistance, who was obliged to use great violence in order to secure him.

8.—A melancholy accident occurred in the distillery in Belfast.—When the fermenting vat was to be cleaned, though the men had been always strictly enjoined to have a large piece taken out on the previous night, and also to put down some burning coals, and afterwards to throw in a quantity of water, in order to expel the new air, yet, from mere negligence, one of them, without even trying the simple experiment of sending down a lighted candle, rashly descended into the vat, and was suffocated in a moment. His companions hearing him fall down, one of them hastily went to his assistance, and, though others who were present insisted on his tying a rope round his waist, he, through over anxiety to save his comrade, instantly descended without it, but had scarcely reached the bottom of the ladder with a rope in his hand to fasten to the other man, when he himself was so affected by the air that he could only give some tremulous shrieks or cries, but being totally unable to help himself, he also fell down. Immediate exertions were then made by all present; and another man having fixed a rope round his waist descended, but before he could lay hold of either of the other two persons, he also was so strongly affected that the people above immediately drew him up again. For some minutes he was strongly convulsed, and appeared like a person deranged; but on being taken to the open air, he immediately recovered. Notwithstanding what he had experienced, his humanity prompted him to make a second attempt, in which he succeeded in throwing a noose over one of the men's legs, and he and that man were both drawn out. Though very much affected, and greatly exhausted by this second attempt, he insisted on going down a third time for the other man; he did so, and in a similar way accomplished his object. Having been rather longer down this third time, when drawn up, he was very seriously affected, but fortunately soon recovered. Medical assistance being immediately called, every exertion was made by two professional gentlemen to recover the two men who first descended; but though the one had been only fifteen

fifteen minutes, and the other only ten, in the vat, yet every attempt to revive them proved ineffectual.

Sirs John Stuart and Home Popham were on Friday presented with the elegant swords voted to them by the corporation of London. They were in the first instance presented at Merchant Taylor's-hall with the freedom of that most respectable company; after which they proceeded to Guildhall. They were received by the chamberlain and several aldermen.

When the chamberlain first addressed Sir John Stuart as follows:—

"Sir John Stuart, I give you joy; and, in obedience to an unanimous resolution of the lord mayor, aldermen, and common council, assembled, do give you thanks for your very gallant and heroic conduct at Maida, thereby proving to the world that the boasted prowess of the French arms cannot stand when fairly tried before the intrepid bravery and steady discipline of British soldiers. And, as a further testimony of the high esteem which the court entertains of your very meritorious services, I present to you this sword.

"Sir,—In the present situation of public affairs, it is highly gratifying to a Briton to perceive, that the superiority of British courage and discipline, under the guidance of able and experienced commanders, has been gloriously displayed in almost every region of the habitable globe. Egypt witnessed it under the immortal Abercrombie; India has recently experienced it under the conduct of a Lake; and since the action on the plains of Maida, the descendants of those who, led by the Cæsars, once made a conquest of this island, will be ready to confess that nothing can withstand the courage and discipline of British soldiers, when under the direction of a consummate general."

He then addressed sir Home Popham as follows:—

"Sir Home Popham, I give you joy; and in the name of the lord mayor, aldermen, and common council, assembled, return you thanks for your gallant conduct and important services in the capture of Buenos Ayres, at once opening a new source of commerce to the manufactories of Great Britain, and depriving her enemy of one of the richest and most extensive colonies in her possession. And, by an unanimous resolution of the said court, I present you with a sword, as a testimony of the high esteem which it entertains of your very meritorious conduct.

"Sir,—When the news arrived of your achievement in South America, it was received by the nation with an ecstasy of joy: the artificer saw an increase of demand for the production of his ingenuity; the merchant began to extend his commercial views; and every philanthropist most rapturously exclaimed with the poet—

Oh, stretch thy reign, fair Peace, from shore to shore,
Till conquest cease and slavery be no more;
Till the proud Indians, in their native groves,
Reap their own fruits and woo their sable loves;
Peru once more a race of kings behold,
Another Mexico adorn'd with gold.

"Such, sir, were the delightful visions in which the nation indulged, the result of a plan suggested by the wisdom of that great statesman, whose loss we deeply feel, and

and whose death we still deplore, and carried into effect by the prowess of yourself and your gallant associates in arms.

"The scene, it must be confessed, is now most lamentably changed; yet though the nation has looked in vain for that extension of commerce, and that diffusion of British civilization, in the hopes of which she had so fondly indulged herself, she will ever regard the capture of Buenos Ayres, both from the ability with which it was planned, and from the energy and intrepidity with which it was effected, as an action worthy of being recorded in the brightest page of her history.

"Gentlemen,—You have given ample proofs of your zeal in the cause of your country, and of your abilities to render it the most essential services: the same cause has still further claims upon your exertions; the foe with whom we have to contend has declared his determination to deprive us of our most valuable rights, and to sink us below the level of an independent nation. But I trust such threats are vain: you, gentlemen, are sensible, that when a nation has lost her honour she has little else worth preserving. You will convince our inveterate enemy, that however desirous your country may be to obtain a peace, she can never be forced to accept such a peace, as shall either diminish her rights or tarnish her glory."

Sir John Stuart and sir Home Popham returned appropriate answers; and then adjourned to the chamberlain's parlour, where they girded on the swords presented them, and went to the Mansion-house, where an elegant dinner was provided for them, and about sixty other gentlemen.

LOSS OF THE ANSON.

His majesty's ship Anson, 40 guns, capt. Lydiard, sailed from Falmouth on the 24th ult. to resume her station off Brest. It coming on to blow from the W. S. W. she was never able to get so far to the westward: however, capt. Lydiard persevered in his endeavours until the 28th. On the morning of that day, she made the French coast, when the gale increasing, capt. Lydiard determined to return to port, and accordingly shaped his course for the Lizard, the weather coming on very hazy with an increasing gale; about three P. M. the land was seen about five miles west of the Lizard, but at the time not exactly known; the ship was wore to stand off to sea, but had not long been on that tack before the land was again descried right a-head: it was now quite certain that the ship was embayed, and every exertion was made to work her off the shore; but finding she lost ground every tack, she was brought to an anchor in 25 fathoms, at five P. M. with the best bower anchor veered away to two cables length; by this anchor the ship rode in a most tremendous sea, and as heavy a gale as was ever experienced, until four A. M. of the 29th, when the cable parted. The small bower anchor was then let go and veered away to two cables length, which held her until 8 A. M. when that also parted; and, as the last resource, in order to save the lives of as many as possible, the fore-top-sail was set, and the ship run on shore on the land, which forms the bar between the Loe-pool (about three miles from Helston) and the sea: the tide had ebbed about an hour when she struck: on taking the ground she broached to with her broadside

broadside to the beach, and most happily heeled on to the shore (had she on the contrary heeled off, not a soul could have escaped alive). Now commenced a heart-rending scene to some hundreds of spectators, who had been in anxious suspense, and who exerted themselves to the utmost, at the imminent risk of their lives, to save those of their drowning fellow men: many of those who were most forward in quitting the ship lost their lives, being swept away by the tremendous sea, which entirely went over the wreck. At a time when no one appeared on the ship's deck, and it was supposed the work of death had ceased, a Methodist preacher, venturing his life through the surf, got on board over the wreck of the main-mast, to see if any more remained; some honest hearts followed him. They found several persons still below, who could not get up; among whom were two women and two children. The worthy preacher and his party saved the two women, and some of the men, but the children were lost. Of the brave crew of the Anson which, at the time she struck the beach, consisted of 297 men, no more than 197 are supposed to be in existence. Of those known to be lost are captain Lydiard, lieutenant Ferris, Mr. Smith, surgeon, his son, a midshipman, the carpenter, and his nephew, a midshipman, and seven other petty officers. Mr. Smith's body and two midshipmen are all the officers that have yet been found, with 26 seamen and marines. About two P. M. the ship went to pieces; when a few more men, who, for some crime, had been confined in irons below, emerged from the wreck. One of these was saved. By three o'clock, no appearance of the vessel remained. She was an old ship (a 64, we believe, cut down), which accounts for her beating to pieces so soon on a sandy bottom.

Admiralty-office, Jan. 9.

A letter from captain Rainier, of H. M. S. Caroline, to sir E. Pellew, bart. dated Malacca Road, February 25, 1807, gives us an account of his having captured the St. Raphael (alias Pallas), Spanish register ship, belonging to the royal company of the Philippines, mounting 16 guns, with 97 men, commanded by don Juan Baptista Monteverde, having on board upwards of 500,000 Spanish dollars in specie, and 1700 quintals of copper, besides a valuable cargo; she sailed from Lima on the 12th of November last, bound to Manilla. "Either from their temerity, or not knowing our force, they commenced firing; and it was not until they had 27 men killed and wounded that they hauled down their colours." The Caroline had seven men wounded, one of whom is since dead.

CHARGE OF MURDER.

11. William Chapman, the captain of a Liverpool slave ship, was on Monday indicted for the wilful murder of Robert Dunn, by exposing him naked to the weather, by starving him, and by repeated acts of cruelty and ill-treatment.

The solicitor-general opened the case, when the doctor on board the ship, and the principal evidence G. Scott, together with Richard Smith, Henry Nutson, John Barrie, and others of the ship's crew, were called to corroborate the case made out.

The deceased was sent out by one of the owners of the ship, and it appeared that the captain had taken an early dislike to him, from a sus-

a suspicion that he was placed on board as a spy on the conduct of the ship's officers. The ship had not left Liverpool more than a month when the deceased, having spilt some molasses, received five dozen lashes by the captain's orders. From that time, September 1807, till the 31st of March 1808, the deceased experienced an uninterrupted series of ill-treatment and privation. Every fault, though of the most trivial sort, was visited with the severest chastisement. He was suspended hours together with a chain round the middle, and left swinging in a horizontal position;—he was tied up by the neck, his toes just touching the deck, till he was nearly strangled; he was again suspended by the legs, with his fingers' ends resting upon the hatchways, till, the blood having overcharged the vessels of the head and brain, he became insensible. Again he was exposed naked to the weather, and compelled, in the midst of a cold rain, to wring out the swabs, and was employed to empty the tubs in which the slaves deposited their filth. On one occasion, when he had upset one of these tubs upon the deck, the captain beat him with a handspike, and bruised and lacerated his body in a most pitiable way; the blood flowed from his head and covered his shoulders. He likewise had his head half shaved and painted, his body marked with colours, and suspended by his wrists, tied at the extreme end of a broomstick. In this way he set the slaves upon deck to laugh at him. His daily allowance was a pound of yam or bread, and three half pints of water, and, of course, his body became emaciated, and his flesh and strength dwindled away. He was also beat over the face and eyes with the handle of a cat, and these various acts of cruelty and chastisement repeated almost daily. The last act of cruelty, however, was when the poor wretch was discovered lying in the place where the pigs were kept. He again used the handspike, and beat him with it from head to foot. The deceased crawled to the forecastle, where he lay with a mat to cover him, incapable of moving. He continued in that situation till he expired, about three or four days after. The captain was told of his death, and exclaimed—"D—n his eyes, throw him over-board." The doctor's description of the dead body was as follows:—"The face was so swelled that his eyes could not be seen—his head was also swelled, and his hair clotted with blood—his breast-bone stuck out like a wedge—his back appeared to be humped—his belly was shrunk in—his whole frame was emaciated, and his body covered with bruises."

On the arrival of the ship at the island of St. Dominica, the doctor swore to the entry in the log-book, respecting the decease of Dunn, in which it appeared that he died of extreme nervous debility and exhaustion: but this was qualified by the doctor in his evidence, by saying, that he made the entry under the apprehension that his life would be in danger if he did otherwise, the captain having punished him in the way of a common man, for having in his absence given away a bottle of rum to a mate who had newly come on board. He left Dominica, however, in about a fortnight afterwards, and in two days reached Montserrat, where he made a disclosure to the magistracy of the facts before stated, and he and the witnesses were sent home in the Northumberland to give evidence against the prisoner. The captain

tain also was sent home in the same ship; and in the way he corresponded with one Evans, a marine on board the Northumberland, the letters to whom were given to Smith, and by him shown to the doctor and the part of the crew detained to give evidence. These letters were now in court, and breathed a spirit of contrition on the part of the captain for his ill-treatment of his crew, promises to give each 100*l.* if they will appear on his behalf at the trial, and contradict the assertions of the doctor: tells them his life was in their hands, and they must assist in attaining his liberty; assures them that the depositions taken at Montserrat were all destroyed, and could not be brought against him: therefore, if they were all of one mind, and would falsify the doctor's evidence, he might still have his freedom. He concluded several of his letters by hoping to God he should escape through their means, and assured the men, if they behaved generously to him, he would never forsake them nor their interests.

Dr. Powell and Mr. Ramsden were called in behalf of the prosecution, and stated, that if the treatment ascribed to the captain was true, they had no doubt but it would occasion death. The hanging by the heels was sufficient to have produced instant apoplexy.

The prisoner, when called on for his defence, gave in a written paper, stating, that he had the misfortune to have a turbulent and mutinous crew, and that he was compelled to have recourse to severities in order to maintain his command. Smith, the gunner, after disobeying his orders, said, he had the key of the magazine, and would blow up the ship; and on another occasion, eleven out of twenty-five of his crew went on shore. In short, that the whole was a conspiracy to take away his life, and the charge had been made up by the doctor out of revenge, he, the prisoner, having punished him for his misconduct. With respect to the letters he sent, he was obliged to have recourse to that expedient, as the only probable way of saving his life, as he found the whole of the crew leagued against him.

The prisoner's counsel then called captain Bell, captain Duberley, and the purser of a vessel called the Challenge, who deposed that they heard Scott say to the crew, in a drinking-house at Montserrat, "I'll make him repent flogging me. We must all be of one mind, or we shall do nothing."

Captain Brown, of the Eliza slave ship, then deposed to the mutinous state of the crew of the prisoner's ship; and captain D'Arcey, the commander of a Guineaman, gave the prisoner a good character for humanity.

Mr. Justice Le Blanc summed up the evidence, and, after commenting at great length, said it was a question purely with respect to the credibility of witnesses. If they believed the facts deposed on the part of the prosecution, they certainly amounted to murder; but if they thought the facts had been overcharged, and the case had been made up of pique, rather than of public justice, then they would take the improbability of the case into consideration, and say, whether, under all the circumstances, the prisoner was not entitled to their acquittal.

The jury withdrew at five minutes after nine at night, and did not return with their verdict until ten minutes after three in the morning,

ing, when they pronounced the prisoner *Not Guilty*.

This verdict has been arraigned in some of the public papers; but those who attended the trial, were fully satisfied that owing to the contradictory evidence of Scott and the eagerness which all the witnesses showed to convict the prisoner, it was impossible for an honest juryman to have pronounced, on his oath, a different verdict. See last vol. page 202.

The short contents of two other indictments, the one charging the prisoner with the wilful murder of William Anson, and the other charging him with a similar crime upon Henry Johnson, on board the said ship, on the high seas, within the jurisdiction of the admiralty, were read; and there being no other evidence, a verdict of acquittal was pronounced upon each.

15. Ann Thompson was indicted for the wilful murder of Joseph Walker, by stabbing him with a knife in the side, on the 26th of December last.

Mr. Pooley opened the case for the prosecution, and stated the following facts:—The deceased was a sailor of colour, who cohabited with the prisoner in Denmark-street, near Ratcliffe Highway. On the day of the accident the prisoner and the deceased had been quarrelling very much, and in the evening she shut him out of doors. He attempted several times to gain admittance, but she constantly refused to let him. At length, however, he went through a back yard, and, as the prisoner said, got in at a back window. What then passed could only be known from the relation of the prisoner herself. She said, he beat her very violently, and that in the scuffle she unfortunately wounded him with the knife.

The first persons who saw the accident, were a woman of the name of Murray, and a sailor, called Matthew Anthony: they were alarmed at his groans, and when they entered the house, they found the deceased lying on the ground, and the prisoner weeping over him; they put him on a chair, and on examination they found that he had been wounded near the bottom of the belly, and the intestines were partly out of the wound. The prisoner said, "This is the bloody knife, and this the bloody hand which did it." Anthony advised her to send for a doctor, and to say that he came home drunk and wounded; but she would not say otherwise than that she did it herself. She asked the deceased to forgive her, and he said "I freely forgive you, Nancy." The deceased was carried to the hospital, and the prisoner attended him with great tenderness until he died. These facts being proved, four witnesses for the prisoner proved that the deceased, on the night of the accident, was shut out of the prisoner's house, and he made several ineffectual attempts to gain admission, swearing that if he did get at her he would do for her. One witness saw him go round an alley, which led to the back part of the house, and soon afterwards she heard a greatnoise, and the prisoner screaming Murder.—The jury found her guilty of manslaughter.

Last night a tremendous gale of wind arose from the North-west, accompanied with an immense swell of the sea and a spring tide, which making full upon the town and harbour of Margate, not only effected a considerable breach near the head of the pier, and shook the pier to its foundation from end to end, carrying the outer parapet nearly

nearly the whole length over into the harbour, but also demolished the jetty or defence against the sea on the west side of the High-street, and occasioned several small vessels then lying in the harbour to break from their moorings, many of which were totally destroyed. Notwithstanding these disastrous circumstances occurring in the harbour to several of the small craft belonging to the town, yet, in evidence of the utility of the harbour, four vessels of upwards of 100 tons burthen each, one of them of the burthen of 194 tons, and another (in ballast) of the burthen of 230 tons, actually came into the harbour for shelter, and were safely moored therein. The damages done by the storm to the pier and harbour, and to the west side of the High-street leading to the pier and harbour, amount to the sum of 15,000*l.* and upwards, exclusive of the very heavy losses sustained by individuals.—The 'store-houses on the pier, the harbour-master's house, the three heaps of cannon-balls, the short cannon, and upwards of 25 feet of the north side of the pier, were completely washed away. The cellars of the Foy-boat public-house, kept by Mr. Stannard, were filled with water, in consequence of which seven butts of porter burst, which blew up the whole of the flooring of the tap-room, bar, and parlour, besides considerably damaging the house. The large fishing-boats in the harbour, as well as the Good Intent packet, were stove to pieces. Two collier brigs and two yawls were carried over the wall on the Parade, close under the windows of the hotel: the last are mere wrecks, and the brigs have received considerable damage. The water overflowed King-street, as high as the Fountain inn. An anchor, weighing upwards of 16 cwt. lying on the Pier-walk, was washed behind the king's warehouse. A little before twelve o'clock, that part of the High-street leading to Mr. Hobart's bathing-rooms, to the King's Head inn, including Garner's library and dwelling-house, gave way with a most tremendous crash, and was instantly washed out to sea. The back part of the King's Head inn, kept by Mrs. Cricket, was blown up by the force of the waves. The ground under the houses in Hazardous-row, to the depth of nearly 20 feet, is washed away. The sea has forced its passage up the valley as far as Shotten Dean, being nearly one mile in length. The shock was so sudden and unexpected, that numbers of women were carried by men out of their houses, or they must inevitably have perished. The new road to Dandelion has been nearly destroyed. The houses of Mr. Osborne and Mr. Hurst, in the High-street, are expected to fall, as the earth up to the very threshold of their doors is carried away. The cliffs on the west side of Margate lost more ground on that night than they have ever been known to do in the course of twelve years. The consternation and misery of the inhabitants beggar all description. A petition was presented to parliament for relief by the commissioners of the pier.

Deal. Yesterday, the wind having shifted suddenly from about S. S. W. to N. W. it began to blow violently; and, during the night, increased to a perfect hurricane. The morning light presented a most distressing spectacle. Ships parting from their anchors, others drifting; some with the loss of

topmasts and bowsprits, and some standing out of the Downs without either anchor or cable left; but providentially none have drove on shore; nor have we yet heard that any have been lost. This day the wind continued with increased violence, and brought in a most tremendous sea, which at one time even threatened the destruction of the town. The foundations of a great number of houses next the sea have been undermined, storehouses have been swept away with their contents, and the ground tier of the dwelling-houses filled with water. The sea, during the tempest, made a considerable breach between Sandown castle and the battery No. 1, which has inundated the chambers, and forced such a torrent of water into the lower streets of Deal, that the cellars have been completely filled, and property to a large amount totally destroyed. In a row of houses adjoining to Alfred-square, the torrent was so deep that boats were obliged to be got down, and the miserable inhabitants taken out of their houses from the chamber-windows. Several quays in the Beach-street, which had braved the fury of the elements for a series of years, have been totally destroyed, and the timber washed out to sea.

At Dover, the Beaufoy victualling hoy sunk at the pier-head. Three other vessels are also sunk, and many others lying-to in the Roads, without anchors or cables. The north pier-head, the harbour, and different parts of the town near the beach, are much damaged.

At Yarmouth, the gale was accompanied with a very heavy fall of snow; but no particular damage was done to the town, though the jetty and piers were much injured. The Calliope, which was building at Winterton beach, was entirely dashed to pieces; and two other ships (belonging to Leith) were driven on shore, and the rest put out to sea.

Whitstalle. (Extract of a letter.) "I am sorry to inform you of the distress of this place (though all along the coast we are fearful it is the same): the sea has laid us in ruins. Last night women and children were taken from their beds, in skiffs, out of the windows, and small vessels which catch the oysters were driven on shore. The coal-yards, which contained some chaldrons of coals, are entirely washed away; not a small coal left to be seen. The distress here is impossible to be described. Hearne Bay coal-wharfs are quite gone to sea with the coals, &c.; and brigs are on shore with their hands in the greatest distress. The loss at Whitstable must be 5 or 6000*l.* Our wall has given way, which kept the sea from us, and this instant we expect much more damage. (Friday, one o'clock). The tide will be high water at two: therefore, God knows the damage we may receive! What with the houses on the beach, the boats, and small craft, the wrecks are truly distressing. We know of no lives at present being lost. The wind is just the same, N.N.E.; blows hard. The carpenters' yards, with timbers, are washed away. Horses in the farm-yards at Swalecliffe, and in their stables, were up to their necks in water. Some were saved at Mr. Tassell's, Swalecliffe Court Farm. Pigs, &c. were the same."

Considerable damage has been done to the quays, &c. at Harwich, by the very high tide last night and this morning; the highest that was ever remembered by the oldest inhabitant.

habitant. A poor man who lives in a small house near the new rope-walk on the Marsh, was alarmed about 12 o'clock last night, by the water being up to his bed-side; who, when finding his perilous situation, immediately with difficulty rescued his wife and child from (no doubt) a watery grave. A sentinel (posted over a coal depôt in the town) was obliged to stand on some pieces of timber a considerable time to prevent being carried away by the current, he being completely surrounded by it before he was aware of his danger. Several pigs, &c. have been drowned, and many other damages done.

Admiralty-office, Jan. 16.

Copies of letters transmitted by vice-admiral Douglas.

Ariadne, Jan. 7, *Huntly Foot, W. S. W.* 11 *leagues*

Sir, I have the honour to acquaint you that this morning, being off Huntly Cliff about four leagues, I observed one of his majesty's brigs to the southward; at ten A. M. she bore up and made sail to the eastward, and we perceived her to be in pursuit of a lugger. We immediately joined in the chase, keeping the wind of the enemy, and at one P. M. having closed within gun-shot, we had the pleasure to see the lugger surrender to his majesty's brig Ringdove, which was nearer to the chase than the Ariadne, and had fired several shot at her. She is a French lugger letter of marque (Le Trente et Quarante) commanded by monsieur Fanqueux, carrying 16 guns, 6 and 9-pounders, 14 of which were mounted, with a complement of 66 men, 65 on board; has been 16 days from Dunkirk, and had not made any capture. She is one of the largest luggers out of France, and a very fine vessel, only three months off the stocks, well found, and I think fit for his majesty's service. I have sent her to Yarmouth. A. FARQUHAR.

Ariadne, June 8, *Huntly Foot, W. N. W.* 6 *leagues.*

Sir, I beg to inform you, that, after the capture of Le Trente et Quarante, we stood during the night to Flambro' Head; and at day-light this morning another lugger was discovered in the W. N. W. to which we immediately gave chase: having, at the same time, made the signal No. 3, to the Ringdove, which was in company. Soon after eight we observed the lugger was chased by two brigs, one of which proved to be his majesty's brig Sappho, and the other belonging to the excise, called the Royal George, commanded by Mr. Curry, and to whom the lugger surrendered at about a quarter before ten A. M.; and I have satisfaction in adding that credit is due to Mr. Curry for the capture, although, from the situation of his majesty's vessels, her escape was impossible. The prize is a French lugger L'Egle, commanded by mons. Olivier, 16 guns mounted, 3- and 4-pounders, and a complement of 56 men; left Dunkirk 9 days ago, has made one capture, the brig Gabriel, of Yarmouth (in ballast), which she took last night off Scarborough, and scuttled her. I saw her still above water this morning, and ordered the Ringdove to examine her; and captain Andrews has since reported to me, that the Gabriel was sinking so fast as to make it impossible to save her; the master and crew were found on board L'Egle lugger,

which I have ordered to Yarmouth with the other prize, and purpose seeing them in safety to that port. A. FARQUHAR.

Downing-street, Jan. 20.

Extract of a dispatch from major-general Beresford to viscount Castlereagh, dated Madeira, Funchal, December 29.

I have the satisfaction to communicate to your lordship the surrender of the island of Madeira, on the 24th inst. to his majesty's arms. —We had, previously to the ships coming to anchor, sent to the governor to surrender the island to his Britannic majesty, offering the terms we were authorized; which were acceded to. The troops were immediately landed; and before dark were in possession of all the forts, and had the 3d and 11th regiments encamped with their field-pieces, a little to the west of the town. In regard to unanimity and cooperation, it is sufficient to say, it was sir Samuel Hood I had to act with; and the object, the service of his country. His ardent zeal communicated to all the same sentiments; and the utmost unanimity prevailed.—I have the fullest reason to be satisfied with the zeal and ardour of all the officers and troops under my orders.—I have the honour to enclose the articles of capitulation which have been agreed upon.—Captain Murphy of the 38th regiment, brigadier-major to the forces, will be the bearer, and can communicate any further particulars your lordship may be desirous of knowing; and I humbly recommend him to his majesty's most gracious consideration.

TERMS OF CAPITULATION.

Art. I. That on the signing of the present treaty, the island of Madeira and its dependencies shall be delivered up to the commanders of his Britannic majesty's forces, and to be held and enjoyed by his said majesty, with all the rights and privileges, and jurisdictions, which heretofore belonged to the crown of Portugal.—II. That it is agreed that the said island shall be evacuated and re-delivered to the prince regent of Portugal, or to his heirs and successors, when the free ingress and egress to the ports of Portugal and its colonies shall be reestablished as heretofore; and when the sovereignty of Portugal shall be emancipated from the controul or influence of France.—III. For the present the arms and ammunition of all kinds to be delivered and placed under the possession of the British.—IV. Public property shall be respected, and redelivered at the same time, and under the same circumstances, with the island. His Britannic majesty, during the period his troops shall occupy the island, reserving the use of all such property, and the revenues of the island, to be applied to the maintenance of its religious, civil, and military establishments. For the above purpose all the public property, of whatever description, to be formally delivered up, and received by the commissaries respectively appointed for that object.—V. All private property on the island of Madeira, belonging to the prince regent of Portugal, to be respected.—VI. The free exercise of all religious worship to be maintained and protected as at present established.—VII. The inhabitants to remain in the enjoyment of the civil constitution, and of their laws, as at present established and administered.

Done

Done at the palace of St. Lorenzo, Funchal, Madeira, Dec. 26, 1807.
PEDRO FACUNDES BACELAR D'-ANTAS E MENERES, governor and captain general.
SAM. HOOD, rear-admiral, K. B.
W. C. BERESFORD, major-general.

Sir S. Hood, in a letter to the secretary of the admiralty, announces the surrender of the island, and speaks in terms of warm commendation of the officers and men of the squadron (which consisted of the Centaur, York, Captain, Intrepid, Africaine, Shannon, Alceste, and Success), particularly lieut. Henderson, bearer of the dispatch; and observes, "from the cordial good understanding that has subsisted between us, as well as between the whole of the army and navy, had there been a resistance, every thing we could have desired was to be expected from both services."

Admiralty-office, Jan. 23.

This Gazette contains a letter transmitted by admiral Montagu, from lieutenant Tracey, of the Linnet brig, giving an account of the capture of Le Courier French lugger privateer on the evening of the 16th inst. off Cape Barfleur, after a sharp resistance. The lugger mounted 18 guns, with a complement of 60 men; the second captain of which was killed, and three seamen wounded; sails remarkably fast; out four days; made no capture. The Linnet sustained no loss.—Another letter transmitted by admiral Rowley, from captain Spence, of H. M.'s sloop Pandora, announces the capture of the French lugger privateer L'Entreprenant, of 16 guns and 58 men, on the 13th inst. opposite Folkstone, within two miles of the French shore, Cape Grisnez bearing south. From his being so very close to his own coast (the batteries firing over the Pandora), the enemy persevered in his attempt to escape, till our musketry had wounded the captain, the second captain, and four or five men. She has been out three days from Calais, and has taken the Mary brig of Sunderland. She is a very fine large new lugger, and sails exceedingly fast. The Active cutter joined in the chase, and assisted in removing the prisoners.—This gazette also contains addresses from Edinburgh and Glasgow, expressive of approbation of the conduct of the present ministers.

28. The board-room, for the trial of general Whitelock, was yesterday prepared in the great hall, or dinner-room, in Chelsea college. About one third part of this spacious apartment is allotted for the court. Immediately under the large picture of king Charles, the workmen have erected two apartments covered with green cloth, for the prisoner and prosecutor to retire into occasionally. The bar is between the seat of the advocate general and the apartments before mentioned The table at which the officers who compose the court martial sit, is covered with green cloth. A small table is placed on each side of the large table, for the counsel employed by the prosecutor and prisoner. The floor is covered with matting, and the hall is warmed with German stoves. The witnesses are to go to the board-room by the western square; and on their entrance into the hall, they are conducted on the side along an avenue partitioned off, and covered with green cloth, which leads to the body of the court. The carriages going to the court martial drive round the wall

of the west square. This morning, precisely at eleven o'clock, the members of the court martial assembled in Chelsea college, and immediately proceeded to the great hall, in which a considerable number of gentlemen were assembled to witness the ceremony. After the names were called over, and the usual formalities gone through, general Whitelocke entered the hall, and took his station on the left of the president. The general was dressed in the uniform of a general officer, the sword excepted. He was in custody of col. Burnett, aide-de-camp to the king. Generals Hope and Calvert then took their places on the right of the chair. General Hope's right arm was in a sling. General Whitelocke looked less corpulent than usual, but assumed a dignified composure. On his arraignment, he pleaded, in an audible voice, *Not guilty.* See March.

FEBRUARY.

NOTICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE, CARDINAL CASSONI,

Dated Rome, Feb. 2, 1808.

"His holiness Pius VII. being unable to conform to all the demands made on him by the French government, and to the extent required of him, as it is contrary to his sacred duties, and the dictates of his conscience, and being thus compelled to submit to the disastrous consequences which have been threatened, and to the military occupation of his capital, in case he should not submit to such demands: yielding, therefore, in all humility of heart, to the inscrutable determinations of the Most High, he places his cause in the hands of the Almighty; and, being unwilling to fail in the essential obligations of guarantying the rights of his sovereignty, he has commanded us to protest, and formally protests in his own name, as well as in that of his successors, against any occupation whatever of his dominions; being desirous that the rights of the holy chair should remain now, and henceforward, uninjured and untouched. As the vicar on earth of that God of peace who taught by his divine example humility and patience, he has no doubt but his most beloved subjects, who have given him so many repeated proofs of obedience and attachment, will make it their peculiar study to preserve peace and tranquillity, private as well as public; which his holiness exhorts, and expressly commands; and that, far from committing any excesses, they will rather respect the individuals of a nation, from whom, during his journey, and stay in Paris, he received so many flattering testimonies of devotion and regard."

4. A fire broke out about six in the morning in Castle-street, Leicester-fields, at miss Pickman's, who kept a lace-shop, which raged with such ungovernable fury, that in about two hours three large houses were completely burned to the ground, and three houses adjoining so much damaged as to be rendered uninhabitable. When the fire broke out, the inhabitants, being fast asleep, did not hear the knocking, which was repeated for some time at the door. At length a pannel was burst in, and it was seen that the counter and shelves behind it were all in a blaze. The admission of air fanned the flame, and every part of the house was quickly on fire. There was but a lath and plaster wall between that and the house of Mr. Blewett, who kept a cook's shop next door; and the

two

two houses in a short time exhibited but one body of fire in the lower part of both. Miss Pickman, her servant, a gentleman who lodged in the house, and the niece of miss Pickman, a fine young girl, who acted as shop-woman to the aunt, were awakened, but had no time either to save any of the property, or to dress themselves. The lady of the house went out of the one-pair-of-stairs window on the leads over the shop. By her hesitation as to which way she should turn, the gentleman who followed had time to recollect that he had forgot a little box, which contained something valuable; he returned to his apartments, and brought it out. The servant-maid then followed; she lowered herself down by a lamp-iron into the street unhurt, while miss Pickman and her lodger got into the window of Mr. Ball, the music-seller. The shop-woman, miss Pickman's niece, ran, as in a bewildered state, up to the three-pair-of-stairs floor. The neighbours on the opposite side called to her to go down to the first floor, and to get out on the leads: she appeared to have been momentarily deprived of her reason, and, when some stupid people in the street, without taking the precaution of holding a blanket or any thing to receive her, told her to jump out, or she would be burnt, she did so, and was literally dashed to pieces. Mrs. Blewett, of the next house, with her infant, were for some time missed; but it was afterwards found that they escaped safely, through a dormant window, over the top of the house, into another that was not on fire. Some say, the people in the street called out to the girl above mentioned, to jump up, instead of jump out, alluding to a small parapet which it was necessary to ascend, in order to get upon a neighbouring house which was not on fire. It is supposed this unfortunate young woman mistook the expression jump up, for jump out.

This day, a party of French prisoners, the crews of two privateers, were marched into Peterborough, on their road to Norman Cross prison, under an escort of the 17th regiment of foot, and were confined in a stable at the Angel inn in Peterborough, for that night. About 7 o'clock in the evening, Aries Simons, one of the prisoners, endeavouring to make his escape, was called to by the sentinel on duty; but making no answer, and having jumped upon the railing which separates the inn-yard from the adjoining one, the sentinel, after having called to him again, fired at and wounded him so that he died about 20 minutes afterwards. The ball entered at the back, passed through the lungs, fractured four of the ribs, and came out at the collar-bone. On the following morning an inquest was held upon the body by James Atkinson, gent. coroner for the hundred of Nessaburgh, when, after a close examination of nearly four hours, the jury (which was a highly respectable one) returned a verdict of Justifiable Homicide.

Dantzic. In the night between the 1st and 2d inst. a fire broke out in the tanneries of the old town, which raged with such fury, that, notwithstanding all the assistance that could be given, it continued burning for 24 hours. In the afternoon of the 2d another conflagration, which threatened to be still more dangerous than the former, broke out in a large magazine, which had been made into a

barrack; but the effectual exertions that were made to extinguish it, especially by the French troops, soon stopped the progress of the flames. The city presents a scene of desolation. More than 100 buildings are reduced to ashes. The steeple of the church of the Holy Ghost has fallen down, and many persons have been maimed, and even lost their lives on this disastrous occasion.

COURT OF CHANCERY.

5. Sir Samuel Romilly and other counsel were heard on a petition from Bullock, the bankrupt, praying that the court would supersede this last commission of bankruptcy, as being null and void, according to the letter and spirit of the bankrupt laws; inasmuch as they did not allow the last commission to have any effect or validity, till the bankrupt obtained his certificate under the first commission. This they stated was the last resource of an unfortunate man, in order to make an opening for his majesty's mercy.

The counsel for the assignees contended that the attainder which has taken place with regard to the petitioner put him totally out of the protection of the law. The assignees would have much satisfaction that the king would extend his mercy to this man, but it was their duty to oppose the petition, which indeed was altogether untenable.

In his reply, sir S. Romilly adverted to the high office of his lordship, which empowered him to advise with his majesty before the aweful sentence, which had been pronounced against the unhappy petitioner, would be carried into execution, and that one great object in bringing this part of this man's case before the court was, to enable his lordship to judge how far he might think it right and equitable to recommend to his majesty to extend his royal clemency in behalf of the petitioner. With a view to facilitate this desirable object, he trusted the facts stated in the petition to have been supported in such a satisfactory manner as to authorise his lordship to supersede this last commission.

The lord chancellor observed that, however much he might be disposed, from the nature of this case, to indulge his feelings, by acceding to the prayer of the petition, he was imperiously prevented from this exercise of humanity by the faithful discharge of that duty, which, as chancellor of England, he was bound to preserve. The petitioner has, after a solemn and judicial trial, been convicted of felony; during this trial, every circumstance of the case was fairly and maturely weighed with that humane attention which the accused are sure always to experience in this country. A trial has been set up to prove the validity of a prior commission; it has been made, but it has unfortunately failed:—hence he was prevented from exercising his feelings in recommending the petitioner to his majesty as a fit object of the royal clemency. On every ground that was advanced, he saw no reason for superseding the commission.

Downing-Street, Feb. 8.

Captain Berkeley arrived yesterday morning at the office of visc. Castlereagh, with the following dispatch:—

Santa Cruz, Dec. 27.

"My lord, being in a state of preparation and readiness to move a sufficient force against the Danish islands

islands in these seas, in consequence of your lordship's dispatch of the 5th of September, no time was lost (after the arrival of his majesty's final commands, signified to me by lord Hawkesbury's letter of November the 3d, in your lordship's absence, by the Fawn sloop of war, which arrived early on Tuesday morning the 15th inst. at Barbadoes) in embarking the troops at Barbadoes on board the men of war appointed to receive them by rear-admiral sir Alexander Cochrane, who immediately dispatched others to the islands to leeward to take on board such as were under orders in each of them, with directions to proceed to the general rendezvous, the whole of which, except 100 rank and file of the 90th regiment from St. Vincent's, joined the admiral before or soon after our arrival off the island of St. Thomas on the 21st inst. It was then thought proper to send a summons to governor Von Scholten, in charge of brigadier-general Shipley and captain Fahie commanding his majesty's ship Ethalion, to surrender the islands St. Thomas, St. John, and their dependencies, to his Britannic majesty; which he did the next day on terms agreed upon between him and major-general Maitland and captain Pickmore of his majesty's ship Ramillies, which were afterwards approved of and ratified by rear-admiral the hon. sir A. Cochrane and myself; a copy of which I have the honour to enclose, and hope they will meet with his majesty's approbation. On the 23d, in the evening, after leaving a garrison of 300 men of the 70th regiment, with an officer and detachment of the royal artillery, at St. Thomas's, under the command of brigadier-general Maclean, whom I have also directed to assume the civil government of the same until his majesty's pleasure is signified thereon, we proceeded to Santa Cruz, the admiral having previously sent his majesty's ship Ethalion, with brigadier-general Shipley and captain Fahie, to summon that island; who returned the next morning, the 24th, with a letter from the governor, offering to surrender it to his majesty, provided we would allow three Danish officers to view on board the ships the number of troops brought against it; which we permitted, that his excellency's military honour might not thereby be reflected on. These officers having made their report to their governor, returned early the next morning, the 25th, to the flag-ship, with a message, that the governor was willing to treat for the surrender of the island; when major-general Maitland and captain Pickmore were again sent on shore to settle the terms of capitulation, a copy of which I also transmit; which being approved of by the admiral and myself, troops were landed, and the forts and batteries taken possession of in the name of his majesty the king of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, a royal salute being fired, on the British colours being hoisted. I should be ungrateful in the extreme did I not state to your lordship the great and many obligations I conceive myself, the officers, and soldiers, to be under to rear-admiral the hon. sir A. Cochrane, the captains and officers of the royal navy, who have universally afforded us every comfortable accommodation in their power, and I am sure much to their own inconvenience. I am convinced that, had it been necessary to have called for the exertion of the sea and land forces employed upon this

expedition,

expedition, that they would have added another laurel to the many acquired by British valour and discipline. Copies of the two letters of summons, with the answers of the respective governors, are herewith transmitted, together with a return of ordnance, and ordnance stores, taken of, both at St. Thomas's and Santa Cruz. This dispatch will be presented to your lordship by captain Berkeley of the 16th infantry, an intelligent officer, who will answer any question you may be pleased to ask him; and I beg leave to recommend him to your lordship's notice.—Capt. Berkeley is my first aide-de-camp.

HENRY BOWYER,
General and commander of the forces.

The ordnance taken at St. Thomas's consisted of 94 iron guns of various calibre, and five one-pound field-pieces, with about 80 barrels of gunpowder, and other stores in proportion. At St. Croix there were 98 pieces of iron ordnance of different sizes and nine brass guns, with twenty rounds of ammunition for each gun, in the several batteries.

The vessels found at St. Thomas's comprised 40 Danish schooners, from 10 to 120 tons, in ballast; one ship of 250 tons, and a schooner of 97, with ship stores; one schooner pierced for 8 guns, five ditto for 10, three ditto for 12, two for 14, and one for 16 guns, all in ballast, and being from 78 to 116 tons each. There were also three American vessels, eight English, three Hamburghers, and one Swedish brig. At St. Croix there were 21 schooners and sloops all in ballast.

A fire broke out in Mr. Nichols's printing-office, Red-Lion-passage, Fleet-street, began at ten at night, and continued burning until four in the morning. There is no certainty as to the manner in which it originated, more than that it is generally supposed to have begun from a snuff of candle having been dropped in the ware-room. The whole of that extensive concern is consumed, and valuable works, that have been accumulating for many years, have been entirely lost. It is said that Messrs. Nichols and son were insured to a considerable amount, but by no means equal to cover their loss. There is a remarkable circumstance related, which is as follows: a servant girl was in the kitchen, almost suffocated with the smoke, and unable, through terror and the deprivation of breath, to move; a fireman discovered it, broke open the window, and, at the risk of his own life, saved the girl's. The Red-lion public-house, Mr. Edwards's printing-office, the Scottish hospital, and some other adjacent houses, sustained partial injury.

10.—About half past one o'clock, as the marquis of Thomond was riding through Grosvenor-square, towards the S. E. corner, attended by a servant, his horse suddenly started, or got unexpectedly on the pavement, when he seemed to plunge; and, whether from the slipperiness by the frost, or otherwise, the animal threw the marquis to a considerable distance in the carriageway or kennel, where his lordship was taken up completely stunned or dead. A cart driving hastily along at the moment is supposed to have startled the marquis's horse. The marquis of Thomond expired about fifteen minutes after, in lord Sydney's house, immediately opposite to the spot where the

the accident happened, and before any medical assistance appeared. Dr. Jones of Mount-street, arrived a few minutes after his lordship's death, followed, very soon after, by Mr. Heaviside, the surgeon, and afterwards by sir Waltar Farquhar. The remains were removed about eleven o'clock, from lord Sydney's, to the family house of the deceased, in Great George-street, Westminster. The late marquis was inhis 85th year.

11.—The snow storm of this night was the severest experienced for a length of time. The accounts received from various parts of the interior are very distressing. Many persons have lost their lives, some of whom were frozen to death, and others killed by carriages upsetting. The fall of snow was particularly heavy upon the north road; in many parts it drifted from forty to fifty feet deep. In every direction it was found necessary to put an additional number of horses to the coaches, but in few instances only was the difficulty thus overcome. In the vicinity of Biggleswade, the Newcastle and several other mail-coaches were completely buried in the snow; and it was only by the greatest labour and exertions that the passengers were rescued from their perilous situation. In other places the mails were taken out, and forwarded on horseback; but even this mode of conveyance was interrupted in some cases. Several horses were killed, either by falls or excessive fatigue. The damage done at sea, we fear, has been very considerable, particularly on the north and eastern coasts. Along the whole Kentish coast a great number of vessels have been driven on shore,

Deal, Friday evening.

This morning, very suddenly, about eight o'clock, a tremendous gale of wind sprung up from the N. E. which has forced almost every merchant vessel in the Downs to cut their cables and run down channel to the number of not less than 150 sail); two are lying entirely dismasted, and one, it is feared, from the things that have been washing by, has foundered.

Extract of a letter.

Margate.

It is with extreme concern I have to inform you of another tremendous gale of wind which came on this morning about six o'clock (then low water) at N. N. E.; a great number of vessels being in these roads, a heavy sea soon made, and shortly after the Lord Keith cutter came on shore, and now lies close up to little Westbrook cottage. The Governor Deane, one of the Margate corn hoys, soon after broke from her moorings, and drove on shore in Margate bay, where she now lies above high-water mark, on a common tide. The Maida, of Bristol, which was on shore in the last gale of the 15th ult. laden with oats, from Cork to London, broke from her head-moorings and now lies drifted out the harbour, but her stern hawser still holds. A very large brig, with a figure head, ascertained to be one of his majesty's gun-brigs, drove so near the rocks above the town, that it was every minute expected she would be on shore. About ten o'clock she cut away her mainmast, by which the foretop-mast went, and she rode easier, but in the very trough of a heavy sea; it is, however, feared she must still go on shore,

shore, as there is not expected to be water for her on the ebb tide.

A schooner-rigged vessel is just gone on shore in Marsh bay, about half a mile above the town; her main-mast gone, and up at high water mark. I hear she is bilged; crew saved. Cannot learn her name, but one of our Margate boats boarded her last eve, and says she is from Africa for London.

A ship just discovered between the snow squalls, with her main- and mizen-mast gone; another near her, a mere hulk, except part of the bowsprit; however, I observe there are many yet ride safe, although several above Birchington have drifted very near the shore.

Another letter, same date.

All this day it has blown a gale of wind from the N. W. The schooner Lucy and Alider, capt. Cummings, from the coast of Africa for London, was driven on shore in Marsh bay; her cargo is expected to be saved. A brig with yellow sides, in ballast, was driven on shore in Kingsgate bay. A gun-brig is riding close in shore, with her main-mast gone, and it is feared she will strike at low water. A ship, supposed to be an American, is riding in Westgate bay, with only her foremast standing; another vessel is also lying there, entirely dismasted. The Cecilia, captain Monk, from St. Michael's for London, that went on shore near this place yesterday, is got off, and is now safe in the harbour.

The accounts from Bury and Newmarket, respecting the fall of the snow, and its consequences, are of the most extraordinary kind; in the open lands the depth of the snow was tremendous: two shepherds were found dead on Newmarket heath, and many other persons are supposed to have perished. At Bury there was a county ball on Thursday, where all the company from the neighbourhood were detained till Sunday and Monday; they, however, contrived to keep themselves not only alive, but merry, during the time, having a public ordinary daily at the Angel inn, and successive balls every evening, with but little ceremony about change of apparel, and even under a short allowance of clean linen! Some Cantabs were likewise of the party, with their tandems, &c.; the loss of a term was apprehended by some of them.—The fall of snow in Stamford produced similar consequences to those which occurred at Bury on Thursday, being the night of a ball and assembly. All the respectable families of the neighbourhood that attended, were completely weather-bound, and obliged to take up their residence at the inns, until the opening of the roads permitted them, on Saturday or Sunday, to leave the town.

The Industry, of Chester, John Simpson master, bound to Dublin, with coals, having met with contrary winds, came on the Wild Roads; and afterwards, a gale of wind coming on, he was obliged to slip his cable, and run up to Parkgate. On Thursday following, Simpson took his boat, with three men and a boy, to recover the anchor and cable, but was prevented by the severity of the evening; and on their return, they were unable to find their way with the boat, and agreed to walk over the sands, with a view of getting to Flint; but unfortunately were prevented by the deep waters, and were obliged to return towards Parkgate,

Parkgate, in order to find the boat again; when one of the men and the boy were taken ill, and the other men carried them on their backs; not long after, the boy expired, and the man being nearly dead, they were obliged to leave them both on the sands; and with great difficulty the captain and two men got to the boat, and were picked up the next morning, nearly lifeless, by the Flint ferry-boat.

Among other accidents which occurred from the late inundation on the Norfolk coast, one gentleman farmer, besides having upwards of two hundred acres laid under water, lost thirty-five fine sheep of the Leicestershire breed; the Norfolks swam like dogs, some nearly a quarter of a mile, and were saved.

19.—A piece of wreck was driven on shore near Margate. There were, when it was first observed, six seamen upon it; but, within one hundred yards of the shore, a heavy sea upset them, and they all perished. The spectators on shore could not afford them any aid.—Two luggers belonging to that place, in standing out of the harbour in the evening, for the purpose of answering signals of distress, ran foul of each other, by means of which one of them sunk, and two of the crew were drowned. The remains of the pier at that place present a most mournful spectacle; that which once afforded security and protection to the town, encouraged its commercial interests, and was regarded as one of its brightest ornaments, is now reduced to a pile of ruins.

Cassel, Feb. 16.

A deputation of the Jews in the kingdom of Westphalia has assembled here, consisting partly of rabbies and partly of elders. On the 8th, the deputation were introduced by M. Israel Jacobson, counsellor of finances, to the minister of state, M. Simeon, and afterwards to king Jerome. M. Jacobson addressed his majesty in a short speech, and the following is part of the reply which was made:—

"I am satisfied with your speech. That article in the constitution of my kingdom, which establishes the equality of all religions, is in perfect unison with the feelings of my heart. The law ought to interrupt no man in the exercise of his worship. Each subject is as much at liberty to observe the rules of his faith, as the king is to follow his religion. The duties of the citizen are the only objects which the laws of the government can regulate."

COLD-BATH FIELDS PRISON.

Copy of a petition presented to the house of commons, Feb. 19.

To the knights, citizens, and burgesses of the honourable house of commons, of Great Britain and Ireland, in the united parliament assembled:—The petition of Alexander Stephens, of the honourable society of the Middle Temple, and Park House, in the county of Middlesex, esquire, humbly showeth, That certain persons lately serving the office of grand jurymen for the county of Middlesex, to the number of about nine, having visited the house of correction for the said county, commonly called Cold-Bath Fields Prison, on Tuesday Nov. 3, in the year of our Lord 1807, between the hours of eleven and twelve in the forenoon:—They there discovered that all the loaves found by them (each of which ought to contain sixteen ounces,

ounces, and to be distributed daily, at ten o'clock in the morning) were greatly deficient in point of quantity, as will be seen from the annexed statement on the part of one of the magistrates of the city of London. ——That the prison weight demanded and used upon the present occasion, for trying the loaves in rotation, proved also deficient, as was fully demonstrated in both instances on the same day, when compared with the standard at Guildhall, in the presence, first, of sir W. Leighton, knight, then lord mayor; and afterwards of Richard Phillips, esq. then and still one of the sheriffs of London and Middlesex, as well as of four of the late grand jury; and, moreover, that the scales of the said prison were false and fraudulent.

Your petitioner, together with other gentlemen, late members of the grand jury, also discovered that several of the liege subjects of this realm were committed to close custody in cells destitute of fire, 8 feet 3 inches long, by 6 feet 3 inches wide, two of them in irons, although sick; some, if not all, of these were innocent in point of fact, as all were then innocent in point of law, being detained under the pretext of re-examination, and consequently uncondemned by the legal judgement of their peers, or even the accusatory verdict of a grand jury. Of this number were a mother, a daughter, and a son, of creditable appearance; the two former in one cell, so situated as to be exposed to a continual current of external air, without the possibility of obtaining, even during the severest frost, an artificial warmth by means of fuel, while the convicts below enjoyed all the comforts of an open roomy ward, with occasional access to fire. ——That in one of these lonely cells was closely confined a foreigner of some rank, the chevalier de Blin, who, as we were told by one of the jailors, while so immured, had been deprived of his reason, and who presented to your petitioner, after communicating with him for some time in the French language through the key-hole, and demanding entrance, a memorial on his knees.——That in this place, originally destined for the improvement of the morals of petty offenders, a female prisoner, as we have learned, has been lately debauched by the son of the chief jailor, or governor, who then held an office of trust in the prison, and has since had a child, now, or at least lately, burdensome to the parish of Kensington in the county of Middlesex.——That four debtors were shut up in this house of correction, the only communication between whom and the world appears to take place occasionally, by means of two iron gates, at upwards of six feet distance from each other, with a jailor walking in at intervals, so as to preclude complaint; and that from the examination of a debtor, and also by a letter from him, both in the possession of your petitioner, it appears that he was shut up with persons guilty of robbery, and unnatural crimes.—— And, lastly, that six innocent persons, the bills against whom had been thrown out by the grand jury, were dragged from Cold Bath Fields prison to Hicks's-hall, in open day, at the close of the session, first manacled, and then fastened together by a rope, to be discharged by proclamation——Your petitioner, therefore, conceiving that such gross instances of fraud, coupled with such an open violation of the laws, and even of the express orders of session, are calculated to bring

bring his majesty's government into contempt, and cast unmerited odium on our most excellent constitution; thinking also that, if such malpractices were detected in a casual and slight survey, of less than two hours duration, far greater abuses are likely to be brought to light, by the intervention of the grand inquest of the nation, most humbly and earnestly solicits this honourable house to take the premises into consideration, and by a public and open examination at its bar, or any other mode, afford such relief as may seem meet.

A. STEPHENS.

Kensington Palace, Feb. 21.

Lieut.-colonel Vesey is commanded by his royal highness the duke of Kent to request the insertion of the following:

Although the duke of Kent flatters himself that the officers of the British army with whom he has had the good fortune of serving in the Mediterranean, America, and the West Indies, will do him the justice to believe, that his absence from Gibraltar at this time, when that fortress is menaced by a formidable attack of the enemy, is not owing to any backwardness on his part to repair to that station to which his duty calls him, or for want of his using his utmost exertions to be allowed to resume the actual command of his government, he feels that he owes it to his own character no less as a man than as a soldier, to make known to them, to the whole army, and to his countrymen in general, the terms on which he felt it his duty to address his majesty upon this subject, immediately upon the arrival of the last accounts from Gibraltar; and trusts that when these have been perused, he shall stand acquitted in the opinion of his brother officers of the army, and of his countrymen, of having been deficient in his duty.

Sire,—The letters received by the mail just arrived from the Mediterranean, having brought the certain information that orders had reached Algeziras from Madrid, immediately to make such preparations in the neighbourhood of Gibraltar as put beyond doubt the intention of the enemy to besiege it, I could n t, under such circumstances, reconcile it to my feelings, were I to delay a moment in not only assuring your majesty of my readiness instantly to go out there, but in earnestly soliciting your sanction for my resuming the duties attached to the commission I have the honour of holding as governor of that fortress. To your majesty, who yourself possess so nice a sense of honour, it is quite unnecessary for me to represent, that on the result of your decision upon this request, which I beg leave in the most dutiful yet in the strongest manner to press upon your attention, every thing most dear to me in life, I mean my character as a man, and my professional credit as a soldier, are at stake. I will not, therefore, presume to say more than that I place those in your majesty's hands, with no less confidence in your justice as my sovereign, than your indulgence as my parent. With every sentiment of the most devoted attachment, and the most dutiful respect, I have the honour to subscribe myself,

Your majesty's most affectionate son, and most faithful servant and subject,

To the king. EDWARD.

The duke of Kent conceives that it would be superfluous to add any observations upon the foregoing

ing lines, except that he is not going out to Gibraltar, that being a sufficient explanation of the result of his application; and his whole motive of intruding the perusal of them upon the public at this time, being that of clearing his own character from the aspersions that must unavoidably attach to it in consequence of his absence from his government at such a moment as the present one, were it conceived to be voluntary on his part, or that he had been passive on the occasion.

COURT OF KING'S BENCH.

Morris v. *Sir Francis Burdett, bart.*

22.—This was an action brought by the high bailiff of Westminster, for the 5th part of the expenses in erecting the hustings for the accommodation of the candidates at the late Westminster election, and for other incidental charges, consequent upon the election, amounting in the whole to 326*l.* Amongst other charges was 120*l.* for the high bailiff's table during the election. There were also charges for making proclamation, for hire of horses, and for various assistants, commissioners, clerks, &c. It was admitted that a Mr. Percy had protested, in the name of sir Francis Burdett, against incurring any expenses for the hustings; but it was also proved that his committee, his friends, and his poll clerks, made daily use of the hustings.

Mr. Garrow said, he was not instructed to question the different items of charge, but to resist them altogether, as the worthy baronet considered it a duty he owed to the public to settle the extent of his liability under the act of the 34th of the king. He contended that it was preposterous to say that the candidates at an election were to be charged with the high bailiff's dinners, and the various services incidental to his situation.

Lord Ellenborough said that, by the 34th of the king, any candidate had a right to insist upon commissioners to administer the oaths of allegiance, &c. and they were liable for the expenses attending the appointment, and the expenses of the court in which they sat; but certainly not for many of the items charged in the plaintiff's bill. It was true, Mr. Percy might have protested against the expense of erecting the hustings, but there was no proof that the protest was made as the agent of sir Francis; on the contrary, the clerks of the defendant took their situations on the hustings, his committee there attended, and applications were daily made to the high bailiff for tickets of admission to the hustings. Having therefore taken the use of the hustings, the defendant, even if he had originally protested against the expense as unnecessary, waved his protest, and was liable to his portion of the expense. With respect to the high bailiff's table, and the employ of officers consequent upon his situation, there was no pretence for charging the defendant.

The jury, under his lordship's directions, found for the plaintiff 117*l.* 8*s.* 2*d.* the extent of the defendant's liability.

The King v. *Samuel Douglas.*

This prosecution was instituted by the countess dowager of Ilchester, for the benefit of the public, against the defendant, who was a porter at the White Horse cellar, Piccadilly, for having defrauded her of the sum of 3*s.* 1*d.* in the carriage

riage of a basket of fish from Dorchester. It appeared that frequent complaints had been made against the defendant for extortion in the carriage of parcels, which he was in the habit of delivering, and the parties concerned being desirous of detecting his malpractices, a duplicate of the ticket which was sent with the basket in question, was enclosed in it stating the real charge to be 6*s.* 6*d.* but the defendant, not knowing of this, altered his own to 9*s.* 10*d.* which her ladyship's servant paid him. This was fully proved by Samuel Harris, her ladyship's servant, and W. Robinson, the book-keeper at the White Horse Cellar.

Mr. Lawes, the defendant's counsel, took several objections to the indictment, which lord Ellenborough over-ruled, and the jury, therefore, found him Guilty.

Mr. Gurney, as leading counsel for the prosecution, observed to his lordship, that the reason why this severe course had been adopted towards the defendant was, that he had defrauded the countess, in this way, no less than seven times!

The following is a copy of an interesting communication transmitted from the Transport-office, in reply to all applications now made by the French officers, prisoners of war in Britain, for passports to enable them to return to France:

Transport-office.

27.—Sir, The commissioners for his majesty's transport service, and for the care and custody of prisoners of war, have received your letter of the and in return, I am directed to acquaint you that it is the determination of his majesty's government not to allow any more French officers to go from this country to France, until the French government shall make some return for the very great number of French officers already sent, or shall agree to a cartel of exchange upon the fair principle of man for man, and rank for rank, according to the usual plan of civilized nations, and as repeatedly proposed by the commissioners, without effect. I am, however, to acquaint you, that if the French government will send over to this country a British prisoner of equal rank to effect your exchange, or will officially certify to the commissioners, that upon your arrival in France such British prisoner shall be released, orders will immediately, on the receipt of such certificate, be given for your liberation.

You will, under these circumstances, clearly perceive, that your detention here is entirely owing to your own government, to which any application you may think proper to make on the subject will of course be duly forwarded.

As it is probable that you may not be sufficiently acquainted with the English language to understand perfectly this letter, a translation of it into French is given on the other side hereof.

I am, &c.

(Signed by the secretary.)

FRANCE.

28. The French Imperial Almanack for 1808 contains as first head—French Empire, comprising, 1st, France; 2d, Italy; 3d, Naples; 4th, Rome (Pius VII.); 5th, Lucca and Piombino; 6th, Holland—*Neue Ziefung, March* 11.

The revenues of France at present amount to between 30 and 40 millions sterling; and the subjects pay, in the aggregate, about 33 per

cent. The taxes are chiefly levied on windows, individuals, doorways, sign-boards, furniture, and working patents, without which no one is permitted to manufacture in any way; the Custom-house duties, which used to contribute greatly to the national supplies, are now greatly deficient of their accustomed produce. The annual consumption of food in Paris is stated at 258,640,000 francs, or about 10,776,000l.; and one-sixth part of the population of that capital are classed as paupers.

The dramatic authors in Paris lately amounted to 2142, comprehending tragic and comic poets, melo-dramatists, mono-dramatists, vaudevillists, parodists, and pantomimists. When performers of eminence become superannuated, they are supported by the state, on the liberal principle that those who have contributed to the public pleasures should be supported in the decay of nature by public gratitude.

Bonaparte has adopted a very extensive plan for the improvement of Paris:—Amongst other objects, all the streets between the Carousel and the Louvre are to be pulled down; and another gallery, corresponding with the gallery of the Louvre, to be built, with an open arcade, leaving in the front of the Thuilleries a parade sufficiently large to exercise an army of 100,000 men.—Another new bridge is building over the Seine, from the middle of the Champ de Mars; several new fountains are erecting; and the new national monument in the cemetery of the Magdalens, and the triumphal arch in the garden of the Thuilleries, commemorative of the victories of Napoleon, are prosecuting with activity. The other national works going forward are,—a column 150 feet high, in the Place Vendome, to the honour of the French arms, with an avenue to the Boulevards; a martial temple on the Boulevards St. Honoré, to contain the statues of the different generals who have distinguished themselves; on plates of gold, the names of all the officers and men who fell in battle are to be displayed; and on plates of silver, the names of such as survived those conflicts; a temple to Victory at the barriere of the Champs Elysées, of immense magnitude; a new façade to the Legislative palace; the Pantheon of St. Genevieve; the quay of Desaix, which is to be faced with a piazza; and the column of Rostock.

The French are endeavouring to make an improvement in the art of gunnery, by effecting a discharge of cannon by means of electricity, without exposing the gunners to the enemy's fire. An experiment was lately made by M. Bouche, in the *Jardin des Plantes*, at Paris, to try the effect of electricity applied to gun-batteries. Instead of guns, he fired 100 rockets on large sticks in the garden, the rockets were all connected by an iron wire, and one spark caused them all to explode at the same instant.

Bonaparte has lately fitted up his library in the English taste, and rather plain than otherwise; it is decorated with marble busts of celebrated characters, among which are those of Mr. Fox and lord Nelson.

MARCH.

HERTFORD ASSIZES.

4. Thomas Simmons was indicted, for that he at Broxbourn, on the 20th of October last, did make an assault on Sarah Hummerstone, and

and wilfully gave her a mortal wound in the neck with a knife, of which she instantly died. This is the case of the inhuman wretch who murdered the two unfortunate women at Hoddesdon.—The court was crowded at an early hour in the morning to hear the trial. It did not last long, as the facts lay in a very narrow compass.—See the last volume, page 200.

Sarah Harris, servant of Mr. Boreham, said she had lived four years with him; Simmons, the prisoner, had lived there three years, and quitted it last Michaelmas: the prisoner wished to marry her, but her mistress disapproved of it; they had quarrelled before he quitted the service;—on which occasion he beat her; and when he had done he said he did not care if he had killed her. He has often said he would make away with her, because she would not marry him. About half past eight in the evening of the 20th of October he came to the house;—she was in the kitchen, and heard him coming along the yard; he was swearing violently. He came up to the window, and struck at her through the lattice, and swore he would do for them all. She desired him not to make a noise, as they had company: he said he did not care for the company, he would do for them all. Mrs. Hummerstone hearing the noise, opened the room-door, and came to the yard. She told him to go away. He gave her a blow on the head, which knocked off her bonnet; she ran into the house, and he immediately followed her. The witness immediately heard the shrieks of murder, but did not know from whom. All the family were in the room. The three young ladies, Mr. Boreham's daughter, Mrs. Warner, the married daughter, Mr. Boreham and his wife, and Mrs. Hummerstone. In a short time the prisoner came to the wash-house to her; she shut the door, and cried out murder. The witness ran into the sitting-room,—she saw some one lying under the window,—she ran from thence down a passage,—the prisoner followed her—she there met her master with the poker in his hand; in running hastily, her master, who is very old and feeble, was knocked down. The prisoner caught her and threw her down, and drew a knife on her. He threw her across Mrs. Warner, who was lying dead, she believed. He drew the knife across her throat, but she guarded it with her hand, which was cut. He made a second blow, when she wrested the knife out of his hand. He immediately ran away, and she saw no more of him.

Thomas Copperwheat went in search of the murderer. He discovered Simmons concealed under some straw in a crib in the farm-yard; the place where he was found was about 100 yards from the house.

Benjamin Rook, the coroner, said, when the evidence of Harris was read to the prisoner, he said it was very true, he had murdered them, and no one else. He added, that he did not intend to have murdered Mrs. Hummerstone, but he went with an intention of murdering Mrs. Boreham, Mrs. Warner, and Harris, the maid-servant.

The constable who carried him to prison, deposed to the same effect. The prisoner also told him, that when he had got Betsey down, he heard something fluttering over his shoulders, which made him get up and run away.

The prisoner being called upon

to know if he had any thing to say, answered in a careless tone—No!

Mr. Justice Heath told the jury the case was so very clear that it was unnecessary for him to address any observations to them; the prisoner, as they had heard, had more than once confessed his guilt.

The jury found him Guilty; and the learned judge immediately pronounced the sentence of the law—that he should be hanged on the following Monday, and his body be anatomized.

12. The Fifth Report of the commissioners of military inquiry consists of 274 closely printed folio pages. The commissioners remark on the great inconvenience arising from a division of patronage, which has occasioned a much greater expenditure than would have otherwise occurred. The army general hospital system has been carried to too great an extent, and has been very disadvantageous. —The expenditure for medicines is enormous. The medicines, medical stores, and surgical stores, and surgical instruments, are supplied both at home and abroad, by a Mr. Garnier, who has a patent for the purpose, though no reason has been assigned for this valuable monopoly. Mr. G. executes no part of the business himself, and receives a salary in addition to his profits, which appear to be very great indeed! His charges on a yearly average amount to 67,340l. —The whole institution seems to have been conducted in a most extravagant manner, and affords another instance of the mode in which the public money has been squandered. The expenditure of wine, spirits, and porter, has been considerable; for whose use cannot be easily ascertained. A pipe of wine in ten days, at the York hospital, was a common average. Among the many abuses which the report discovers, are those committed in the accounts of the Plymouth hospital, in the years 1796, 1797, and 1798. These consist of double charges; of alterations in vouchers for the purpose of introducing larger sums in the place of smaller; and of false entries in the monthly charge, under the head of "small bills."

13. A very numerous meeting of the merchants and other inhabitants of Liverpool, interested in the trade to America, was held in that town, when the late orders in council were taken into consideration. Mr. Rathbone, in a long and able speech, detailed the various advantages this country derived from the American trade, in the course of which he stated that nearly five hundred voyages were made from America to Liverpool alone, in the course of a year, in ships, the burden of which amounted to more than 123,000 tons; that the amount of British manufactures annually exported to America was more than 10 millions; that government derived from the Liverpool portion of the trade alone a revenue of not less than one million a year, and that the average debt due from America to this country is not less than 12 millions, the payment of which is now interrupted by the embargo in the American ports. Two petitions, one to the Lords and the other to the Commons, were then read and unanimously agreed to.

Another meeting was held at Liverpool on the 15th, the mayor presided. An address to his majesty was proposed by Mr. alderman Aspinall, which stated the strong affection of the inhabitants of

of Liverpool for his majesty's person and government, and deprecated the anticipation of any evil consequences to our commerce from the recent measures of government.—Mr. Roscoe proposed a different address, declaring the affection of the inhabitants for his majesty's person and government, and their determination to support him; but hoping that he will restore, at an early period, the blessings of a general peace. The mayor said the numbers were nearly equal for the first address, but declared it to be carried; on which Mr. Roscoe retired to the square, with a great number of persons, whom he addressed, and in four hours his address received upwards of 3,000 signatures, and was sent off to London the same evening. Upwards of 12,000 additional signatures, making in the whole 15,000, were received on Thursday from Liverpool, and the address was delivered by the earl of Derby to lord Hawkesbury. to be presented to the king.

PETITIONS FOR PEACE.

The signatures to the Leeds petition amount to 28,628, the largest number ever signed to a similar document in the west riding of Yorkshire. The names occupy about 74 skins of parchment, each skin containing seven columns of names closely written; and the parchments extend to the length of 56 yards.

The Stockport petition for peace is signed by upwards of 12,000 persons. It has been presented by Davies Davenport, esq., member for the county. The Royton petition is sent up, signed by upwards of 13,000.

The petition for peace from Manchester and its vicinity has been signed by 47,000 persons.

The meetings at Bradford and Huddersfield were very numerous and respectable, and petitions for peace were voted by very large majorities.

The Bingley petition for peace was sent to London on the 15th instant. From the returns it appears that, out of a population of 2580 competent persons, 2542 of them signed the petition.

16.—At Maidstone, on Wednesday, before the lord chief baron, an action was tried, at the suit of one Sherwood, a Kentish farmer, against baron Hompesch, an Hungarian nobleman, and a general officer in the British service, for a gross and obscene libel on the plaintiff and his wife. The following are the circumstances of the case:—The plaintiff was in the habit of going to the baron's house, and one Sunday in October he sat with him drinking and playing at cards all the day, and all the night, until five o'clock in the morning; then his wife fetched him home. The next day the baron sent him a little wine, to refresh his spirits as he said, and afterwards a plaster to cure the bruises which he said his wife might have given him, and an ornamented horse-whip to correct his wife. He afterwards set about to compose a song, called "The Termagant; or, Direful Kentish Tale," which was proved to have been given by him to one Gordon to be circulated. This was the libel complained of, and was an obscene doggrel poem on Sherwood's wife fetching him home; it contained neither wit, poetry, nor humour, but was mere vulgar obscenity, containing the grossest and most disgusting im-

putations upon the character of the plaintiff's wife; and stating that by her libidinous courses she had deformed herself in a manner which decency forbids to mention. After serjeant Best had spoken in mitigation of damages, the lord chief baron expressed himself of the libel in terms of strong disgust, and the jury found a verdict for the plaintiff, damages 500l.

19.—This morning a dreadful fire broke out, about three o'clock, at Mrs. Smith's, milliner, in Middle-row, Chelmsford. The inhabitants of the house, consisting altogether of females, seven in number, were in a most perilous situation. They appeared at the windows of the second floor (for the first was on fire), as they had risen from their beds, uttering the most piercing shrieks. As the most likely means of rescuing them, two ladders were procured, and raised against the burning front of the house; but, such was the danger of ascending to their relief, from the violence of the flames, that a momentary irresolution ensued among the spectators of their tremendously aweful situation; till, agonized by their screams, and actuated by the feelings of humanity to a contempt of personal safety, a young man, Mr. Henry Guy, and Mr. Sorrel, a near neighbour, made an attempt to preserve them. The former succeeded in rescuing a little girl, about nine years old, niece to Mrs. Smith. The maid-servant, who had got out of the garret-window, and climbed to the roof of the house, was brought down by the latter. Robinson, a waggoner, who first discovered the fire, ascended a ladder, with the intent of bringing down Mrs. Smith; but so extreme was her trepidation, that she was incapable of using any exertion, and it became necessary to drag her from the window by force; in doing which, owing to her convulsive struggles, she fell upon the pavement below, but miraculously without having any bones broken. Almost at the same instant, two young ladies, miss Williams and miss Wilkinson, rendered frantic by terror, precipitated themselves from the windows into the street, and were so severely bruised, that doubt was long entertained of their recovery, as well as of that of Mrs. Smith. Two amiable young ladies, miss Woolmer, aged 19, whose parents reside at Hornchurch, and miss Eve, daughter of Mr. C. Eve, of Barnish-hall, became victims to the devouring element. — Notwithstanding the most strenuous exertions of the populace, and the soldiers from the garrison, by six o'clock the houses of Mrs. Smith, Mrs. Peck, druggist, and Mr. Hill, shoemaker, adjoining, were totally destroyed; and those of Mr. Rood, plasterer, and Mr. Nash, hair-dresser, were so greatly damaged that they must be rebuilt.

22.—About six this evening, an alarming fire broke out in the newly-erected flour mill, at Sturry, near Canterbury, belonging to Mr. Sampson Kingsford, which, from the wind being high, and the nature of the materials of which it was constructed, burnt so rapidly, that in the space of three hours it was wholly destroyed, together with a large quantity of wheat and flour.

Whitstable.—A smack belonging to Queenborough, bound to Faversham, laden with king's stores, was driven on shore on the Pollard, on the 24th inst. The crew and

and passengers consisted of four men, two boys, and one woman, the captain's wife. They got the boat out; and the captain, his wife, and boy, got into it, and put off for the shore. At a small distance from the vessel, the boat stove, and the captain regained the smack; but his wife and the boy perished. He remained on board with the rest of the crew until morning. The vessel being nearly dry, they left her, and walked ashore, with the exception of the owner, who perished through extreme cold. The woman and boy have been picked up. The distress of the captain has been great: he had been married only a week, and was bringing his bride to Faversham, to introduce her to his friends.

24.—The trial of lieut. gen. Whitelocke, which commenced on the 28th of January last, at the board-room, Chelsea hospital, continued thirty-two days, and concluded on the 16th instant. The following is the substance of the charges:

1. Having, contrary to the tenor of instructions, in the summons to Buenos Ayres, required that the civil officers and magistrates should be prisoners of war, which, it is averred, is contrary to all the customs of war, and had a decided effect in inflaming the civil population to resistance.

2. Exposing the army, in marching against Buenos Ayres, to a destructive discharge of musquetry from the town, without furnishing that army with any means of defence or attack.

3. Not being present personally on the advance against Buenos Ayres; also not keeping open a communication between the main body of the troops and the detachment under general Craufurd, which compelled that officer to surrender.

4. Surrendering the fortress of Monte Video without necessity, which was capable of making an effectual resistance against any force which could be brought against it.

General Gower, the first witness, gave a general detail of the operations of his division. He stated that all the leading arrangements of the expedition were made by general Whitelocke himself. He (gen. G.) had not heard that any general plan of operations ever was formed. "I was not acquainted with the existence of any, during the whole period of the service. Whatever communications were made to me, were made in the shape of orders." He took his first position on the 28th, without any artillery. Two six-pounders, and two three-pounders, were ordered to attach themselves to him on the 1st of July, in the morning; there were horses to them, but they were of so miserable a description, that he trusted much more to the personal exertions of the artillery soldiers, and a detachment of seamen that accompanied them, than to the horses, for their conveyance. He did not know why a landing was not made at Point Quilmes instead of Ensenada. General Whitelocke's orders of the 4th July, regulating the plan of attack on the morning following, was proved: it directed different corps to penetrate into the streets in specified directions;—"two corporals with tools to precede each column, the whole to be unloaded, and no firing to be allowed on any account." General Gower thought the plan likely to succeed; but thought that a combined attack upon the town would have been practicable and expedi-

ent, gun-vessels having, when too late, been brought into a situation to act. Had the army marched, and made the attack on the 2d, believes they would have carried Buenos Ayres;—does not know why the attack was delayed. The advanced corps consisted of young men who had been a year on shipboard, and were the worst calculated of the whole army for the service to which they were appointed. Had there been a force, as was promised, to support the impression made by the charge of the light battalions, he was convinced we should have carried the place. Gen. Whitelocke, by lieutenant-colonel Bourke, ordered general Gower to advance, communicating at the same time an intention to support him by the main corps. Gen. Gower marched; but general Whitelocke did not keep up any communication with him, neither did he preserve a situation from which to assist the advanced division, had any circumstance of action brought it into danger. Gen. Gower's division was not only unsupported in the service to which it was appointed, but was left nearly destitute of provisions. When it marched from Ensenada, it had two days' beef and bread, and one day's spirits. General Whitelocke was extremely jealous of the least interference on the part of his officers, and had forbidden the commanding officers of artillery and engineers communicating with gen. Gower. No general orders were given in case of a retreat being necessary.

Lieut.-colonel Bourke gave a very minute detail of the strength, appointments, and movements of the army. He stated the plan of attack on Buenos Ayres to have been drawn up by general Gower, and adopted, with the exception of a proposition for not making any prisoners, and some trifling alterations. General Whitelocke did not adopt any measures whatever when he heard the firing on the enemy of the 2d. Heard general W. say he would be cautious in suffering his troops to enter the town; understood he meant to employ heavy artillery against it; but never saw or heard of any precise plan. No attempt had been made to reconnoitre the river Chuelo, or to ascertain the means which the enemy had collected to oppose our passage;—did not believe any officer had been sent out to reconnoitre Buenos Ayres previous to the attack. The advanced division under general Gower might have been cut off on the road without general Whitelocke being able to succour him.

General Craufurd stated that general Whitelocke, on inspecting with him the construction of the houses at Monte Video, which were similar to those at Buenos Ayres, observed how defensible they were, and that he would not expose troops to a contest in a city so built. He stated that the camp kettles had been left behind on the embarkation of the army; and although they found wheat in their march, they had not the means to dress it; and though surrounded with cattle, they could not catch them, the Lapo men, who are employed in that service, having likewise been left behind. He further instanced the want of arrangement in the fact that no bread was served out from the 30th June to the 3d July, when a quantity was found in a house they had occupied the preceding evening. He detailed the movement of the brigade previous to the fatal attack; and declared his opinion, that at the time he had

defeated

defeated and pursued a column of the enemy, the town might easily have been carried if general Whitelocke had advanced: he even thought general Gower's division competent to the conquest. When recalled, he still required permission to continue the pursuit; but was obliged to relinquish the advantage, in obedience to a second and peremptory order.

Sir S. Achmuty stated, in addition to the impediments presented by the swamps and rivers, the embarrassments the troops sustained from the want of provisions and spirits;—this pressure would have been greater, but for accidental acquisitions. He thought the advances of the army might have been expedited. No intimation was given to him where to find or communicate with the general, or where to retreat to in the event of defeat.

Captain Fraser, commanding the artillery, stated the difficulty which attended the carriage of the guns across the swamp, and the necessity which had induced him to destroy five Spanish guns, in order to be able to the service of 32 other guns and their ammunition: the arrangements made by general Whitelocke on the occasion afforded but trifling facility. He stated the disposition of the artillery on the 4th and 5th July, in obedience to the orders of the commander in chief.

Col. Mahon detailed the movements of his corps, and produced the various rapid and opposite orders which directed them. He thought general Whitelocke had exerted himself to the utmost, to obtain horses at Monte Video.

Lieut.-colonel Torrens, military secretary, reported that the state of the weather and the want of provisions expedited the attack on Buenos Ayres. Gen. Whitelocke was apprised of the intention of the enemy to defend themselves from the tops of their houses. He (the general) did not reconnoitre the town previous to its attack, or appoint a place of retreat, from too great a confidence in victory.

Lieut.-colonels Bradford, Davie, and Nugent, deposed that their corps would, without inconvenience or discontent, have marched further than they did on the 2d.—And their evidence closed the two first charges.

In support of the 3d charge, general Gower deposed that, until the morning of the 6th, general Whitelocke did not attempt any means to open a communication with the different corps of his army;—at that period, he was of opinion, the enemy could not have made any impression of consequence on the army. In consequence of some objections of his to particular parts of the general arrangements, gen. Whitelocke had angrily declared that he (general G.) sought to throw cold water on all he did, and that he would supersede him in his command on the staff.

Gen. sir S. Achmuty, in a very interesting detail of the gallant achievements of the corps he commanded, that of major Nugent, and some others, stated that the only reinforcement sent to him by general Whitelocke, on his representation for assistance, was 16 artillery-men without an officer; and that he did not reach the post occupied by sir S. Achmuty till the noon of the 6th, whereas he might have been there at six o'clock on the 5th. The troops were speaking in contemptuous terms of their general (Whitelocke), a circumstance which influenced sir S. Achmuty in approving the capitulation. The British force which remained, after

after the surrender of general Craufurd, was more than sufficient to beat the enemy if they were out of the town:—thinks the force employed was fully sufficient for the reduction of the town; does not think that any advantage would have resulted from having the arms loaded:—thinks the Plaza de Tauros might have been maintained, or a retreat might have been effected; but he thought it more adviseable to surrender Monte Video than leave so large a number of our people prisoners behind.

Gen. Craufurd deposed that, in obedience to his orders, he occupied the convent of St. Domingo, where he was directed to wait for further instructions; but not having received either communication or succour, and finding it impossible to retreat, and having had upwards of 100 men killed and wounded, he, with the approbation of the field-officers with him, consented to surrender. He thought the gunboats could have done great service, as could colonel Mahon's brigade if brought forward.—Had not a place of retreat appointed.

In support of the 4th charge, which accused general Whitelocke of having entered into a capitulation while at the head of 5000 troops, with numerous local advantages, and a communication with the fleet; and of having surrendered Monte Video in opposition to his duty, &c. Capt. Davenport, senior surviving officer of the 6th dragoon guards, stated his having made a lodgement in the first square, and remained there two days, till withdrawn.

Capt. Frazer stated that general Whitelocke remained during the whole of the 5th at the Corrall, from whence he could not see any part of the town, and not above 150 yards of the suburbs, and during the greater part of the time was silent and reserved: he (the general) did not proceed himself towards the scene of action till noon the following day.

Lord Lake, one of the members of the court martial, was taken ill during the trial, and died after three days illness.

On the 28th day of the trial, March 5, the evidence for the prosecution closed; and the court, to allow the general time, adjourned to March 14th, on which day he was called on for his defence. He stood up with a written paper in his hand, which he read in a most manly and energetic tone. He began with complaining of certain gross, scandalous, and unfounded calumnies that had been most industriously and insidiously circulated against him in his absence for no other purpose, or with no other intent, as he could presume, than to raise a popular clamour against him; and that he found, on his arrival in England, they had been but too successful, every means of giving circulation to these misrepresentations having been made use of. Having expatiated at some length on this point, he went on to remark on the conduct of certain persons inimical to him, one of whom, a subaltern officer, had gone the length of publishing and circulating a book or pamphlet, containing a gross libel on his character and reputation, which were dearer to him than his life. [Here he was so much affected as to be unable to proceed.] After a short pause it was submitted to the court, that his counsel might be allowed to read the other part; this was in the first instance objected to.—The lieutenant-general then proceeded to comment on the manner in which the charges against

against him had been attempted to be made out;—not by direct, not even by circumstantial evidence only, but by giving opinions and reciting conversations, not only with him, but with others. This he thought was cruel; and here he was again seriously affected, and his counsel was allowed to go into the heads of the defence meant to be laid before the court.—He began with reciting all the circumstances that led to the first descent on Monte Video, the success of that, the representations made to the government of his country of the great importance a still further penetration into that country would be to the commerce of England, and a variety of other circumstances, particularly the misrepresentations made of the state of the country, and the disposition of the inhabitants, which had induced government to order the expedition to be fitted out, which he had the honour to command. Of the unfortunate result of that expedition evidence had been given; and he was now to answer from his instructions, his correspondence with generals Beresford and sir S. Achmuty, &c. who of all others he should consider the most competent judges of the probable success of this enterprise. He would call witnesses to repel the attacks made upon him. He stood before a most competent tribunal, men of the same rank with himself, who had seen service, and were proper to judge from what was laid before them, whether he was culpable or not. If most unfortunately he should by them be found culpable, he would meet the event with a consciousness that he had acted to the best of his judgement, and had been tried by gentlemen and brother officers, who, disregarding popular clamour, acted only from the honest dictates of their own minds on the subject, and would show that truth and justice in their minds preponderate against popular prejudice and private calumny. He spoke with great freedom of the conduct of several officers under him, in a way which it was thought would have given rise to an inquiry. On the great charge of not having sent instructions, orders, or reinforcements to the several persons commanding columns after the check had been suffered, he owned that he had not sent any orders; that the disaster had come upon him unexpectedly, and that he had not resources. With respect to the giving up Monte Video, that charge was totally unsupported by evidence; he had acted with the concurrence of his officers, and from an obvious necessity.

The evidence on the part of the defence closed on the 15th, when the judge advocate summed up the evidence for the prosecution, and the defence. He thought the latter did not by any means answer the charges, and that the conduct of the general, in several points, was not that which ought to have been adopted by a British officer. The whole of the business being concluded, the court adjourned to the next day, Wednesday the 17th, when they came to a final determination. The sentence was laid before his majesty on the following Wednesday, and on Thursday morning colonel Gordon, secretary to his royal highness the commander in chief, communicated officially to lieutenant general Whitelocke the sentence of the court martial as approved by his majesty. It is as follows:—

"The court martial having duly considered

considered the evidence given in support of the charges against the prisoner, lieut. gen. Whitelocke, his defence and the evidence he has adduced, are of opinion that he is guilty of the whole of the said charges, with the exception of that part of the second charge which relates to the order, that the muskets of the columns should be unloaded, and that no firing should be permitted on any account.

The court are anxious that it may be distinctly understood, that they attach no censure whatever to the precautions taken to prevent unnecessary firing during the advance of the troops to the proposed points of attack, and do therefore acquit lieut.-gen. Whitelocke of that part of the said charge. The court adjudge—*That the said lieut.-gen. Whitelocke be cashiered, and declared totally unfit and unworthy to serve his majesty in any military capacity whatever.*

The king has been pleased to confirm the above sentence, and his royal highness the commander in chief has received his majesty's commands to direct that it shall be read at the head of every regiment in the service, and inserted in all regimental orderly books, with a view of its becoming a lasting memorial of the fatal consequences to which officers expose themselves, who, in the discharge of the important duties confided to them, are deficient in that zeal, judgement, and personal exertion, which their sovereign and their country have a right to expect from officers entrusted with high commands.

His majesty, after expressing his heartfelt regret at the failure in South America, expresses high approbation of the conduct of the army in general, and his confidence that their exertions would have been attended with success had they been properly directed.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN BIBLE SOCIETY.

This society was instituted in the year 1804. Its exclusive object is to promote and assist the circulation of the Scriptures, both at home and abroad. The only copies to be circulated in the languages of the united kingdom, are those of the authorised version, without note or comment.

Within the short space of three years the society has succeeded in accomplishing many important parts of its comprehensive design. This will appear from the following facts.

It has produced, by its aid and encouragement, societies similar to its own in Germany and Prussia. By the former of these, 5000 copies of a German Protestant New Testament have been printed; and types have been lately set up for the purpose of printing successively a supply of German Bibles for many generations; by the latter, an edition of the Bohemian Bible is in a course of printing for the use of the protestants in Bohemia, Berlin, and elsewhere.

Two thousand copies of St. John, in the Mohawk language, have been printed in London at the society's expense; 300 of which have already been distributed, with great acceptance, among the Mohawks settled on the Grand River; and 500 more have recently been sent, for the use of the Roman catholic and other Mohawks lower down the St. Lawrence, in consequence of an application to that effect.

Three thousand copies of the Icelandic New Testament have been

been printed in Copenhagen at the society's expense, 2000 of which have been bound, and forwarded to Iceland, and the remaining copies were mercifully preserved during the late bombardment: and in the last spring the sum of 300*l.* was granted by the society in aid of a fund then raising in Denmark, for printing the whole Bible in the Icelandic language.

Two separate sums of 1000*l.* each have been granted towards the translations of the Scriptures now going on in Bengal, into ten Oriental languages, among which are the Shanscrit and the Chinese. Specimens of these translations have been received: they are in different degrees of forwardness, and some are actually completed.

Arabic types and paper have been granted and sent by the society for the purpose of printing 5000 copies of the New Testament in the Turkish languages at Karass, on the borders of the Caspian sea; a favourable opportunity having offered for introducing the Scriptures among a people amounting to nearly thirty millions, who speak that language, and who inhabit from the banks of the Wolga to the shores of the Euxine.

Five thousand copies of the Spanish Testament have been printed by the society; 9000 of the French have been ordered at different times; and they have procured a stereotype edition of the latter.

Several thousand Welsh Bibles and Testaments have been furnished to Wales; and larger supplies are in a course of preparation, which will be completed with all dispatch.

English New Testaments have also been supplied to Ireland; and 20,000 copies of a neat Gaelic Bible, together with 10,000 New Testaments for the Highlands of Scotland, are now nearly completed.

The English and Welsh Bibles and New Testaments are all printed by stereotype, under the direction of the university of Cambridge.

To the above series of facts it may be added, that the society has furnished copies of the New Testament, and occasionally of the whole Bible, at home—to the convicts at Woolwich, the prisoners in Newgate and other jails, the German soldiers and seamen at Margate, Gosport, Guildford, Dublin, and other places; the sea-fencibles on the Essex coast; and the French and Spanish prisoners of war; and abroad—to the British soldiers at the Cape of Good Hope; the inhabitants of Newfoundland, Halifax, and Nova Scotia; the settlers at Van Diemen's Land; the French at St. Domingo; the colonists of New South Wales; and to different parts of France, Switzerland, and Germany.

The society has already expended between 5 and 6000*l.* in accomplishing these several objects, and stands further pledged for very considerable sums on account of the many important undertakings in which it is now engaged.

APRIL.

VACCINATION.

6.—The Royal Jennerian Society have published a report on the supposed failures of vaccination at Ringwood, in Hampshire. The inquiry was conducted by a medical deputation, consisting of John Ring, esq. vice-president; Wm. Blair, esq. director; and Dr. J. S. Knowles, the resident inoculator, assisted by

by Dr. Fowler, an eminent physician of Salisbury, and employed two days at a public meeting, where were also present the right honourable George Rose, William Mills, esq. M.P.; S. Tuncks, esq. a magistrate; the rev. Messrs. Taylor, Davie, and Middleton; Messrs. Westcott and Macilwain, surgeons, &c.

The following is the result of the inquiry as reported by the medical committee to the society, and accorded to by the other medical persons present:

"The small-pox appeared at Ringwood about the middle of September, and rapidly spread through the town and neighbourhood, partly by means of inoculation, and partly by natural infection.

"Vaccine inoculation did not commence until the 23d of October; it is therefore evident, that all those persons who were vaccinated had been previously exposed to the contagion of the small-pox.

"Some of these persons had the small-pox at the same time with the cow-pock, in consequence of previous infection. In others, vaccine inoculation did not take effect; and consequently they were not rendered insusceptible of the infection of the small-pox.

"In various instances, dry cow-pock matter, received from several quarters, was dissolved in water almost boiling, previous to insertion; and it is probable that on this account it frequently failed to produce any effect. Above two hundred persons, however, were successfully vaccinated, and have been protected from the small-pox, though much exposed to its infection in different ways.

"It was asserted that the small-pox was more fatal, at Ringwood and the neighbouring villages, to those persons who were inoculated for the cow-pock than to others. This report appeared to be totally destitute of foundation. The mortality was indeed considerable, owing, in some instances, to the want of air and cleanliness, and in others to the immoderate use of spirituous liquors, particularly at the time of the eruption, which had been recommended by a thresher, who inoculates for the small-pox.

"It was reported that several persons at Ringwood, who were inoculated with the cow-pock some years ago, lately had the small-pox; but no satisfactory evidence was given to establish the fact, as it appeared either that their arms had not been inspected by the inoculator after vaccination, or that there was no proper scar left behind: or, on the other hand, when they were put to the test of variolous inoculation, no other effect was produced than what is occasionally produced in those who have previously had the small-pox.

"It was also insidiously reported, that two persons died of the cow-pock (or, as it has been termed, "the vaccine ulcer"); but it is positively asserted by the surgeons who inoculated them, that no vaccine ulcer, nor cow-pock, took place in either of those instances; and that the patients died of other diseases—one of them of an apoplexy."

7.—Shipwrecked at sea, by the stranding of the ship Agatha, of Lubeck, in a storm, not far from Memel, lord Royston, eldest son of the earl of Hardwicke, who would have been 24 years old had he lived till the 7th of May, and promised to become an honour to his house.

He

He left Ireland about two years ago for the continent, accompanied by two servants, both of whom perished with him. This amiable and accomplished young nobleman had been above four years from this country; and not one of those by whom he was accompanied has survived him. His tutor, private secretary, and steward, all died a natural death some time since; and his other attendants, together with the companions of his tour, sunk with him into the watery grave. His lordship had twice, since he went to the continent, narrowly escaped being drowned. In the course of last winter he went down in a sledge, and was rescued by a Mr. Poole, who took him out of the ice by the hair of the head, for which Mr. P. was handsomely rewarded by lord Hardwicke. By his lordship's death, the reversionary interest of the earl of Hardwicke's family in the patent-place of clerk of the common pleas in the court of exchequer in Ireland is reduced to the two lives of his lordship and his son, the hon. Charles Yorke. There were on-board 19 passengers, of whom three were children and six were servants; and there were nine belonging to the vessel. The following were washed overboard and drowned: lord Royston and two servants; colonel Pollen and one servant; D. T. Barclay, from Petersburgh; —— Renny, from Riga; —— Becker, from Hamburgh; and one servant, one nurse, and five of the ship's crew. Mr. Focke, of Hamburgh, and one servant-maid, died on-board the vessel during the night of the 7th and 8th. Of those who were brought on-shore, and who likewise died, were one sailor and the youngest child of Mrs. Barris. The others who were rescued were, the lady of colonel Pollen; Mr. Holliday, from Petersburgh; Mrs. Barris, with two children; M. Pereira, who was sent by the Portuguese chargé des affaires from Petersburg to Portugal, and who died the next day, in consequence of his extraordinary exertions; the captain of the vessel and servant, and two sailors; in all, ten souls.—Colonel Pollen, aforesaid, was the only son of the Rev. George P. of Little Bookham in Surry. He was in the 33d year of his age; and, possessing a fine and vigorous understanding, highly improved by education, and by his very extensive and interesting travels, there is no doubt, if he had returned to his native country (as he was attempting to do when this dreadful accident put a period to all his hopes), but he would have proved a distinguished ornament of it. His fortune would have been large, and his abilities and his experience would have amply qualified him for a seat in parliament. In 1796, on his coming of age, he opposed the interest of the duke of Norfolk, for the representation of the populous borough of Leominster, which he carried by a majority of *one*. He afterwards raised a regiment of fencibles at his own expense, for the service of government, and attended with it on its being ordered to Halifax, in Nova Scotia; but for several years he has been constantly travelling on the continent. At St Petersburg he married one of the daughters of sir Charles Gascoigne (sister to the countess of Haddington, now married to Mr. Dalrymple), who was with him when the wreck took place, but who was happily saved.

Admiralty-

Admiralty-office, April 9.

Letter transmitted by adm. Vashon, at Leith.

Ringdove Sloop,
Leith-roads, April 2.

Sir, In pursuance of the information I received at Balta Sound, mentioned in my letter to you, dated the 29th ult. a copy of which is enclosed, respecting two privateers being seen off Shetland in possession of a sloop, supposed to be the Hope of Leith, I instantly weighed and stood under all sail for Bergen. On the following day, at half-past three p. m. being in latitude 60 deg. 50 min. N. and longitude 3 deg. 30 min. E. Bergen bearing east, distance 13 leagues, and blowing heavy gales from the north by east, I have the satisfaction to acquaint you, that we saw a sail steering towards us. On nearing her I made the private signals, supposing her to be one of our own cruizers; she immediately hoisted Danish colours, and endeavoured to effect her escape. I wore, and soon closed with her to leeward; and although I repeatedly ordered him to shorten sail, and heave-to, he, trusting to superior sailing, obstinately refused, which obliged me to fire a few shot at her, the last of which, unfortunately, killed one and wounded two; she then surrendered; but in consequence of the heavy sea, I could not get the prisoners on board till the following morning. She proves to be the Forden Shieold, pierced for 14 guns, and mounting 10; she had on board 62 men, and was four hours from Bergen; she is copper-bottomed, well found, sails remarkably fast, and is four years old; she has been in commission four months, and, in that time, made five captures, and would probably have proved a great pest to our trade had she not been taken. GEO. PEAKE,
Acting commander.

Downing-street, April 11.

The following dispatches were yesterday received by visc. Castlereagh, from maj.-gen. Sherbrooke commanding his majesty's troops in Sicily.

Messina, Feb. 8.

My lord, As an opportunity offers of writing to England by a private ship, which runs without convoy, I profit of the conveyance to inform your lordship that his Sicilian majesty's garrison of Reggio surrendered to the French on the 3d inst. Gen. Regnier's operations in Calabria will now, consequently, be directed against Scylla alone; which place has been invested for nearly six weeks. He has been so fortunate as to possess himself of four Sicilian gun-boats, each carrying a 24-pounder, which he has landed. Our greatest efforts have, for a length of time past, been made to prevent his bringing battering cannon into this part of Calabria; but fortune, by throwing those into his hands, has rendered our endeavours nugatory. As in my former letters I have given your lordship my opinion of what the probable fate of Scylla must be, when the enemy can bring guns of heavy metal into batteries against it at breaching distance, it is needless for me now to say more on the subject. I am extremely sorry to infom your lordship, that in endeavouring to recover the Sicilian gun-boats which fell into the enemy's hands, on the evening of the 30th ult. the Delight sloop of war most unfortunately

tunately got on shore on the Calabrian coast. It being found impossible to get her off, she was next day burnt, to prevent her being of further use to the enemy. It is with the most heartfelt concern I add, that on this melancholy occasion capt. Handfield (with several of his ship's company) was killed; and that capt. Seccombe, of the Glatton (who was at the time onboard the Delight) was dangerously wounded and, with the remainder, made prisoners. Capt. Seccombe was permitted the next day to come over to Messina on his parole, but on the 3d inst. he died of his wounds.

J. C. SHERBROOKE, maj.-gen.

Messina, Feb. 23.

My lord, I have the honour to state, for your lordship's information, that I have found it expedient, and, to the best of my judgment, for the good of his majesty's service, to withdraw the British troops from the castle of Scylla, which was evacuated accordingly by my order on the 17th inst.; the place was immediately entered by the French troops, and it is now in their possession. I beg leave also to lay before your lordship the enclosed report made to me by lieutenant-colonel Robertson, late commandant of Scylla, as it contains a detailed account of the events as they occurred, from the 31st December last (the day on which the enemy came before the place) until the time of its evacuation; which measure, I am led to hope, will not only appear to your lordship to have been absolutely necessary under the existing circumstances, but that our troops were not withdrawn until no other means remained of preventing the brave garrison falling into the enemy's hands. I likewise transmit a return of the killed and wounded of the detachments forming the British garrison of Scylla during the siege. Having already, on a former occasion, had the honour of submitting my opinion, that the castle of Scylla would be no longer tenable whenever the enemy should succeed in bringing battering guns against it, the fall of this place will excite no surprise in your lordship's mind, when you perceive the very formidable force with which it was attacked, and the very ample means with which the enemy was provided to possess himself of it. Much reliance has been heretofore placed upon the assistance which might be afforded by the gun- and mortar-boats, in the defence of Scylla, and of the annoyance they might give the enemy in carrying on his approaches; but, unfortunately, the weather from the 11th to the 17th was so stormy, that it was quite impossible for them to be employed with any hopes of advantage. On the morning of the 15th inst., lieut.-col. Robertson having informed me by telegraph that the parapet of the work was destroyed, and that all his guns were either dismounted or disabled, I felt very anxious indeed to withdraw the troops, but a continuance of the gale rendered this impracticable till the 17th; when, during a temporary lull, (every necessary arrangement having been previously made,) the transports' boats, protected by the men of war's launches, ran over from the Faros, and succeeded in bringing away the whole of the garrison, who effected their retreat by the sea staircase to the boats, when they were exposed to a most tremendous galling fire of grape musketry from the enemy, till such

time as they could pull out of the reach of it. I am happy to add, that the loss of the troops in this exposed situation was only four killed and five wounded; and that of the seamen, one killed and ten wounded. Capt. Otway, of the navy, who commands the ships of war stationed here, entrusted the execution of this very dangerous piece of service to capt. Trollope, of the Electra. More judgment, coolness, and intrepidity were never displayed on any occasion; and I feel myself particularly indebted to captain Trollope, and to the officers and seamen serving under him, to whose gallant exertions I owe the preservation of the garrison. The gallantry and good conduct of the officers and men employed in the defence of Scylla Castle, merit my highest approbation. More could not be expected from any men than these have performed. Lieutenant-colonel Robertson, who commanded, I beg leave to recommend in the strongest terms to your lordship's notice and protection. The ability, zeal, and gallantry, displayed by him in the defence of this little fortress, deserve my warmest praise and commendation. When your lordship comes to consider what the numbers of the enemy were before Scylla, with a strong supporting army at hand, from which he could draw reinforcements at pleasure, I trust it will appear to your lordship that prudence would not have warranted my making a diversion in favour of Scylla, by risking a landing on the Calabrian shore. The only remaining effort therefore that I could make, was to prevent the brave garrison falling into the enemy's hands; and this, with the co-operation and assistance of the naval force under capt. Otway, has been happily effected in open day, under the enemy's fire, with much less loss than might reasonably have been expected.

J. C. Sherbrooke, major-gen.

Messina Feb. 8.

Sir, In obedience to your orders I have the honour to report the particulars of what occurred since the first appearance of the enemy before Scylla. After being invested by general Regnier's army during seven weeks, and battered for six days by fourteen pieces of heavy ordnance, the little castle of Scylla has fallen into his hands. But I have the heartfelt satisfaction to add, that not one of the gallant garrison placed under my orders has become his prisoner. In the latter end of December, the arrival of troops and ordnance stores at Seminara left me no room to doubt the enemy's intention of besieging Scylla; and parties of the peasantry were accordingly sent out to render the passes of Solano impracticable, and to create obstacles to his advance, by cuts across the various paths which lead from the heights of Milia down to Scylla. This work, as well as the levelling of fences, &c., proceeded rapidly and effectually under the direction of captain Nicholas, assistant-quarter-master-general; when, upon the 31st of December, the advanced workmen and the out-posts of the masse were driven in by three French battalions and a detachment of cavalry, under general Millet, which took post upon the heights above us; and on the following day Regnier brought up two more battalions, and spreading his out-posts to Favezzina, Bagnara, &c., completed the investment of the town. At this time the garrison of the castle consisted

of

of about two hundred British, and from four to five hundred masse occupied the town. The enemy's troops were now incessantly employed in forming the roads necessary for bringing his heavy ordnance from Seminara, while we laboured to render the approach to Scylla difficult, and harassed the French by constant attacks on his out-posts with parties of the masse, and occasionally with boats. In some of these partial actions the enemy suffered severely, particularly in a night attack at Bagnara, where the voltigeurs of the 23d light infantry were cut to pieces. Owing to these checks, the French were retarded until the 6th of February, when they descended the heights in force, and came within a distant range of our guns; and from this day they honoured our little castle with all the detailed precautions of a regular siege, in covering his approaches and communications. The skirmishes between the enemy and the masse became very serious; the latter displayed great gallantry; and enjoying the support of the castle guns, obliged the French to purchase their advance with heavy loss; but, on the 9th, were obliged to yield to the numbers of the enemy, who assailed the town on all sides; our guns, however, covered their retreat; and I had the satisfaction of sending off these brave peasants to Messina, without leaving a man in the enemy's hands. The force which general Regnier had brought to besiege Scylla, consisted of a body of cavalry the 23d light infantry, the 1st, 62d, and 101st of the line, in all about 6,000 men; with five 24-pounders, five eighteens, and four mortars, besides field-pieces. On the morning of the 11th he opened his batteries, directing his efforts to the destruction of our upper works and the disabling of our guns; while under cover of this fire, he laboured to establish two breaching batteries, at three and four hundred yards distance. It was not, however, till the 14th that our parapet and guns were rendered totally useless; nor till then did the slaughter abate to which their parties employed on the breaching batteries were exposed from our grape and shells. From this time our defence was confined to musketry, as our guns lay buried under the ruins of the parapet, and the close fire from five 24-pounders became incessant. In the mean time we discovered him attempting to mine the right bastion, upon which he continued at work for three nights, but I apprehend without the expected success. In the night of the 15th, the French pushed round the foot of the rock, with the intention of destroying the staircase, but we happily discovered them, and beat them off with the slaughter to which their desperate situation exposed them. The fire from the breaching batteries had been variously directed until the evening of the 16th, when they bent their undivided fury against the left bastion, with such success that the breach would probably have been practicable by the following evening. It was under these circumstances that I received your orders to evacuate the castle, and have the great satisfaction of reporting, that we accomplished this yesterday morning, in full view of the enemy, and without leaving an individual behind. The approach of the boats from Faros gave the French full intimation of our design, but the tempestuous state of the weather obliged us to seize the short opportunity of an

hour's lull. Every battery poured its utmost fire upon the castle, and subsequently upon the boats, while infantry, with field-pieces, tried the breach on either side. The garrison was drawn off in succession, and the embarkation effected with the greatest order, notwithstanding the tremendous fire of grape, shells, &c. Our loss in the operation was small—and before we were a musket-shot distance the French were in the fort. The masterly arrangement of the transport boats and men-of-war launches upon this occasion, does high honour to captain Trollope of his majesty's ship Electra, who personally superintended this service; and the conduct of the officers and men under him was marked with all the coolness and dexterity of British seamen. I regret to add, that one of them was killed in the operation and ten wounded, some of them dangerously. The uniform good conduct of the garrison which I have had the good fortune to command demands my warmest gratitude; and their intrepid spirit during the siege is hardly more commendable than the zeal with which they went through the heavy fatigues that preceded it. The detachment of the royal artillery was highly conspicuous; the excellence of their gunnery was proved by the severe losses which the enemy has sustained; and I cannot too strongly express my sense of the skill and indefatigable zeal which lieutenant Dunn has displayed throughout the siege. I feel highly indebted to the exertions of captain Cruikshanks of the 62d, Jordan of the 27th, and Pringle of the 21st, as well as to the officers and men under them. From lieutenant Dickons, of the engineers, I received every assistance; and my adjutant, lieutenant Hadfield, of the 35th, has been throughout indefatigably zealous. I cannot conclude, sir, without expressing my particular thanks to captain Nicholas, assistant-quarter-master-general, whose abilities and activity rendered him eminently useful. And I have the satisfaction of reflecting, that the support I have received from all ranks has enabled me to sell Scylla dear; and that general Regnier has obtained possession of this little heap of ruins with the loss of several hundreds of his best troops. A return of our killed and wounded is annexed. We have lost some gallant men; but considering the weight of the enemy's fire, the number is by no means great.

G. D. Robertson, lieut.-col.
commandant Scylla castle.

To major-gen. Sherbrooke.

PRUSSIA.

14. The king of Prussia has been stripped of another portion of the territory reserved to him by the treaty of Tilsit, as appears by an edict, published at Breslaw March 15, by which he "cedes the province of New Silesia, to be added to the duchy of Warsaw; and dismisses all his servants in the province from their duties towards him, so as not to prevent their contracting new obligations to continue new employments."

M. la Chevardiere, French consul at Dantzic, has been arrested by order of general Rapp, and sent prisoner to Paris, accused of having accepted bribes to introduce British goods; and by this means, within a few months, to have acquired four millions of francs.

During the late unfortunate campaign, the number of Prussian prisoners sent to France amounted to little short of 100,000. Prince William

William of Prussia, after much solicitation, succeeded in obtaining passports for them to return home; when he had the mortification to find that the total number, whose attachment to their country was superior to the means employed to alienate them from it, did not amount to 7000. France has formed several complete regiments from amongst these prisoners, and placed them upon the footing of the Swiss and Hanoverian regiments in her service.

FRANCE.

By a decree of the 17th of March, Bonaparte has ordered the execution of the measures determined on at Paris in December last respecting the Jews. A synagogue and Israelite consistory is to be established for every 2000 Jews, but there can be only one consistorial synagogue for a department. The consistory is to superintend the rabbis, and see that their teaching be conformable to the doctrines of the grand Sanhedrim. They are to give information respecting the Jewish conscripts of their districts. Every Jew who wishes to settle in France or Italy, must give three months previous notice to the nearest consistory. There is to be a central consistory at Paris: each consistory is to have a grand rabbi, elected by 25 notables. The rabbis of the central consistory are to have a salary of 6000 francs; those of the consistorial synagogue 7000; and the other rabbis are not to have less than 1000 francs.

Another imperial decree, dated the 17th, annuls all obligations for loans made by Jews to minors, without the sanction of their guardians; to married women, without the consent of their husbands; or to military men, without the authority of their superior officers. Bills granted by French subjects to Jews cannot be demanded, unless the holders prove that full value was given, without any fraud. All debts accumulated by interest above *5 per cent.* are to be reduced by the courts of law. If the interest growing on the capital exceed 23 *per cent.* the contract is to be declared usurious. After the 1st of July next, no Jew will be allowed to trade without a patent, renewable annually. This patent the prefects are not to grant to any individual, until he produces a certificate of his character, testifying that he is no usurer. No Jew not actually domiciliated in the departments of the Upper and Lower Rhine can be admitted to a domicile there. In the other departments the Jews cannot be allowed to settle, except upon the condition of their purchasing rural property, and abandoning commerce. The emperor may, however, grant to individuals exceptions from this law. The Jews of the conscription are required to perform personal service, and are not allowed to find substitutes. These regulations are to be continued only during ten years, in the hope that after that period there will be no difference between the moral character of the Jews and other citizens of the empire. If the contrary should appear, the law will be continued in force.—The Jews of Bourdeaux, of the Gironde, and the Landes, having given no cause for complaint, are not made subject to the above regulations.

15. At his house in Charles-street, St. James's-square, James Paull, esq. late candidate for Westminster. From disappointments in his mercantile transactions, he had become uneasy in his mind, and

for some weeks past discovered strong indications of a derangement, being frequently incoherent in his conversation, remarking, that, "when he died, which would be soon, he trusted that his body would be conveyed back to the East Indies and blown up." His wounds had for a long time given him great pain, particularly the one he received in a duel during his residence in India, which latterly deprived him of the use of his right arm. The one he received in his dispute with sir Francis Burdett he neglected very much, on account of paying his addresses to a young lady of respectability and fortune. All these things preyed on his mind to such a degree, that this afternoon, about 5, he went up to his bed-room, took from a box a surgical instrument, and pricked his right arm in three places; but the blood not flowing so rapidly as he expected, he took an old razor from the dressing-table drawer, and cut the jugular vein just below the left ear. One of his female servants in an adjoining room heard him groaning, and when she entered she found him standing over the wash-hand bason. She instantly alarmed the rest of the servants, who immediately procured medical aid; but it was too late, for he soon breathed his last. His remains were buried on the 21st at St. James's church. The funeral was very plain; consisting of a hearse and pair, and two mourning-coaches. In the first were Mr. Travers and Mr. Bastick, chief mourners.

20. An inquest was held this day at the Queen's Head, Islington, on the body of Mr. Frederick Monicke, furrier, of Wardrobe-place, Doctors Commons, who was found dead, on the morning of the 17th, in a ditch near the White Conduit-house. A very respectable jury attended; who, after they were sworn, proceeded to Islington church to view the body, which lay in the vault under the church exactly in the same state in which it was found. The jury very minutely examined it: there appeared a dreadful cut on each side of the throat, and four deep cuts on the left wrist; the left eye was turned black, as if occasioned by a blow or fall; near seven inches of a pocket handkerchief hung out of the mouth; the handkerchief round the neck was very tight, the hands were elevated towards the throat, and the face was covered with blood: it was one of the most dreadful spectacles ever witnessed. The jury had the handkerchief taken out of the mouth, which was effected with difficulty, and were near twenty minutes in making their observations, after which they returned to the Queen's Head. Several gentlemen attended who were passing at the time the body was discovered. After examining several witnesses, the jury returned a verdict, "That the deceased had come to his death by cutting his throat at a time when he was not in a sound state of mind." He was a native of Germany, and has left a wife and six children, the eldest only nine years of age, and the youngest only one month old. When he left his house on Saturday, he told his wife that he was going to Finsbury-square, and would be at home by ten o'clock. Two shillings and some halfpence were found in his pockets. One of the creditors of the deceased, a gentleman resident in Finsbury-square, and several other persons, who saw the body shortly after it was discovered on Sunday morning,

ing, attended to give evidence, but were not called upon. From the testimony of some of the witnesses, the embarrassment of his circumstances appears to have been the cause of Mr. M.'s committing the rash act.

Admiralty-office, April 19.

Letter from captain Parker to vice-admiral Russell.

Stately, off Zealands Odde, March 25.

Sir, It is with much satisfaction I have the honour to acquaint you with the capture and destruction of the Danish ship of the line Prince Christian Frederick, of 74 guns. Proceeding towards the Great Belt, in company with his majesty's ship Nassau, at two *p. m.* on the 22d inst. we observed a strange sail; and the signal being made to chase at four *p. m.*, Greenall on the coast of Jutland bearing N.W. by N. distant 10 miles, we discovered that it was an enemy; and at 5 *p. m.* ascertained the chase to be a Danish ship of the line. I now saw that it was evidently the intention of the enemy to run his ship on shore; and as the night was approaching, he might hope that, in our pursuit of him in the dark, we would have the same fate. This, I have since been assured, was his design. At 45 minutes past seven *p. m.*, captain Campbell, in the Nassau, got up with the enemy, and commenced the action, and in a few minutes after the Stately closed; a running fight was now maintained for a considerable time, the enemy fighting with great obstinacy, until we succeeded in getting very near and gave some close broadsides, on which he struck about half past nine *p. m.* At this moment the ships were within two cables' length of the shore of Zealand; and before my first-lieutenant, who took possession of the Danish ship, could cut away her anchor, she grounded. Fortunately this ship and the Nassau brought up near to her. During the remaining part of the night we were employed in taking out the prisoners; and at day-light of the 23d it was found impossible to get the captured ship afloat, the wind blowing strong on the shore; and that therefore the only course I could follow was to destroy her. The necessity for doing this, and for placing our own ships out of danger, soon became apparent, as the Danes were preparing their artillery on the coast; and as our ships were at anchor only two cables' length from the beach, they would have done us great injury. After removing the prisoners and wounded, in doing which we experienced much difficulty from the wind blowing strong and a good deal of sea running, the enemy's ship was set on fire in the evening of the 23d, and in a short time blew up. I am happy to say our loss has been small. It is trifling indeed when compared with the enemy, where the slaughter was great, he having 55 killed and 88 wounded. We have, however, received considerable damage in our masts and rigging. The Prince Christian Frederick was a very fine ship, copper-bolted, commanded by captain Jayson, with a complement of 620 men, and had 576 on-board. I feel much indebted to captain Campbell for his zeal and ability in the commencement and during the action, and to the officers, ship's company, and royal marines of his ship. My warmest gratitude and praise is due to the officers and seamen, and the officers and privates of royal marines

of this ship, for their brave and gallant conduct during the action, displaying the cool intrepidity of British seamen. The same spirit animated both ships. I beg leave to recommend in the strongest manner to the patronage of my lords commissioners of the admiralty, Mr. David Sloan, my first-lieutenant, to whom I am greatly indebted, not only for his brave and spirited conduct in the action, but also for his unwearied exertion in removing the prisoners and wounded from the Danish ship and setting her on fire. He possesses, in an eminent degree, every quality requisite to form the officer and seaman. Herewith you will receive a return of the killed and wounded.

Yours, &c. GEO. PARKER.

A letter from rear-admiral Purvis to lord Collingwood, and by him transmitted, incloses the following letter:

H. M. ship Alceste, in-shore off Cadiz, April 4.

Sir, I have the honour to inform you, that when at anchor to-day with his majesty's ship Mercury and Grasshopper brig, Saint Sebastian's lighthouse S. E. distance three miles, wind W. S. W., a large convoy of the enemy was discovered coming close along shore from the northward, under the protection of about 20 gun-boats and a numerous train of flying artillery on the beach. At 3 *p. m.* I made signal to weigh and attack the convoy, and stood directly in for the body of them, then off the town of Rota: at four, the enemy's shot and shells from the gun-boats and batteries going far over us, his majesty's ships opened their fire, which was kept up with great vivacity until half past six, when we had taken seven of the convoy, and drove a great many others on shore on the surf; compelled the gun-boats to retreat, which they did very reluctantly, and not until two of them were destroyed; and actually silenced the batteries at Rota, which latter service was performed by the extraordinary gallantry and good conduct of captain Searle, in the Grasshopper, who kept in upon the shoal to the southward of the town so near as to drive the enemy from the guns with grape from his 32-pound carronades, and at the same time kept in check a division of gun-boats that had come out from Cadiz to assist the others engaged by the Alceste and Mercury. It was a general cry in both ships, "Only look how nobly the brig behaves!" The situation of our little squadron was rather a critical one, tacking every 15 minutes close to the edge of the shoal, with the wind in, and frequently engaged both sides. In the heat of the action, the first-lieutenant, Allen Stewart, volunteered to board the convoy, if I would give him the boats. I was so struck with the gallantry of the offer that I could not refrain from granting them, although attended with great risk. He went, accompanied with lieutenant Pipon and lieutenant Hawky of the royal marines, who most handsomely volunteered to go, as their party were chiefly employed working the ship; Mr. Arscott and Mr. Day, master's-mates; Messrs. Parker, Adair, Crooker, M'Caul, and M'Lean, midshipmen; they were soon followed by the Mercury's boats, under the command of the first-lieutenant, W. O. Pell, accompanied by lieutenant Gordon and lieutenant Whylock; Mr. Duncain, and Mr. M. R. Cummings, master's

master's mates. The boats, led by lieutenant Stewart, pushed on in the most gallant manner, boarded and brought out seven tartans from under the very muzzles of the enemy's guns, and from under the protection of the barges and pinnaces of the combined fleet, which had by that time joined the gunboats. I was greatly indebted to lieutenants Hickman and Jervoise, (who both wished to go in the boats,) for the spirited and well-directed fire they kept up from the main deck; also to Mr. Westlake, the master, for his great attention to the steering and working the ship; and I have much pleasure in adding, that the other officers, seamen, and marines, behaved with the utmost bravery and coolness. Captains Gordon and Searle (whose gallantry and excellent conduct it might be presumption in an officer of my standing in the service to comment upon) also report upon the great bravery and coolness of their respective officers, seamen, and marines. It is with much pleasure I have to add, the frigates have received no material damage; the Mercury, an anchor shot away, her sails and rigging cut though not much; our sails and rigging in the same way; but the Grasshopper, I am sorry to say, is a great deal damaged in the hull, the main-topmasts shot through, shrouds, sails and running rigging cut almost to pieces; she had one man mortally wounded, the gunner and two others wounded, but not severely. The captured vessels are all loaded on government account for the arsenal at Cadiz; and I am happy to say, there is a very considerable quantity of valuable ship timber. The zest of this little service was greatly heightened by being performed in the mouth of Cadiz harbour, and in the teeth of eleven sail of the line.

Yours, &c. MURRAY MAXWELL.

MAY 3.

Admiralty-office.

Letter transmitted by rear-admiral the hon. sir A. Cochrane, K. B. commander in chief at the Leeward Islands.

Cerberus, off Marie Galante, March 3.

Sir, I beg to acquaint you of the surrender of the island of Marie Galante to his majesty's arms.—Finding the island afforded a shelter for the enemy's privateers with their captured vessels, and that it interfered considerably with the blockade of Guadaloupe, I considered it expedient to attack it: whereupon I gave captain Pigott the command of about 200 seamen and marines from the Cerberus, Circe, and Camilla; and on the 2d inst. we weighed from Petit Terre, and a little after day-light effected a landing about two miles from the town, with little opposition; and soon after the island surrendered at discretion, and the commandant, with the national military force, are prisoners of war.—I find it a very valuable island, in the highest state of cultivation, and a large quantity of colonial produce in the stores. I have disembarked the marines, and garrisoned the place, and shall remain with the force under my orders for your further directions.—I herewith inclose captain Pigott's letter to me on the occasion, (wherein I am happy to observe the high terms in which he speaks of captain Bowen, and the officers and men under his command,) together with a list of the arms and military stores taken on the island. W. SELBY.

10. A fire

10. A fire broke out at Dover, this afternoon, in the warehouse of Messrs. Fector and Co., adjoining the Ordnance storehouses and buildings, through the carelessness of some people employed in coopering some casks of turpentine throwing the snuff of a lighted candle on the floor, which caught some oakum that had been wetted with turpentine: it was prevented blazing for some time by about 120 bags of wool in a loft over where the fire commenced; but the flames having at length reached many casks of turpentine, it burst forth with a fury which nothing could resist. The whole range of warehouses of Messrs. Fector, which fronted the York House, are entirely destroyed, with a very large quantity of prize goods taken from the Danish ships; the Ordnance storehouse at the back of the storekeeper's house is also entirely consumed, and many of the adjoining buildings materially damaged. A Greek ship at the quay was also damaged. Some of the adjoining buildings were depositories for Congreve's rockets and other combustibles, which could not all be got out; and several explosions took place, the last of which carried away the roof, rafters, and materials of the buidings, and caused great alarm. No further damage was however done, and the fire was got under between eight and nine in the evening. The loss is suppossed to exceed 30,000*l.*

Mr. Sparks, who has a large farm near Guilford, had upwards of 800 sheep together, when, being affrighted by a dog, they jumped into an adjoining field, which is on a great descent, and they followed each other over the gap of the hedge so fast, that 123 of them were killed. They were carried into Guilford in waggons.

11. *Police.*—At Bow-street, a charge of robbery has been for several days under the investigation of Mr. Read and Mr. Graham, of an extraordinary nature. Mr. M'Rae, a baker, of Peter-street, Westminster, attended before Mr. Graham, and stated, that on the 1st of February, at eleven at night, he had been robbed by three men, on Westminster-bridge, of his pocket-book, containing 130*l.*, and he knew where to find one of the robbers. The magistrate directed Humphries to attend Mr. M'Rae; which he accordingly did, and went early on Sunday morning to Deptford, and took into custody Mr. M'Donald, a baker, of that place. On the examination the prosecutor stated the above, and that he well knew the face of the prisoner, having had often dealings with him. The magistrate thought it a strange circumstance that he should know the prisoner so well, and where to find him, and should have delayed having him apprehended for such a length of time. The explanation he gave of his conduct in this respect was, that the prisoner owed him a sum of money, and he wished to get that paid before he apprehended him, or he should lose his debt, and that he had, a few days previous, procured the balance of their accounts, amounting to 6*l.*; after which he sent the prisoner a note, desiring him to come to him, respecting the draw (robbery) he made on him on the first of February. The prisoner on Saturday morning, the 7th instant, called upon the prosecutor and requested an explanation to his note, when a violent altercation ensued. Mr. M'Donald was admitted to bail.

12. A

HOLLAND.

12. A decree has been issued by Bonaparte at Bayonne, subjecting to confiscation all American vessels which had been in England, or were spoken at sea. The reason of the decree, assigned in the body of the instrument, is this—That the American government having embargoed all their vessels, and that embargo having been so long in force, any vessel now found at sea, professing to be an American, must be an impostor. This decree reached Amsterdam on the 28th ult., and appears to have been carried generally into effect, without a moment's loss of time. Several American ships were immediately put under seizure. It is easy to conceive that the distress produced by these measures in Holland must be most grievous; yet the government displays a style of pomp and magnificence which would ill accord with the character of the people in the proudest days of their prosperity.

The Stadt-house at Amsterdam, which Louis Bonaparte has lately converted into a palace, was private property, having been erected by the magistrates of the place by individual contributions. The intention of converting it to national purposes, without compensating the proprietors, created so much murmur at Amsterdam, that the magistrates found it necessary to prohibit all public conversation on the subject under a severe penalty. This building has been called the eighth wonder of the world, and is built on more than thirty thousand trees driven into the ground.

The Hague, which was considered one of the finest towns in Europe, is now nearly deserted, in consequence of the removal of the seat of government from thence; as it had no trade, and was dependent on the court and the different departments of the administration for support. The cause assigned for the change was, the unhealthiness of the situation. A considerable expense was incurred in the temporary establishment at Utrecht; and king Louis is much blamed for the wantonness of these disbursements at a period of such general distress. He is otherwise popular.

ITALY.

An earthquake was felt in Italy the beginning of last month. The church of La Tour has been partly destroyed, and at Lucerne scarcely a house is habitable. The famous *hospice* (monastic hospital) on Mount Cenis felt the shock very strongly.

The papal troops have been incorporated in the French army, but continue to wear the Roman uniform and cockade. Three of the gates of Rome have been shut up.

A Madras paper, giving an account of the dreadful hurricane of December last, speaks thus of its general effect: "It is impossible to give an accurate or adequate description of the mischief this storm has occasioned; far less can we describe the feelings of individuals who witnessed this work of destruction. Trees are every where torn up by the roots. The houses of the European inhabitants have universally suffered considerable damage; many were unroofed, and some partially blown down. The mud houses of the natives are in most places swept away, and with many also of their wretched inhabitants.

bitants. It is apprehended many thousands have perished. Dead bodies of men, women, and children, were found lying in every direction when the storm abated. Of the misery in which the natives are involved, we can give no adequate idea; unless, indeed, the following circumstance which had reached us of the horrid resolution consequent on despair, in an individual, be considered as a proof of the general sense in which they view calamities. A native woman, after the storm, raised a pile of wood in a gentleman's coach-house, and, getting underneath it with her child, had the desperate resolution to set fire to it; and thus burnt herself and infant to death."

13. An inquest was held at the White Hart, Clement's-lane, on the body of James Gillman, late a master tailor in Grange-court, Carey-street, who was found dead on the preceding evening in his bed-chamber. From the evidence of Mary Ball, his servant girl, and J. Harrison, his apprentice, it appeared that the deceased went up to his bed-room with an avowed intent of going to rest for a short time; that a noise was heard, and upon entering the room he was seen lying on the bed with his throat cut in a desperate manner, and a razor lying by his side. Surgeon Crowder and Mr. Smith immediately attended, but the windpipe was completely separated, and there was not any possibility of restoring life. The deceased was a man of a most excellent character, but of weak intellects; he was, by the oath of Mr. Smith, labouring under a fit of mental derangement at the time, and his circumstances being in a desperate situation, he committed this rash act. Verdict—Lunacy.

PROSECUTION FOR HERESY.

Consistory court of the bishop of London. Friday, May 13.

Bishop, the king's proctor, v. *Stone.*

This was a prosecution instituted by his majesty's procurator-general on behalf of the state, against the rev. Francis Stone, clerk, rector of the parish church of Norton, otherwise Cold Norton, in the county of Essex, on the alleged charges of having preached on the 8th July, 1806, a visitation sermon, in the parish church of Danbury, in the said county, before the arch-deacon of the diocese, and afterwards printing and publishing the same, in which he denied the doctrine of the miraculous conception of the Virgin Mary, the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, the divinity of our Lord and Saviour, and the atonement by the birth and death of Christ. In support of these charges, the testimony of the arch-deacon and four other clergymen present on the occasion, and also the evidence of Mr. Joseph Johnson, of St. Paul's Church Yard, and Mr. Staines, of Chelmsford, booksellers, were read to the court, to prove the printing and publishing thereof. On the part of the prosecution, it was contended by the learned counsel, that this was doctrine held forth contrary to the established law of the church of England; for by a statute of the 13th Eliz. it is enacted, That if any person shall advisedly maintain or affirm any doctrine directly contrary and repugnant to any of the articles of religion, and shall persist

in the same, and not revoke his error, he shall be deprived of his ecclesiastical preferments.—Mr. Stone here read to the court a written defence, which occupied nearly two hours time, wherein he endeavoured to show that he had done no more than fulfil his engagements with his ordaining bishop; that he had conformed to the church of England as by law established, and that he had not offended against the statute of the 13th of Elizabeth.—The court (sir William Scott), after making many observations on this important subject, was of opinion, that the charges were clearly established by the evidence produced, and therefore observed, it could not resist the act of parliament; but it deferred giving final judgment till the next court day, in order to give Mr. Stone an opportunity of revoking his error.

Friday, May 20.

This day the rev. Francis Stone, rector of Cold Norton in Essex, was called upon by the court, (sir William Scott,) agreeably to its directions, to appear and revoke his error, for having preached a sermon in the parish church of Danbury, before the archdeacon of the diocese, wherein he maintained doctrine contrary to the established law of the church of England, by denying the Holy Trinity, the divinity of our Lord and Saviour, and the atonement by the death of Christ. An immense number of persons assembled in the court-room and hall adjoining.

About nine o'clock sir William Scott took his seat, and Mr. Stone placed himself at the bar, and was called upon for his recantation.

The registrar of the court then read a written paper, signed by Mr. Stone, to the following purport:—That he was not aware, by preaching this sermon before the archdeacon, he was offending against the act of parliament passed in the reign of queen Elizabeth; that he was well persuaded that the ordaining bishop authorized him to preach as he did, and that he promised and engaged not to offend again in like manner.

Sir John Nicholls then addressed the court at considerable length, and commented on the unaccountable conduct of the reverend gentleman, who, instead of recanting his error, after the license and indulgence that had been granted him, still persisted in maintaining his heretical doctrines under the plausible pretext of an evasion. He begged leave to observe, that he did not by any means wish to force opinions upon a man which he could not conscientiously believe, but in conformity to his duty he could not avoid pressing the present prosecution, which was founded upon a very important act of parliament.—That act provided, that no person in holy orders should be allowed to preach any doctrine subversive of, or contrary to, the 39 articles of belief; and as an offence against that statute had been clearly proved against, and admitted by the defendant, it became his duty, in his official capacity, to pray the court for the sentence the law prescribed. The constitution of the land had left every man the liberty of choosing his own religion, but it had wisely provided against persons professing dissenting principles, from participating in the emoluments appropriated to the ministers of the established church.

Dr. Lawrence followed, on the same side; he observed that the prosecutors

prosecutors were legally entitled to claim judgment. On the last occasion, the reverend defendant appeared before the court: what the reverend gentleman had said, was not a suitable atonement for his error; and it therefore became his duty to pray sentence of the court.

Mr. Stone then addressed the court extemporaneously, and said, he considered the holy Scriptures to contain all the doctrine and instruction necessary to salvation through faith in Jesus Christ. The doctrine of the church of England appeared to him to have no better authority than the church of Rome. They were both erroneous, only the Roman catholic was more absurd—they were pope against pope, each asserting their respective infallibility. The principle of intolerance was common to both, although the practice was different: when he was originally ordained a priest, he admitted that the holy Scriptures were the only rule of his faith, and he should always apply to them in the conscientious discharge of his duty. To swear a man to preach according to the spirit of the holy Scriptures, and to make him conform his preaching to the provisions of an act of parliament, was a species of ecclesiastical chicanery for which he could not find a parallel.

Sir. J. Nichols interrupted the reverend gentleman, and observed, that the court did not sit to examine the merits of his system of belief, but to determine the question which he had been called to answer. The law determined what he had preached and published to be error, and it was for him either to recant it, or submit to the sentence which the law had provided for such an offence.

Sir. W. Scott said he had heard the defendant with great impatience. Instead of a formal recantation, as had been requested of him, he only persisted in his former error; what consolation the rev. gentleman could derive from his conduct, he was utterly unable to say.

Mr. Stone said, he had fulfilled the oath taken on his ordination, and if he erred, he was answerable to God, and him alone. He conceived that he had as good a right to preach the worship of one God, as the Trinitarians had to preach the unity of three deities in one; and as many other sectaries preached doctrines different from that acknowledged by the established church. At all events he should conform himself to God's word, and not to any act of parliament. He however requested the learned judge would be kind enough to instruct any person properly qualified, to draw out the form of a recantation, and give him a week to consider of it.—He would be happy to sign it if not contradictory to the dictates of his conscience. He was the more solicitous to retain his living, as he had a wife and seven children unprovided for, and entirely dependent on him for support. He felt it a severe trial, but he should sooner submit to that than sacrifice his duty to his Creator.

Sir. W. Scott said, he did not require any formal revocation in writing of the doctrines he had preached, but to acknowledge them verbally and openly in court, and to declare his belief in the thirty-nine articles of the church of England as established by law.

Mr. Stone said, he would not by any means sacrifice his duty to God, nor could he agree to the terms prescribed to him by the learned judge, unless with the *salvo* of conscience.

Sir

Sir W. Scott observed, the law permitted no *salvo* of conscience.

Dr. Lawrence begged leave to remark, that neither he or his learned friend who conducted the prosecution meant or wished to argue the doctrine themselves. This he wished and particularly observed, lest some of the auditors should depart under an impression that they had been hearing a theological argument.

Mr. Stone stated, that he believed God to be the principal Saviour of the world, and Jesus Christ to be his agent. God condemned us all to everlasting punishment, but he reversed the judgment through the medium of Jesus Christ.

Sir W. Scott interrupted him, and said, the only question he had to determine was, whether Mr. Stone had revoked the errors which he was proved to have preached and published.—The statements made by Mr. Stone were unsatisfactory. On the justness of his argument, and in support of his opinions, it was not a competent subject for him to judge upon. He thought the indulgence of another week would be productive of no good; if he did not avail himself of the present opportunity of revoking the error, no alternative was left him, but to certify his case to the diocesan to whom he belonged, who would pronounce the sentence of the law.

The bishop of London and the bishop of Lincoln, accompanied by other dignified clergy, then entered the court, and after being informed by sir William Scott that the charges alleged against the reverend Francis Stone were clearly proved and established by the evidence produced, the bishop of London proceeded to read the sentence, and afterwards signed the same, which deprived Mr. Stone of his ecclesiastical preferments.

Immediately after sentence was pronounced, Mr. Stone cast up his eyes to heaven, and exclaimed,—"God's will be done."

24. The attorney-general moved for an information against Mr. Dogherty, for a libel against Mr. Hunter. He stated, that Mr. D., a man without business or fortune, and involved in debt, was introduced to the house of Mr. Hunter, where he contrived to gain the affections of his daughter, an artless girl of fifteen. The father forbade him his house. Under the agitation of the young lady's mind, excited by this, and his working on her feelings by letters and nocturnal serenades, she fell into a state of insanity, and was removed to a private receptacle for persons in that sad situation, whence Mr. D. contrived to steal her away, and marry her under a state of imbecility. The father at length consented to the marriage, and settled 500*l.* a-year on her, but forbade the husband from visiting his home. He was, however, induced to advance 3000*l.* to relieve Mr. D. from his embarrassments. At length his behaviour to his wife was such, that the father found it necessary to interfere. She left her husband, and a suit was instituted in the Commons, for a divorce for ill usage; on which Mr. D. used the most violent threats against her father. On this, Mr. Hunter put in force the securities which he had taken for the 3000*l.* he had advanced, and lodged detainers against Mr. Dogherty for that sum. Exasperated at this, Mr. Dogherty published in November last a book called The Discovery, in which he grossly misrepresented Mr. Hunter's

ter's conduct; and in April last published a sort of novel, entitled Ronaldsha, in which he described the father as an inhuman monster, who had first encouraged the addresses of Mr. Dogherty to his daughter, then barbarously confined her in a madhouse, and lastly, by the basest treachery, alienated the affections of Mrs. Dogherty, and robbed Mr. Dogherty of his wife, and her infant son of his mother.

The court granted a rule to show cause.

LETTER FROM MR. JEFFERSON.

To the delegates of the democratic republicans of the city of Philadelphia, in general committee assembled.

The epoch, fellow-citizens, into which our lot has fallen, has indeed been fruitful of events, which require vigilance, and embarrass deliberation. That, during such a period of difficulty, and amidst the perils surrounding us, the public measures which have been pursued should meet your approbation, is a source of great satisfaction.

It was not expected, in this age, that nations, so honourably distinguished by their advances in science and civilization, would suddenly cast away the esteem they had merited from the world, and, revolting from the empire of morality, assume a character in history, which all the tears of their posterity will never wash from its pages. But, during this delirium of the warring powers, the ocean having become a field of lawless violence, a suspension of our navigation, for a time, was equally necessary to avoid contest, or enter it with advantage. This measure will indeed produce some temporary inconvenience, but promises lasting good, by promoting among ourselves the establishment of manufactures hitherto sought abroad, at the risk of collisions no longer regulated by laws of reason or morality.

It is to be lamented that any of our citizens, not thinking with the mass of the nation as to the principles of our government or of its administration, and seeing all its proceedings with a prejudiced eye, should so misconceive and misrepresent our situation as to encourage aggression from foreign nations. Our expectation is, that their distempered views will be understood by others, as they are by ourselves. But should war be the consequence of these delusions, and the errors of our dissatisfied citizens find atonement only in the blood of their sounder brethren, we must meet it as an evil necessarily flowing from that liberty of speaking and writing which guards our other liberties; and I have entire confidence in the assurances that your ardour will be animated, in the conflicts brought on, by considerations of the necessity, honour, and justice of our cause.

I sincerely thank you, fellow-citizens, for the concern you so kindly express for my future happiness. It is a high and abundant reward for endeavours to be useful; and I supplicate the care of Providence over the well-being of yourselves and our beloved country.

May 25. T. JEFFERSON.

Admiralty-office, May 28.

Letter transmitted by rear-admiral Purvis.

Redwing, at sea, May 7.

Sir, This morning at day-light, Cape Trafalgar bearing W. N. W. about six miles, an enemy's convoy was discovered coming down along shore. The winds being very light and variable, I was not enabled to close

close with them before seven o'clock; at that time, being within point-blank shot, the armed vessels handed their sails, and, forming a close line, swept towards us, indicating an intention to board. The just confidence I place in the officers and men that I have the honour to command, induced me to meet the enemy upon his own terms; and I endeavoured to close, to decide the business as quick as possible, in order to secure the merchantmen.——Upon arriving within musket-shot, a quick and well-directed fire was opened, our guns doing great execution. At nine o'clock, the enemy, completely panic-struck and beaten, pushed their vessels into a heavy surf, sacrificing all their wounded. I instantly sent a boat to try to save as many as I could, as it was distressing to see their situation, but our men were unable to rescue one of them. The merchant vessels, seeing the fate of their convoy, attempted to disperse; some we sunk, others ran into the surf, and in a short time disappeared; the rest were captured, excepting three (two of which were armed) that it was not in my power to come up with, owing to our crippled state, having two 24-pounders shot through the foremast, one through the mainmast, and one through the gammoning of the bowsprit, that likewise cut the knee of the head asunder. The steady and cool conduct of the officers and men throughout deserves my warmest praise: and had the enemy possessed resolution enough to have boarded, I could not doubt of the result, though opposed to such superior numbers. My first-lieutenant, Ferguson, on this as well as on many other occasions, was a good assistant to me. Nothing can exceed his cool determined conduct, which I have so often witnessed. Lieutenant Webster likewise executed his duty entirely to my satisfaction, as well as Mr. Davis, master, and Mr. Horniman, purser, who were both wounded; the latter, I fear, will lose an eye. It is with the most heartfelt gratification I acquaint you that our loss in men is small, as herewith annexed. I am now on my way to Gibraltar, as our masts must be taken out; but I shall lose no time in refitting, and resuming my station. T. Usher.

Killed and wounded in the boats. Killed, J. Carter, seaman; wounded, E. Jacobson, seaman severely, (who was also wounded on board the sloop); Mr. Davis, master, slightly; Mr. Horniman, purser, severely.

List of the convoy. The Diligent of two 24-pounders and two 8-pounders, and 60 men, sunk; the Boreas of two 24-pounders and two 8-pounders, and 60 men, sunk; No. 3, of two 24-pounders and one 36-pounder, and 36 men, sunk; No. 6, of one 24-pounder and 40 men, sunk; No. 107, of two 6-pounders and 35 men, escaped; a Mistico, of four 6-pounders and 20 men, taken; a felucca, of four 3-pounders and 20 men, escaped. —Merchantmen: 7 captured, 4 sunk, and 1 escaped.

Extract of a letter from a lady in Madrid to her brother in Dublin.

30. "Words cannot describe the horror with which we have been surrounded since the first of this month: the approaching storm was expected, but on the 2d, immediately after breakfast, it broke out in the most furious manner.

Our friend T. had provided a retreat at his country-house, about six miles distant, to which we were to remove that very evening, but the storm overtook us, and stopped our journey. The thunder of the artillery announced the beginning of the business, and in a few minutes after the whole male population of the city appeared in arms; whereever a French soldier was discovered, he was instantly cut down or shot; six of them were put to death under our windows: the scene was dreadful beyond description. After two or three hours carnage, particularly in our great street called Alcala, a reinforcement of Frenchmen poured into the town, and in their turn became the assailants; our doors were burst open by the defeated populace, and seven or eight of the inhabitants took refuge under the couches, and in different parts of the house; but the French soldiers followed them, and in my presence they most unmercifully bayoneted those who had first entered the room, where I and my children sat shivering with horror. The presence of a young French officer protected us; and he had the humanity to continue in the house the entire of this fatal day, to whom I certainly owe the lives of myself and children. All night the inhabitants were forced to illuminate their windows, and fifteen dreadful-looking fellows took entire possession of the lower part of the house; they soon broke open the cellars, which they plundered, nor could the presence of the friendly officer I have mentioned prevent them. The following morning was indeed a scene of horror. Almost every person that passed through the streets was stained with blood, and the dead bodies lay in heaps; it was reported, and I believe with some truth, that Murat, the French general, intended to erect some works outside the town, to batter it to the ground, in revenge for the lives of his soldiers. This, however, he abandoned. The next day, when the tumult had a little abated, T. and I got some articles of plate and the books of the house, and through the intercession of our French friend were suffered to remove to his residence at Ombro, where we now are with the children.—You shall hear from me by the first possible conveyance. The chance I have of sending this to Lisbon is but small, but it may possibly reach you."

31. During the storm this day, about three in the afternoon, an ash-tree in the earl of Portsmouth's park, Hampshire, was shivered to pieces by the lightning. A brace of bucks were under the tree; one was struck dead, and the other much injured. Several deer were about 57 yards west of the tree, one of which was also struck dead.—On the same day a ball of fire entered the side, and came out at the roof, of a barn belonging to Mr. Sergrove, at South Moreton, near Wallingford, Oxfordshire. It set fire to the thatch; but there being a number of persons on the spot, it was prevented from spreading by taking the thatch off the roof.—At Warminster a ball of fire fell on a thatched public-house, and penetrated through two floors into a kitchen, where it exploded, and set the house on fire, nothing being saved except the stock of beer. Two adjoining houses were burnt to the ground, notwithstanding the torrents of rain that poured down during the time.—A tremendous storm of thunder and lightning passed over the

the city of Bristol. We have not heard of any serious injury being sustained by it.

Sir Thomas Hardy attended this day at the chamberlain's office, Guildhall, where he was presented with the freedom of the city and an elegant sword, voted to him by the corporation of London. The chamberlain in a very appropriate speech, in presenting the sword, dwelt upon what the country owed to the gallant and much-lamented lord Nelson, under whose flag the worthy captain had so much signalized himself.

JUNE.

1. Several disturbances have taken place among the weavers in Lancashire, relative to the prices of their wages. A meeting of the cotton-manufacturers of Manchester was this day held, at which it was unanimously agreed to advance the wages 20 per cent. upon the present prices, and to make a further advance on the 1st of August. The proposition, unfortunately, had not the desired effect. The weavers demanded an advance of *6s. 8d.* in the pound sterling; and still refused to return to their work. Five thousand of them, it is said, assembled at a village between Manchester and Bury; and the cavalry went from Manchester to disperse them. At Bolton and Bury there was considerable disorder; but the weavers at Manchester, though refusing to work, were very peaceable. Manchester was full of soldiers. The volunteers had been on duty all day, and were to mount guard all night in two separate parts of the town. —The London Gazette of the 14th inst. contains a proclamation for apprehending the persons concerned in the late outrages at Rochdale; who are described to have, on the 30th ult., "broke open the private houses of cotton and woollen-weavers, carried off their shuttles and other implements of weaving, and demolished the glass windows of the office where the magistrates were then met for transacting public business, by throwing large stones thereat, several of which stones wounded the special constables then in attendance; and in the evening of that day broke open and entirely burnt down the prison then and there being: and, on Tuesday the 31st of the said month of May, such rioters continued their depredations, and in the evening thereof extorted money from divers peaceable inhabitants of the said town and parish of Rochdale, by gathering themselves together in large bodies, and menacing to burn their houses, factories, mills, &c. and proceeded to such extremities, that the lives of individuals were not only threatened but in most imminent danger." We are very sorry to add, that the weavers in Lancashire continued their refractory proceedings some weeks longer. On the 20th inst. large bodies of them again assembled in St. George's Fields, Manchester, and in the neighbouring streets, and not only stopped all the looms they found at work, but interrupted every weaver coming in with finished pieces, or going out with fresh work, forcing the workmen to return from whence they came. Considerable bodies of them again assembled on the 21st, but indicated rather a peaceable disposition. Parties of the 4th dragoons patrolled the streets during the day.

2. Early this morning, in a field at the back of the Queen's Head and Artichoke public-house, leading to Camden Town, Mr. Joachim, of

Pratt-place, Camden Town, was found dead. In the afternoon he went to visit Mr. Moss, who resides at Cumberland-place, Lisson Green, and received some money. When he left Mr. Moss, he said he was going to Salisbury-place, where he stopped to see some persons play at skittles till a late hour. About half past eleven o'clock, the landlord of the Queen's Head and Artichoke public-house heard the report of a pistol, and the cry of "Murder!" It was supposed Mr. J. was then attacked by robbers, and that he being a resolute man had resisted their attack. His money and watch were stolen, but notes about him to the amount of 100*l.* were not taken. A large bullet had entered the left side, and passed through his heart.

3. John Taylor, a sailor, was tried under lord Ellenborough's act, for stabbing, cutting, and wounding Sarah, the wife of John Wood, with intent to kill, disable, or do her some grievous bodily harm. He repeatedly begged of her to go and live with him, and she as often refused. On the 12th of May they met in the street; they drank some porter together, and the man then repeated his solicitations; she positively refused; on which he drew a knife and stabbed her. He was found Guilty, and sentenced to be executed on Monday.

7. This afternoon a melancholy accident happened near Putney-bridge, to John Cooper, Charles Grant, and Richard Northern, the former a journeyman, the latter apprentices to Mr. Bensley, printer, Bolt-court, Fleet-street. A party had agreed to spend the day up the river, but the whole declined except the above three; they proceeded without a waterman, and being unacquainted with the management of a boat, it upset, and two of them were drowned. The body of Northern was found about a quarter of an hour after the accident, and he was recovered by the means recommended by the Royal Humane Society.

KING'S BENCH, June 11.

The King v. *Governor Picton.*

This cause came on again to be tried this day, and occupied the court (which was extremely crowded the whole day) from nine o'clock in the morning until eight at night.

Mr. Garrow, in stating the case on the part of the prosecution, observed, that as the evidence which he was again about to adduce in support of this prosecution, had been already fully laid before the public, he had no matter of novelty to state to the jury; and whatever might be the personal feelings on the other side, he protested for himself, that out of this case he knew nothing of the defendant, and had no other view but wishing justice might be done to all parties, determined on his part to do his duty to the public. The horrid barbarities charged against this defendant were such as had never before been charged against any British governor, that of cruelly torturing a female of the tender age of fourteen years. He then stated, that in the year 1801 the island of Trinidad was ceded to the British forces, under general sir Ralph Abercromby, when the defendant was appointed governor of that island, and it was stipulated that the people of the island were to be governed by their own, namely, the Spanish laws, until his majesty's pleasure should be known. It was the custom of that country that persons should marry at an early age; and the unhappy female, who gave rise to this prosecution,

secution, (Louisa Calderon,) had been contracted to a person of the name of Pedro Lewis; but by the artifices of his servant Carlos Gonsalez, she was by him seduced, and he afterwards robbed his master of 2000 ducats. The robber escaped, but the girl was taken up, and application was made to the governor, to permit torture to be inflicted, in order to compel her to confess what she knew of the facts. The manner in which this torture was inflicted, he should abstain from describing, but the jury would have the pain to hear it described by the unfortunate sufferer herself, corroborated by other evidence. Before inflicting the torture, it was necessary however to show that the defendant, a British governor, had consented to it. In answer to this, it was said, that the defendant was authorized by the law of Spain in such cases; but in reply to this, he should show that no such law existed in the Spanish code, that no Spanish governor could have inflicted such a punishment, and that it was reserved for governor Picton to be the first to introduce torture into that island, which by the Spanish laws could only be resorted to in cases of witchcraft, and Louisa Calderon was the only instance of the kind ever known in that island where torture was inflicted for a different crime. If, however, something should be shown on the other side, from the old Spanish books, recognising torture in such cases, he would show, on the contrary, that such laws were obsolete, and that this, and this only, was the one solitary case where torture had ever been inflicted, and he was sorry to repeat that it was first introduced by a British governor; and he should further contend, that from the introduction of the British government, all such laws, if they ever did exist, must cease, and be wholly void and nugatory.

Louisa Calderon was then examined, and described the manner in which the torture was inflicted, in nearly the same way she had done on the former trial, with the exception that she now gave her evidence in the English language, with much fluency and correctness. Having described the pike on which she stood, suspended by a rope and pulley from the cieling, her fainting, &c. &c. she further stated, that the persons present were Begerot, the judge, who first applied to the governor for the order to torture, de Castro, the escribado, or secretary to the judge, and Ralpho Shando, the alguzil or constable. She also stated, that when brought before the governor, he said if she did not declare who had got the money, he would make the hangman pass his hands over her.

Ralpho Shando corroborated her statement.

The order for applying the torture was then produced, and appeared in the words following:—

"*Appliquez la question* à Louisa Calderon.*"

(Signed) THE GOVERNOR.

Mr. Dallas, in stating the case of the defendant, admitted the facts to have been fully proved; but the jury were to recollect, that the idea of applying the torture did not originate with governor Picton, but with the judge of the country. With respect to its severity, he had nothing to say, but it must be recollected, that the prosecutix was accused of a crime which, in this country, would be considered a capital offence, and lead to an ignominious execution. In order that the jury

* The torture.

might judge rightly of the case, it was necessary they should see and understand what the charge truly was. It was not for causing Louisa Calderon to be cruelly tortured, but giving an order that torture should be applied. He did not, however, mean to say that if his conduct was illegal, he was not by the laws, and in a moral point of view, answerable; but the imprisonment and severe treatment were not applicable to him, unless the governor was to be considered as the gaoler and executioner. The only point, therefore, which the jury had to try was, whether governor Picton had ordered the torture to be applied unlawfully and maliciously, or otherwise; but in fact the malice might be of course inferred if the thing was done illegally. If the law was in existence, he was authorized and bound by it to exercise that power.

A great number of depositions were then read to prove the laws of Spain on this subject.

After a vast body of evidence being adduced to show that torture was authorized by the Spanish laws, and much argument on both sides, it was at length agreed that a special verdict should be taken; and after a charge from lord Ellenborough, in which he observed, that however the law of Spain authorized torture, and that governor Picton had not acted maliciously, in his opinion he had acted extra-judicially, for the dernier appeal was not to the governor, but to the king of England, and therefore the court would infer that he was guilty of the fact.

The jury then returned a special verdict: That, at the time of the cession of the island of Trinidad to the British force, the law of Spain authorized torture, and that governor Picton had not acted maliciously, except so far as the law inferred from the facts. Upon the other counts of the indictment, the jury found a general verdict of—*Guilty*.

The trial did not terminate until near eight o'clock at night.

ASSESSED TAXES.

At a numerous meeting of the commissioners of the assessed taxes, acting in and for the division of Kensington; held at the Coffee-house at Hammersmith, on Monday the 13th of June, 1808:

The clerk laid before the meeting a printed copy of a bill now pending in parliament, entitled "A bill to amend and regulate the assessment and collection of the assessed taxes, and of the tax upon property, professions, trades, and offices;" and the same having been read and considered, the following resolutions were moved and seconded, and unanimously agreed to—viz.

Resolved, 1. That in the opinion of the commissioners now present, it would be derogatory from their characters and injurious to their feelings as independent men, acting gratuitously in the performance of a very invidious and expensive service to the state, to be superintended, controlled, and directed by an officer appointed and paid by the crown, without the same qualification in respect of property as is required of themselves, and who may by his conduct render himself extremely offensive.

2. That the commissioners are unconscious of having in any manner neglected their duty; but, on the contrary, have always shown the utmost promptitude in carrying into execution the various acts of parliament relating to the taxes under their management.

3. That

3. That the commissioners cannot contemplate, without the most lively apprehension, the effects of the proposed regulations for enforcing the collection of the taxes by half-yearly instalments; because, from their experience of the difficulties now attending the collection of the taxes, they are fully persuaded, that if these regulations shall be acted upon, exchequer process must be issued against *whole streets*, and the utmost confusion and distress prevail, and there is too much reason to fear that it would have a tendency to produce a combined resistance to the levying of the taxes, and in the end lead to consequences the most serious and alarming.

4. That the commissioners are sensible of the necessity of an early and regular payment of the taxes; but are of opinion that the laws now in force are fully adequate to that purpose, so far as it can be done consistently with the feelings and ability of the people under the present severe pressure of the times.

Ordered, That the foregoing resolutions be signed by the chairman, and transmitted to the chancellor of the exchequer, and that copies be sent to the members for the county of Middlesex.

(Signed) JOHN GREGORY,
Chairman.

13. This and two following days, the duke of Bedford's annual sheep-shearing took place at Woburn-Abbey; to which all the principal agriculturists and graziers, amateurs as well as practical, went down. On the first day (Monday) the company assembled at the Park farm, to view the duke's Southdown and Leicester sheep, which were to be sold in the afternoon. The company returned to dinner at the Abbey at three. Sale of the sheep took place at six; some of the Southdown ewes sold at 46*s.* per head; Leicester theaves as high as 80*s.*—Tuesday the Smithfield club met to transact some business; afterwards attended a ploughing match at Crawley Heath; dined at the Abbey at three; after dinner lord Somerville presented to the duke a large silver salver from the agriculturists of Great Britain. This elegant piece of plate weighed 400 ounces, and was about 18 inches by two feet in size; the border was decorated with embossed figures, emblematical of agriculture; in the centre was the Bedford arms, superbly engraved, with the following inscription: "To his grace John duke of Bedford, from the agriculturists of Great-Britain, Anno Domini 1807." His grace returned thanks in a most elegant and animated speech. — Wednesday, the company viewed the several implements of husbandry, &c. and attended the sale of Southdown ewes and theaves; some sold for 3*l.* 15*s.* per head; after which the adjudication of the prizes took place.

In the King's Bench, lord Ellenborough delivered the opinion of the court in the question the *King* v. *Dodd*, on the legality of joint-stock companies. They were of opinion, that as the statute had lain dormant for 88 years, it would be hard to subject Mr. Dodd to its penalties. It was, however, to be understood, that this and other joint stock companies, with transferable shares, were illegal, and that the promoters of future establishments of this description would be liable to the statutable penalties, having no excuse for ignorance.

James Gilchrist, stocking-maker, at Slatefield, near Glasgow, was tried before the high court of justiciary, at Edinburgh, for the murder of his wife, by strangling her and then setting fire to her clothes,

with the view of having it believed that she had been accidentally burnt to death. After a trial which lasted ten hours, he was found guilty, and ordered to be executed at Glasgow on the 17th of July.

14. This morning an inquest was held at the Swan, the corner of Church-street, Lambeth, on the body of miss Jemima Prosser, about ten years of age, the daughter of a respectable tradesman in the Strand, who lost her life by falling from a barge into the Thames, about four o'clock on Sunday evening last. She had just returned from boarding-school, and was on a visit at the house of Mr. Davies in Northumberland-street. The deceased went in company with miss Anne Davies, on board a barge at the end of the street, it being a fine evening, and the tide high up. As they walked along the gunwale of the vessel, miss D., who was foremost, suddenly missed her companion, and, upon looking into the water, she could discern her clothes, though her face was not visible. She gave an alarm, but the body had sunk before a boat could reach the spot. Several persons repeatedly endeavoured with drags to recover the body; but it was not found until between 10 and 11 o'clock on Monday night, when T. Duffin, a waterman, saw the body lying partly on the shore, and partly immersed in water, opposite Lambeth palace. —Verdict *Accidental death.*

FIRE AT TRINIDAD.

16. We have been favoured by a correspondent with the following account of the dreadful and extensive conflagration of the town of Port d'Espagne, in the ill-fated island of Trinidad, where every house has been burnt to the ground.

"The fire began at a chemist's shop in Frederick-street, about ten o'clock in the evening of the 24th of March. By eleven o'clock that street was consumed, and before twelve the whole front of the town was burnt, extending from the corner of the old Ordnance-yard in the east, down to Unwin's-corner in the west, excepting the commissary-general's house and stores, Mackintosh's and Cipriani's brick-buildings, which are opposite on the sea-shore, and which were saved by knocking down the wooden buildings at each end. From Unwin's-corner, the fire extended up to the new buildings owned by Dr. Williams and others, to the north of Brunswick-square, from whence it ran up obliquely to the end of St. Ann's-street, and to the Market-place in the east, where it stopped. This describes the circumference of this dreadful conflagration; within which there is not a house standing. Such was the rapidity of the flames, that many of the inhabitants with difficulty escaped with their lives. The consequences that must ensue from the dreadful havoc made by this fire are, at this time, (April 3d,) almost incalculable.

"It is said that 1500 houses are consumed, together with their furniture and stores of merchandise, supposed to the value of one million and a half sterling; and that 10,000 people are without houses, beds, clothes, and food; but it is to be hoped that immediate supplies will be sent from the neighbouring colonies; yet as no adequate supply can be obtained for them in the colonies, because of the American embargo, it is expected that the government of this country will take early notice of such an uncommonly distressing event, by affording some adequate degree of relief."

17. The Hertfordshire agricultural society met at Cold Harbour Farm, belonging to the earl of Bridgewater,

Bridgewater, their president; the day was fine and the company numerous, amongst whom were the duke of Bedford, sir John Sebright, and many of the principal gentry of the country. After viewing the stock exhibited on the ground, and paying due attention to the ploughs contending for prizes, the company adjourned to dinner at the King's Arms, Berkhampstead. The toasts given were The king, The queen, The prince of Wales and royal family, Speed the plough, Small in size great in value, Breeding in all its branches, The fleece. The duke of Bedford, with three times three, was drank with the greatest enthusiasm. —The noble duke returned thanks in a neat and elegant speech, and assured the company, that if he merited their approbation, it was by encouraging agricultural pursuits. On the members of the county being given, sir John Sebright thanked the company for himself and colleagues for the honour they had done him, and was happy in giving encouragement to this institution, as by so doing he had met with their approbation—and gave as a toast, Peace, plenty and commerce all over the world; Mr. R. Flower, of Hertford, gave as a toast —Mary Bowdell, aged 60,—living in Hertfordshire. The reason of his introducing such a person to their notice was, that she had spun 1*lb.* of Merino wool into yarn, so fine, that it was considered, by those who were competent judges, to excel any ever attempted—that it measured in length 29 miles 200 yards. He assured the company, he was informed, he might challenge all Europe to produce so rare a specimen of skill and industry as that now produced, which was sent for their inspection by Mr. E. K. Fordham, of Royston; this toast excited mirth and applause, and the yarn was admired for the beauty and silky softness of its texture. The prizes were adjudged to the earl of Bridgewater for the best plough, which being the invention of Mr. Plenty, of Hampshire, the earl begged him to accept the prize value 10 guineas, as he considered more merit due to him as the inventor; the best and second ploughman received a prize of 3 and 2 guineas each; Mr. R. Flower, Hertford, for the best one-year-old ram, of the mixed Merino breed, a cup value 5 guineas; to the same for the two best ewes, of the same breed, a cup value 5 guineas; to Joseph Halsey, esq. 3 guineas for the best boar; to the best sheep-shearer 3 guineas; the second best 2 guineas; and the third one guinea.

KING'S BENCH, June 18.

The King v. *Hart and W. White.*

This was an information filed *ex officio*, by the attorney general, against the defendants, as proprietors, printers, and publishers of a Sunday newspaper, for a libel on sir S. Le Blanc, one of the justices of the court.

The attorney-general, for the prosecution, stated that he thought it his duty to file this information against the defendants, for certain scandalous strictures which appeared in that paper, on the conduct of the judge and jury who had tried Chapman and Bennet at the last admiralty sessions; the former, for the murder of a sailor of the name of Dunn; and the latter for the alleged murder of a boy named Rickman. In these libels it was falsely stated, that sir Simon had presided on both, whereas he only presided on the trial of Chapman.

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The attorney-general then went over the different cases, as they appeared in evidence; and was certain that no fault could be found with the conduct of the judges on that occasion, neither with the jury, as it did not appear that they were actuated by any mistaken notions of philanthropy; and the solicitor-general, who conducted the prosecution, was perfectly satisfied with the verdict which had been returned. These libels had no other tendency than to bring the trial by jury into contempt, and subvert the constitution. The papers which contained the libels were produced and read by Mr. Lowten.

Mr. H. B. Harvey produced the patent constituting sir S. Le Blanc a judge of the court, as did an officer a copy of the record of Chapman and Bennet's acquittal.

Mr. Adolphus, for the defendant, addressed the jury with great force and animation, and contended that no criminality could be attached to them for animadverting on the proceedings of a court of justice, as the right of so doing had been employed from the earliest period of printing, and particularly in the case of Donnellan, who had been found guilty of poisoning sir T. Boughton; and very lately in the case of Haggerty and Holloway; but in both these cases very severe pamphlets had been published, reflecting on the conduct of the judges who presided, and the jury who found them guilty; yet these publications had not the smallest tendency to bring the trial by jury into contempt, or subvert the constitution, though they were written with greater severity than those imputed to the defendants, who did not publish with any criminal intent. He then detailed the evidence before the jury on both trials, and hoped the jury would see that much ground of animadversion arose on their acquittal.

The attorney-general made a short reply. After a suitable charge from Mr. Justice Grose, who presided in the room of the lord chief justice, the jury retired for half an hour, and brought in a verdict of *Guilty*.

The hall and court were very crowded, and when the word *Guilty* was pronounced, there was much hissing on the outside of the bar, which induced the learned judge to direct that any person thus disturbing the peace should be brought before him; whereupon silence was restored; and immediately afterwards the court was ordered to be cleared.

20. On the 11th, 12th, and 13th inst. Mr. Cannington opened various barrows in the neighbourhood of Stonehenge, under the direction of sir Richard Hoare, bart. and with the aid and assistance of A. B. Lambert, esq. and found a number of curious remains of Celtic ornaments, such as beads, buckles, and broaches in amber, wood, and gold; one of which, for its elegance and appropriate form, is at once a proof of the nobility of the person for whom the barrow was raised, and the elegance of the arts at the period of the interment, about 3000 years from the present period. The shape of this curious article is conical, and the exact form of the barrow itself, which it was most probably intended to figure. Conceive a piece of wood, imbricated in layers, one over the other, to the summit of the cone, and covered with thin plates of pure gold, and adorned with circles round the middle, and near the bottom with a triangular

triangular festoon about the lower edge, in which are two holes for a thread or wire to suspend it.

A bill was introduced to parliament to prevent the spreading of the small-pox, by which it is enacted,

1. That no one shall inoculate for the small-pox within the distance of three miles of any city, town, or village, under a penalty of 50*l.*

2. That in every place destined for inoculation by the Suttonian method, the words "Small Pox Hospital," or "Pest House," shall be posted up in large and legible characters.

3. That if any person shall be taken ill of the infectious small-pox, they shall be removed to a distance from all other habitations, at the expense of the parish, if their own relations are not able; and all masters of houses where the infection may appear, shall write up on the outside of their houses in large and legible characters, "Small-Pox here," under a penalty of 20*l.*

4. And every master or mistress of a house where the small-pox breaks out, shall within 24 hours send notice thereof to the churchwardens and overseers under a penalty of 10*l.*

No such penalty to be levied till after two months, and in case the infection has not spread, then the magistrates to be empowered to remit the penalty.

A weaver of Trafford, near Chester, has lately worked a piece of table-linen, of the uncommon length of 192½ yards, a circumstance before unknown in that branch of manufacture.

22. DUEL EXTRAORDINARY.—A very novel species of duel has lately taken place at Paris. M. de Granpree and M. Le Pique having quarrelled about Mademoiselle Tirevit, a celebrated opera dancer, who was kept by the former, but had been discovered in an intrigue with the latter, a challenge ensued. Being both men of elevated mind, they agreed to fight in balloons, and in order to give time for their preparation, it was determined that the duel should take place on that day month. Accordingly on the 3d of May, the parties met at a field adjoining the Tuilleries, where their respective balloons were ready to receive them.—Each, attended by a second, ascended his car, loaded with blunderbusses, as pistols could not be expected to be efficient in their probable situations. A great multitude attended, hearing of the balloons, but little dreaming of their purpose: the Parisians merely looked for the novelty of a balloon race. At nine o'clock the cords were cut, and the balloons ascended majestically amidst the shouts of the spectators. The wind was moderate, blowing from the N. N. W. and they kept, as far as could be judged, within about 80 yards of each other. When they had mounted to the height of about 900 yards, M. Le Pique fired his piece ineffectually; almost immediately after, the fire was returned by M. Granpree, and penetrated his adversary's balloon; the consequence of which was its rapid descent, and M. Le Pique and his second were both dashed to pieces on a house-top, over which the balloon fell. The victorious Granpree then mounted aloft in the grandest style, and descended safe with his second, about seven leagues from the spot of ascension.

COURT OF KING'S BENCH.

The King v. *Hart and White.*

25. This was a second information

tion filed by the attorney-general against the defendants, for a libel upon lord Ellenborough.

Sir Vicary Gibbs opened the case at considerable length.—The libel for which he prosecuted was contained in The Independent Whig, published on two successive Sundays in January last.—The gist of the libellous matter was contained in a most foul imputation against lord Ellenborough, upon the circumstance of his charge to a jury, at the trial of Boyce *versus* Bayley, in the king's bench.

From the several letters which were published in The Independent Whig upon this trial, sir Vicary Gibbs extracted the libellous matter which was imputed to his lordship; inferring that the tendency of these libels was to pull down the lord chief justice from his seat,—to blast not only his judicial but his moral character, to institute a parallel between his lordship and judge Jefferies, and, in the person of my lord Ellenborough, to bring into contempt, as far as the authors were able, the whole administration of justice in the kingdom, criminal as well as civil.

The attorney-general then read to the jury the libellous matter, which was put upon the record.—In one part lord Ellenborough is accused with a strong bias to arbitrary power: and that his disposition this way was so evident, that one might suppose that we lived in the reign of James the Second, instead of in that of George the Third. The writer then proceeded to talk of Scroggs and Jefferies, and, as far as he could openly do it, institutes a parallel between lord Ellenborough and those judges who had disgraced the bench.

After reading to the jury much of the same sort of matter, he concluded an able speech with anticipating a verdict for the crown.

The printing and publication of the papers in question being proved upon the defendants:—

Mr. Clifford, for the defendants, delivered a most animated, eloquent, and learned speech.—He traced the history of libels almost from the dawn of our constitution; he investigated the characters of the different judges, and analysed the motive and legality of the various prosecutions upon similar charges.—He endeavoured principally to show, that it would have been more magnanimous in my lord Ellenborough's advisers, for whom he professed the highest respect, to have wrapped themselves up in the conscious dignity of his innocence, than to have begged that character from the verdict of a jury, which the world was always ready to give him.

He maintained that there would be no end of prosecutions, if the intemperate language of every periodical writer was to pass the fiery ordeal of such an Aristarchus as an attorney-general; that Locke, Burke, Junius, and the immortal Chatham, would, under such a reign of literary terrorism as was now attempted to be established, have been totally eclipsed, and pushed out of the hemisphere of science and liberal discussion. He added, that where the general motive of a man's writing appeared to be virtuous and honest, where his sentiments flowed from a genuine love of liberty, and indignant hatred of abuse—that, in cases of this sort, it was unbecoming, and meanly captious, to take down the statute-book, and criticise such a man's writings, in order to punish a little excess and intemperance of language, which, in the warmth of

of feeling, was not easily guarded against.

He stated likewise, that the defendants were, generally speaking, ignorant and innocent men; that they knew not, in these letters which they published, that they were exposing themselves to the animadversion of a court of justice. They admitted them into their columns as matter of fair discussion; they meant well in the publication, and what was written against lord Ellenborough, however intemperate it might be, yet, as it was intended rather as a premonition and an expostulation, than as a libel, it would have been wiser to overlook it; and that the jury would, perhaps, better satisfy themselves and the public, and, perhaps, even the feelings of the noble lord himself, by a verdict of *Acquittal.*

"At least (said Mr. Clifford) this is not the time, gentlemen, to abridge the liberty of the press; and if the verdict which you deliver this day be against the defendants, I shall then suspect that it is intended to stab it to the heart. God forbid! but times are ominous, and those who have not the inspiration to predict, may at least forebode.

"Upon the rupture of the peace of Amiens we may all remember, it was urged as one of the popular motives for war, that Bonaparte was desirous to abridge the liberties of the British press; that he complained, that not a vessel came over to France which did not contain a cargo of libels against him and his government: that these libels must be extinguished, or it was impossible to maintain any terms of amity with the English nation.

"Our government replied to him, that the liberty of the press was not theirs to concede—that it was essential to the English constitution—that they could not admit into discussion any proposed restraint upon it, for that it made as free with them as it could possibly do with France.

"This, gentlemen, was a noble answer. It was a motive of resistance alone well worthy of a war. Let us not then crush or abridge, by the verdict of a court of justice, what we have refused to the sword of the enemy: let us preserve this palladium, though the temple burn around us, and let us lodge it in its proper sanctuary, and commit it to its best defenders, the jury and the jury-box."

After much other matter, in which Mr. Clifford endeavoured to explain away the malignity of the imputed libels, he concluded with a most pathetic address to the feelings of the court. He spoke nearly four hours.

The attorney-general made a short reply.

Mr. justice Grose, in a brief summing up, pronounced the letters submitted to the court to be the most flagrant libel he ever remembered to have read.

The jury, after a few minutes conference, returned a verdict of Guilty against the defendants.

29. A motion was made in the court of king's bench by Mr. Holroyd, and argued by Mr. Clifford, for a new trial in the case of Hart and White, on account of the informality of evidence as to the publication of the paper, which was however refused; and on Saturday July 2d, Mr. White, editor, and Mr. Hart, printer, of the Whig newspaper, appeared in the court of king's bench, to receive sentence for the publication of the two libels, of which they had been found guil-

ty,

ty, on judge Le Blanc and lord Ellenborough. Mr. Holroyd and Mr. Clifford addressed the court in extenuation of punishment, for Mr. White, on account of ill health, (who, it appeared from the affidavits of two eminent medical men, ran great risk of his life by a long confinement,) and as not being himself the author of the obnoxious libels, which were written by Mr. Gale Jones, and William Augustus Miles, esq. and for Hart as being merely the printer, and by no means accessary to any intentional offence. Judge Grose passed sentence as follows:—That the defendants be imprisoned three years, White in Dorchester, and Hart in Gloucester jail; and that at the expiration of that time they give security for their good behaviour for five years, each in 500*l.* and sureties in 250*l.* each. Mr. White and Mr. Hart were conveyed to their respective prisons on the following Thursday.

JULY 4.

The attorney-general moved the judgment of the court of king's bench on the editors and printers of seven of the London newspapers for a paragraph reflecting on the conduct of the jury who acquitted the captain of the slave-ship referred to in the case of White. As they had suffered judgment to go by default, the court, after an admonition, fined them 25*l.* each, and dismissed them.

Downing-street, July 9.

A dispatch, together with inclosures, has been received from major-general Spencer.

Atlas off Cadiz, June 12.

My lord, The French squadron, consisting of five sail of the line and a frigate, having placed themselves in a defensive position, in the channel leading to the Caraccas and out of the reach of the works of Cadiz, and having refused to listen to any terms, I have great satisfaction in reporting that the Spanish gun and mortar-boats and the batteries erected for this purpose on the Isle of Leon, and near Fort Louis, commenced hostilities against the French ships, at three o'clock in the afternoon of the 9th, and the firing continued without interruption on both sides till night. It was renewed on the part of the Spaniards on the morning of the 10th, and partially continued till two, when a flag of truce was hoisted by the French; but the terms proposed being inadmissible, the Spaniards intend to recommence hostilities with an additional battery, to the eastward of Fort Louis, consisting of thirty twenty-four pounders. Admiral Purvis and myself wished to have co-operated in this attack; but the Spaniards, feeling themselves confident in their own force, have declined our offers of assistance.—The supreme council of Seville have nominated commissioners, and applied last night for passports, and a frigate to convey them to England, and they were also equally anxious to send feluccas with dispatches to South America. Information having been received that a small French corps was assembling at Tavira, with a view of entering Spain by the river Guadiana, we have been requested to proceed against this corps, and either to attack them on the coast, or endeavour to prevent the further prosecution of their plans against Spain. I accordingly propose to sail immediately for this object, lord Collingwood approving of it. Admiral Purvis had already detached

detached three ships of war off the mouth of the Guadiana, and has offered every other necessary assistance, which lord Collingwood has since confirmed.

B. SPENCER, major-gen.

Letter from general Morla, captain-general of Andalusia and governor of Cadiz, addressed to admiral Purvis and general Spencer.

Admiral Rossilly, as your excellencies will observe by the annexed copy, has proposed to disarm, but upon conditions which I thought were inadmissible. Whatever may be his terms of surrender, I shall in no manner deviate from my promise; it is therefore necessary that I should have your consent, as I have already said in my first conference with brigadier-gen. Smith and capt. sir John Gore, to whom I have pledged myself with simplicity and good faith. It will afford me considerable satisfaction to consult with your excellencies on all occurrences, incidents, and circumstances, conducive to our common advantage, and contrary to the interests of the common enemy. Nothing gives me more real pleasure than the absolute confidence of your excellencies in my candour and sincerity, with which I remain your excellencies' most affectionate and devoted servant,

T. MORLA.

Cadiz, June 11.

Letter from admiral Rossilly, addressed to general Morla, dated on board the admiral's ship, Hero Bay, off Cadiz, June 12.

Captain-general,—obliged to defend myself on account of the inquietude inspired into the people of this province by my imposing attitude, I yesterday, in order to tranquillize them, proposed to your excellency to quit the bay. In case the English cannot accede to this proposal, I suggest the idea of disembarking my means of attack, and keeping my ships' companies on board; no colours shall be displayed on my squadron. Hostages shall be given for our security, our sick, and all the French people in the province, with their national and individual property. Hostages will be equally given on my part. The refreshments, water, and provisions necessary for my squadron shall be provided on my paying for them, as has hitherto been done. In short, I shall demand no conditions but those which are necessary for my honour and that of the people serving under my orders, and which are compatible with the public tranquillity. Deprived by my proposal of the means of defence against the exterior enemy, I demand security against them. Receive, captain-general, the renewal of my distinguished consideration, with which I am your excellency's most humble servant,

ROSSILLY.

Answer to admiral Rossilly.

Excellent sir, admiral Rossilly,—In answer to certain proposals and official demands transmitted by your excellency, which, although dictated by your honour, are unquestionably incompatible with mine, as must be evident to your excellency, I have to acquaint you, that I cannot accept any terms but an unconditional surrender. My honour and character not allowing me to depart in any way from my promises, I therefore inform you, that my orders from the superior council being positive with respect to the surrender of the squadron commanded

commanded by your excellency, I cannot enter into any conditions without previously consulting them. It is likewise my duty to consult with the English commanders, as, without their consent, I cannot compromise myself. For these reasons, I shall suspend my attack, until I have dispatched those two expresses, availing myself however of the intermediate time to prepare other means for the attack. Nothing opposes the individual esteem entertained for your excellency by your faithful servant,

THOMAS MORLA.

Downing-street, July 12.

The following dispatches have been received from major-gen. Spencer, dated on board his majesty's ship Windsor Castle, off Ayamonte, June 17.

My lord,—I avail myself of the opportunity afforded by the passing of the Nautilus from lord Collingwood to sir C. Cotton, to congratulate your lordship on the surrender of the French squadron of five line of battle ships and one frigate, in the harbour of Cadiz, to the Spanish arms, on the 14th instant, on which day the Spanish colours were flying in all the French ships. The particulars of this important and interesting event will, no doubt, be fully communicated to your lordship by lord Collingwood. It is also very satisfactory for me to inform your lordship, that the movement I have made to this quarter, at the request of general Morla, has been attended with the happiest effects. The French troops are retiring in every direction towards Lisbon, except some very insignificant parties left to occupy the different small forts and posts on this side of Portugal. The Portuguese people are rising in all parts, encouraged greatly by our presence here; and the Spanish frontier on the Guadiana is thus effectually secured from any attack of the French.

B. SPENCER.

Extract of a dispatch from major-general Spencer, dated on board his majesty's brig Scout, off Lagos, June 21.

My lord,—The French fleet having surrendered on the 14th, and the British commissioners having since embarked for England, I beg leave shortly to recapitulate the different events which have led to these desirable objects, and to state to your lordship the present situation of Spain and Portugal, as far as I have obtained correct information. The general feeling of the Spaniards had been for some time excited to the utmost degree of indignation at the conduct of the French. The information of the forced renunciation of the crown of Spain by Charles IV, Ferdinand, and all the royal family, in favour of Bonaparte, appeared to be the signal of universal opposition to the views of France. The council of Seville, one of the principal provincial jurisdictions in Spain, have laid hold of some statutes in their constitution, which authorize their rejecting the orders of the supreme council of Madrid when that capital shall be in the power of foreign troops. They have therefore assumed an independent authority in the name of Ferdinand VII, whom they have proclaimed king; and after some previous steps, they have formally declared war against France, and have appealed to the Spanish nation to support them; and their supremacy has been acknowledged by the

the councils of several other provinces. In Andalusia they collected from 15 to 20,000 regular troops, and have put arms in the hands of upwards of 60,000 peasants. General Castanos is appointed commander in chief; and I understand they propose, out of their first levies, to augment the establishment of the old regiments to double their present numbers. Provincial assemblies are also forming in most of the large towns, and different depôts fixed upon for raising volunteers. They have a proportion of nearly 4000 cavalry, and a large quantity of artillery, as Seville is a foundry, and one of the largest depôts in Spain. All accounts agree, that in every part of Spain the insurrections have commenced almost at the same period; many small detachments of the enemy, and many officers, have been cut off. General Dupont was on his march to Seville, and had already passed the Morena mountains when the insurrection took place. He has pushed on to Cordova, and, by the intercepted dispatches, we learn he is strengthening himself there, and proposes to wait for reinforcements. In the mean time, the Morena passes in his rear have been occupied by 5000 Spaniards, the road has been broken up; and, I trust, all communication has been cut off. Gen. d'Alrid had received orders to join him at Seville with 4000 men, who were to assemble at Alcorentin; but our arrival off Ayamonte, and the arming of all Spain, and the alarms in Portugal, having prevented this movement, I trust that gen. Junot will not now be able to detach any troops from Portugal, though we understand a French corps has been collected at Elvas, but I do not think it can exceed 4000 men, though the reports of its strength are very various. At Faro the Portuguese have already risen, have taken or destroyed a detachment of about 200 men, have seized the arms and ammunitition of the province, which the French had collected in a depôt, and also about 40,000 dollars in gold, which the French general had amassed.

From vice-admiral lord Collingwood, dated Ocean, off Cadiz, June 14.

Sir, In my letter of the 12th instant, by the Alphea, I informed you that application had been made for a ship to carry to England commissioners appointed by the supreme council of Seville, to treat with his majesty's ministers on such matters as are important to the interest of both countries. The admiral who commands in the port of Cadiz being one of the deputed, they did not choose he should depart until the surrender of the French ships, which took place this morning. The Spaniards having constructed an additional battery of thirty heavy guns, and numerous gun-and bomb-vessels having taken their stations, the French ships struck their colours at seven o'clock this morning, and soon after the Spanish were hoisted on board them. The French ships, I understand, are not at all injured, as the Spaniards wanted them for their own use; nor has there been much loss of men on either side. The governor some days since (and before I came here) requested of major-general Spencer to proceed to Ayamonte, to oppose a detachment of the French army, which was said to be marching from Portugal by the coast; and yesterday the transports proceeded, under

the protection of the Zealous, to that quarter, where the Windsor Castle had conducted a detachment the day before.

The governor of Cadiz has notified to me, that the commissioners will be ready to embark in two days. As the Revenge has been stationed near the town, where sir J. Gore has had much intercourse with the governor and chiefs in command during the late operations, and witnessed the temper and disposition of the people, I have ordered that ship to receive them, that he may give to his majesty's ministers the information they may desire of what has come within his observation as to the present state of this part of Spain. Application has been made to me this evening by the supreme council at Seville and the governor of Cadiz, to give a passport to a Spanish frigate and four dispatch vessels, to carry to the several governments and presidencies in the West Indies information of the events which have happened in Spain, and their instructions to the governors; and also that a sloop of war may take out officers to that country, whose presence there is important; this they urge in preference to their going in a Spanish vessel, as it will convey a proof of their connexion with Great Britain.

COLLINGWOOD.

Letter received by sir C. Cotton, bart. from capt. Creyke, of the Eclipse sloop, detailing the state of affairs at Oporto.

H. M. S Eclipse, off the Bar of Oporto, June 20.

Sir, Since the account I had the honour of delivering to you on the 10th June, Oporto has undergone two revolutions, and has been successively in the hands of the French, and the subjects of the prince regent. After the Spaniards had delivered the forts into the custody of the Portuguese, and the national colours were every where hoisted, the French were again able to establish their authority, in consequence of the weak and undetermined measures of the governor, Louis d'Oliveira, who is now confined as a traitor; and maintained it till the 16th, the day of Corpus Christi, a great national festival, when it had been usual for the Portuguese regiments to attend with colours flying. The governor d'Oliveira, in consequence of orders from Junot, attempted to establish the French flag instead of the Portuguese at the procession. This violent attack on the national custom drew forth the murmurs of the populace to so great a degree, that an attempt to compromise on the part of the governor had no effect; and on the 18th, in the evening, the day before my arrival here, they were excited to such a degree of fury, that, countenanced by the priests, the people rose *en masse*, broke open the depôts, and supplied themselves with 25,000 stand of arms, and, together with the regulars, formed a most determined and enthusiastic army. From this moment all French authority ceased, and every man, either French, or suspected of being inclined to the French interest, was arrested. The bishop of Oporto was elected as the new governor, and an army of 20,000 men sent to meet the French, who had advanced, to the amount of 900, within six leagues of Oporto. The enthusiasm has communicated from one to the other; and the Portuguese provinces of Tralos Montes, Minho, and the northern parts

parts of Beira, in imitation of the Spaniards, have risen in arms, determined to extirpate the French from their kingdom. From the most moderate accounts, besides what are at Oporto, I may estimate them at upwards of 100,000 men. All the regular regiments disbanded by the French are forming again with the greatest alacrity, and will soon join them. I have this day had an interview with his excellency the governor, conducted to him amidst the shouts and huzzas of the populace. To-morrow I send a party of men to mount the guns of a large Brazil ship, the command of which is given to an Englishman, and destined as a floating battery to defend the bridge, in case the French should have the temerity to approach, though such an event is not to be apprehended. If any requisition is made for powder, I shall comply with it; but they have at present abundance of arms, ammunition, and provisions. The detestation of the Portuguese to the French is so great, that captain Jones and myself, after having begged the life of the French intendant of police, had the greatest difficulty in conveying him a prisoner to the boat: and the unbounded love and respect for the English alone prevented the enraged populace from tearing him to pieces.

G. A. Creyke.

From captain Digby, of the Cossack, addressed to, and transmitted by, lord Gambier.

Cossack, off St. Andero, June 25.

My lord, The last opportunity I had of writing to your lordship, I acquainted you of my intention to go to St. Andero immediately, and afford every assistance in my power to the loyal inhabitants, and bring off any British subjects that might wish to come away, in the present uncertain state of the country; and I had intelligence that the French frigate in passage, accompanied by several gun-boats, was expected to make a descent on that part of the coast: owing to the strong easterly winds and long calms, I did not get there till the 21st. The signal-post displayed a flag of truce, which was answered by both ships. The captain of the port, don Vincento Camino, came on board; he told us that the French army were soon expected to make an attack on the pass in the mountains that guarded the approach to the town; he invited us to anchor in Sardenero Bay, which we did at five P. M.: until he had made his report to the bishop, who was the present governor, he wished us not to land. No boat returning by one o'clock the next day, I concluded some sudden attack, or unexpected event, must have taken place. In the afternoon a brig came out of the harbour full of people of all descriptions, who had left the town on the report that the French were advancing. I immediately got under weigh, and sent capt. Daly, of the Comet, up the harbour, to gain some confirmed intelligence, and, should the report prove true, to reconnoitre the fort, and find out where the principal magazine was, and, if possible, to destroy it. Between eight and nine P. M. captain Daly returned with certain information, that the French army had gained the pass, and had halted only a few miles from the town, and were expected to enter that night or next day. Captain Daly also made every possible observation, and had himself spiked the guns in two forts near the town,

and he requested to go and destroy the magazine, and the guns in the forts that guard the entrance of the harbour. I should certainly have sent the boats that night; but the great chance of their being taken by surprise, should the enemy advance, and the night being very dark and squally, with every appearance of bad weather, made me defer it till the next morning: at day-light we stood into the bay, and manned and armed two boats from each ship, under the orders of captain Daly; he was accompanied by lieutenant H. M. Herbert, of the Cossack, and lieutenant Read, of the royal marines, and several of the younger officers, who all volunteered their services: they left this ship soon after six o'clock, and landed about eight, spiked all the guns in Fort St. Salvador de Ano, and Fort Sedra, and wedged shot in the chambers of them, which renders them quite useless; the magazine was at some little distance, and had 500 whole barrels of powder in it, besides quantities of other stores: all which was completely destroyed, great part by throwing it over the cliffs into the sea, leaving sufficient to blow up the magazine: the train was laid for a considerable distance, and it was let off about ten o'clock, which instantly levelled the whole building to the ground. Finding some more powder in Fort Sedra, a train was laid to it, which took effect, and blew part of the house and storehouse in it up. The two other forts on the west side of the bay they could not attempt, as the surf was so high it was impossible to land, and to walk round was too far from the boats, as they had not a moment to spare; having heard before they set fire to the first train, that the French had entered the town, and they expected a strong guard at the forts. The boats left the shore by eleven o'clock, and had just got round the point of De Ano, when a considerable body of French dragoons appeared on the hill, and took post near the smoking ruins of the magazine. I am sorry to say, captain Daly and lieutenant Read of the marines are much scorched, particularly lieut. Read, in setting fire to the last train, but am happy to find his eyes are safe, and he is doing well. Captain Daly speaks in high commendation of the zeal and exertion of every officer and man employed with him.

GEORGE DIGBY.

12. George and Thomas Shepherd and W. Freeman were indicted for stealing three silver teaspoons, a silver punch ladle, a glass pepper castor, and a wine glass, from the Pindar's arms public-house on Hertford common.

Mr. Curwood, as counsel for the prosecution, called for the serious attention of the jury, inasmuch as this case was attended with singular circumstances, and it would be a question of the intention of the prisoners, for of the fact of their taking the articles alleged there could be no doubt. Of the three prisoners at the bar, Freeman was the son of a most respectable tradesman; the two others were brothers, the eldest of whom was not more than 18, and the other 16 years of age; they were the sons of a gentleman of great respectability and of large fortune, and were nearly allied to persons who had held most exalted rank in the country. The facts of the case were very short. On the 20th of July the three prisoners left London as early as five o'clock in the morning, on horseback, and took the road to Hertford.

ford. They called at several public-houses, and drank at each. They arrived at the house of the prosecutor some time in the forenoon, where they had some ale and bread and cheese, and soon after departed. Immediately after they were gone, the landlady missed the articles stated in the indictment; she gave the alarm to her husband, who pursued them, and they were apprehended in Waltham Abbey marshes. They were searched, and the articles found upon them. With respect, therefore, to the fact, there could be no doubt, but the question would be, with what intention they took the articles. The learned counsel said, it was not every taking against the will of the owner that was a felony, but it must be done with a felonious intention, with an intention of secretly taking from the owner with a view to convert it to the use of the taker, with no design of ever accounting to the owner. If the jury believed they acted with that intention, they must find them guilty. But if, fortunately for the prisoners, they should think they did it as a mad frolic, in the wildness of a momentary whim, with an intention of returning the articles, it would be no felony. But it would be a lesson of dreadful severity to them, to guard their future conduct, and would require a life of undeviating rectitude to wipe away the stain which this act must cast upon their characters.—The facts being proved, and the prisoners being called for their defence, a paper was presented, stating, that the whole was a frolic to frighten the landlady, intending to send the articles back, and a note cautioning her to beware of strangers in future.

The lord chief baron, in summing up, said that the rank and fortune of the prisoners ought not, and would not, with the jury, place them in a better situation than the poorest culprit they had tried. On the contrary, if the jury thought they had an intention of stealing the articles they had taken, it was an aggravation of their case that they were not tempted by want, which frequently stimulated those of the lower orders to guilt. It was a singular case, and therefore they would attend minutely to the evidence. If at the moment of taking they intended to convert them to their own use, they were guilty of felony, and any after intention of restoring could not wipe away the original offence.—The jury deliberated a considerable time, and then found a verdict of—*Not guilty*.

LAW INTELLIGENCE.

14. In the king's bench an indictment was tried against Edward Brown, Edward W. Roberts, and Elizabeth Dorothy Roberts, alias Brown, alias Cole, for a conspiracy to cheat divers tradesmen of their goods, by deceit and misrepresentation:—Brown took a house at No. 36, Great Coram-street, Russel-square, and Mrs. Roberts passed for his wife. They had a chariot and servants proper for such an establishment, and their habit was to drive to tradesmen's houses and give their orders, the mansion in Coram-street serving as a convenient depôt for the articles furnished. The almost uniform representation by Brown was, that he was a wine-merchant of eminence, and carried on business in the city, where he had a suitable counting-house; that he had estates in Scotland; the fraud was consummated by confessing a judgment to Roberts, who having entered the house upon that judgment, sought to sell the goods

in execution under the sheriff's hammer. In defence it was attempted to be shown, that Roberts was not a party to the misrepresentations, and that the confessed judgment was given to him for moneys he had lent Brown. It was also insisted, that, notwithstanding Mrs. Roberts had passed for Mrs. Brown, nothing criminal had taken place between them, and that she was the unseduced wife of Roberts. The jury found all the defendants guilty.

In the court of exchequer on Monday was tried an action at the suit of the excise office, against Messrs. Brown and Parry and others, proprietors of the Golden-lane brewery, for duties. By several acts of parliament, common brewers selling wholesale are allowed a deduction of 1½d. of the duties on beer in name of leakage, spillage, &c. but this is not extended to brewers who sell their own beer in retail. The present company consists of 600 subscribers, of whom 120 are victuallers, and it was therefore contended that they were liable to the full duty as selling their own beer by retail. On the other hand it was contended, that this by no means constituted the company retail sellers, especially as the subscribers to the brewery paid exactly the same for their beer as any indifferent person; that every brewery in town had houses belonging to them, and in which, particularly on a house being empty, they place their own servants to sell their beer, and all of them, except this, had their own taps where they sold their beer themselves in the regular course of retail. It was agreed, on the suggestion of the lord chief baron, to take a special verdict, subject to the opinion of the court. The solicitor-general said, that in the mean time the defendants would, he presumed, have no objection to paying in the money allowed to be due for duties, amounting to 24,000*l.* Mr. Brown, who was in court, immediately tendered the amount in exchequer bills, or would next day pay the same in cash, adding, that they were likewise willing to pay interest from the time a stop was put to their payment by the legislature.

16. *Bristol.* The storm of last night appears to have exceeded, in awful phænomena, any one recorded for many years past. Unlike the tempests of the milder zones, the thunder was remarked to roll in one continuous roar for upwards of an hour and a half, during which time, and long afterwards, the flashes of lightning followed each other in the most rapid and uninterrupted succession. But the most tremendous circumstance attending this elemental tumult was the destructive hail-shower which accompanied its progress. It may be doubted, however, whether such a name be applicable to this extraordinary phænomenon; since the masses of ice which fell on the places where the tempest most fiercely raged, bore no resemblance to hail-stones in formation or magnitude, most of them being of a very irregular and polygonal shape, broad, flat, and ragged; and many of them measuring from three to nine inches in circumference. They appeared like fragments of one vast plate of ice, and broken into small masses in its descent towards the earth. The tempest arose in the south-west, and, spreading to the north-west, gradually died away in the north-east. At Frenchay, there were between 14 and 1500 panes of glass broken, a large field

of

of beans entirely destroyed, and many bushels of wall-fruit picked up; the loss is estimated at little less than 200*l.*—The row of trees before Mr. Tucker's house at Moorend was so broken, that the leaves and small branches lay in the road a foot deep.—The windows of J. R. Lucas, esq. at Stapleton, and of Mr. alderman Claxton, at Almondsbury, were most of them broken.

At Newton, Corston, and Kelston, most of the windows that lay in the direction of the storm have been broken, as well as the glass of the hot-house, &c. in the gardens; and many windows in the mansions of W. G. Langton, esq. at Newton; of sir John Hawkins, at Kelston; of James Stevens, esq. at Camerton; and of —— Jolliffe, esq. Amerdown. The plantations and shrubberies of Mr. Langton were covered with leaves and branches of trees, and the pines and other plants in his hot-houses destroyed. In the south and west fronts of Mr. Jolliffe's mansion not a pane of glass was left whole; and the ground was even the next morning covered with ice that fell.

At Mr. Dickinson's, Kingsweston, Somerset, the storm was tremendous. All the windows on the south-west side of the house were broken; and many rooks were picked up on the lawn, killed by the weight of the hail-stones.

At Radstock, several fields of corn are nearly destroyed, the stalks being mostly cut off in the middle by the masses of ice. At Writhlington, near Radstock, very great damage has been done to the corn. Farmer Hockey, in particular, will be a sufferer of more than 500*l.*; Farmer Brown upwards of 360*l.*; Farmer James, upwards of 160*l.*; and the other farmers in proportion. The storm lasted about 40 minutes; and many of the hail-stones measured from six to nine inches in circumference.

A boy belonging to Mr. Harding, of Keynsham, was struck down by the lightning, and his recovery was for some time doubtful. A sheep was killed.

20. Joseph Bonaparte has at length entered Spain: he was crowned king at St. Sebastian's on the 9th instant. The most gloomy silence prevailed during the ceremony. From St. Sebastian's he proceeded to Toloza, and thence to Victoria, where he was again proclaimed on the 10th, and intended to have prosecuted his route to Burgos. Advices from marshal Bessieres had however induced him to delay his departure, and he remained at Victoria on the 11th.

The conduct of the bishop of St. Andero is highly extolled by the friends of the good cause. Bonaparte had addressed a letter to him, full of promises, and inviting him to attend at Bayonne. The following is said to have been the prelate's answer:—"I cannot make it convenient to attend; and if I could, I would not. I judge of your sincerity towards Spain by your conduct towards Portugal and other kingdoms with which you have interfered. If you are in earnest in your offer to befriend the Spanish nation, let the first proof be your liberating our sovereign and family, and withdrawing your troops from among us: but this we do not expect you will do of your own accord; and therefore it becomes the Spanish nation to unite, as I trust they will, to compel you."

21. James Gilchrist was executed at Glasgow, for the murder of his wife. He died solemnly declaring his innocence of the crime for

which he was about to suffer. These declarations he made in the strongest terms to three clergymen who attended him, and to the lord provost of Glasgow, as well as to the people whom he addressed from the platform, repeating his declarations in the most earnest manner. He behaved with the greatest firmness and composure, and sang two portions of the 51st and 102d Psalms with a clear and steady voice. After hanging the usual time, his body was sent to the professor of anatomy for dissection. The crowd assembled on the occasion was unprecedentedly great.

FRANCE.

While proceedings so patriotic are carrying on in the Spanish provinces, a scene of a very different kind has been exhibited at Bayonne. There, by a solemn mockery practised on the Spanish nation, the junta of the state, the council of Castille, the city of Madrid, &c. are made to address the emperor Napoleon, and to solicit his interference to procure for that country a renovation of its government. The great emperor, with his usual regard to the wishes of the oppressed, has in consequence been pleased to issue the following proclamation:

"Napoleon, by the grace of God, emperor of the French, king of Italy, protector of the confederacy of the Rhine, to all men to whom these presents shall come, sends greeting:

"The junta of the state, the council of Castille, the city of Madrid, &c. &c. having notified to us by their addresses, that the well-being of Spain requires a speedy stop to be put to the provisional government; we have resolved to proclaim, and we do by these presents proclaim, our well-beloved brother Joseph Napoleon, the present king of Naples and Sicily, to be king of Spain and India.—We guaranty to the king of Spain the independence and integrity of his states in Europe as well as in Africa, Asia, and America; charging the lieutenant-general of the kingdom, the ministers, and the council of Castille, to cause this proclamation to be expedited, and publicly announced, according to the usual custom, that none may plead ignorance hereof.—Given at our imperial palace at Bayonne, June 6, 1808.

(Signed) NAPOLEON.
H. B. MURAT,
Minister of state."

Bonaparte has published at Bayonne a new constitution for Spain, by which he proposed to do away particular local privileges and duties:—it is of considerable length, but, from the state of affairs in that country, of but little interest.

Napoleon accompanied his brother Joseph to Andaye; the latter was received at Irun by a body of Italian troops, who escorted him to St. Sebastian.

Duroc, Bonaparte's chamberlain and confident, has been created by him duke of Friuli.

Marmont, commander of the French troops in Dalmatia, has been created duke of Ragusa.

Asker Khan, the Persian ambassador to France, is considered the richest subject in the world, his revenues amounting to nearly a million sterling per annum.

Among the presents which the emperor of Persia has sent to Napoleon, are two sabres, one belonging to Tamerlane, the other to Nadir Shah; 200 cashmire shawls, some cashmire hangings, oriental rosaries,

rosaries, with 99 pearls of uncommon value, with a profusion of diamonds, rubies, &c. stated to be worth more than 12,000,000 francs.

French naval officers have been sent to all the ports of the Baltic, for the purpose of engaging German and Polish volunteers for the French navy. One of these officers, at Stettin, a M. Lierson, in an advertisement circulated in the neighbourhood, invites the seamen of that district "to join the emperor Napoleon in the project he has undertaken, of sending to the bottom of the ocean the proud islanders who have so long tyrannized on the surface of it."

Those who are fond of fanciful prophecies and astrological predictions, may find some amusement in the following curious document respecting the downfall of Bonaparte!

A divine of no less eccentricity than erudition, and a great admirer of Fleming's Commentaries on the Revelations, says, that the downfall of Bonaparte is nigh at hand, grounding his assertion on particular texts in the 13th chapter of the book of Revelation:—The "beast rising out of the sea" (Corsica) with "seven heads and ten horns, and upon his horns ten crowns"——is Bonaparte. This beast was to have reigned "forty and two months."—As emperor of France, Bonaparte has nearly reigned this exact number of months. The dragon (*i. e.* the devil) gave him his power and great authority; and he caused all, both small and great, rich and poor, free and bond, to receive a mark in their hand—*i. e.* Bonaparte has caused all persons to submit to his tyranny.—The beast's number was "six hundred three score and six," which exactly corresponds with the numerical calculation of all the letters in Bonaparte's name, reckoning the letters according to the number affixed to each before the introduction of figures. N—40, A—1, P—60, O—50, L—20, E—5, A—1, N—40, (the letters of his Christian name); B—2, U—110, O—50, N—40, A—1, P—60, A—1, R—80, T—100, E—5, being the letters in his surname, amounting altogether to 666, the identical number of the beast—*i. e.* Bonaparte. This divine adds, that without the smallest doubt, as the truth of Revelation can never be questioned, so it follows that the Spanish patriots are destined to put an end to the reign of this beast—(Bonaparte)!!!

20. An inquisition was held before the under sheriff of Middlesex and a special jury, to assess damages in this case, the defendant sir A. Paget having allowed judgment to go against him by default. Mr. Parke, for the plaintiff, stated that the case was aggravated by the way in which sir A. P. made his visits at the plaintiff's house, being uniformly in his absence. He was also in the habit of meeting lady B. in the mornings in Kensington-gardens, where she went to give her child an airing, on which occasions the lady and gentleman uniformly walked one way, and the nurse and children the contrary.—To prove the happy state in which lord and lady B. lived together, lord Amherst, the hon. G. Villers, sir W. Elford, Dr. Vaughan, the rev. Mr. Hade, &c. were examined. The servants also proved the constant visits of the defendant in the plaintiff's absence, and their meetings in Kensington-gardens. Mr. Garrow, for the defendant, argued, that this was far from being an aggravated

case,

case, as there was no breach of the rights of hospitality, nor had a single witness traced the defendant once to the plaintiff's table. The calamity, he was satisfied, was attributable solely to the fashion of the present day, which led the husband one way and the wife another. He contended that no criminality had taken place till the lady was questioned by her husband, when, feeling that he did not possess her undivided affections, she was unable to look him in the face, and had, in consequence, thrown herself into the arms of the defendant, who would have deserved the most vindicative damages to be imposed on him could he, a gallant soldier, have acted otherwise than he had done! On the whole, he said, it was apparent, that this was a case of *misfortune* rather than of *guilt!* After a suitable charge from Mr. Burchell the under sheriff, the jury gave a verdict—Damages 10,000*l.*

25. During the heavy storm of rain, thunder, and lightning, this day, a ball of fire struck the house of Mr. Milton, fishmonger and fruiterer, of Crown-street, Walworth, ran down a sword hanging at the window of a room where Mrs. Warner was sitting, without doing her any injury, passing a wainscot, which it shivered to pieces, and finally exploded in the lower room, where Mrs. Milton was at breakfast, and struck her; she fell to all appearance lifeless, but from the ready assistance afforded by the medical gentlemen, the use of one side was restored; the other is wholly devoid of feeling, like the effects of a paralytic stroke. Several other shocks were felt near the same spot, but we do not know of any other where personal injury has been sustained.—Great damage was done by the violent storm this day in the neighbourhood of Putney, Barnes, and Fulham, but particularly the latter, where the house of his excellency the Sardinian ambassador, and some other houses, were entirely unroofed. A storm to an equal extent has not been felt for many years.—A house belonging to Mr. Cheesman, situated in Broomfield place, Deptford, and the one adjoining, were particularly struck by the lightning. The electric fluid appeared to come from a south-east direction, and striking the window of Mr. C.'s house obliquely, tore away the frame and sill. In the room it did more considerable damage, tearing away the plastering and cieling, and otherwise injuring the roof. Mr. Cheesman sitting in the room, was thrown on the floor by the violence of the shock, but received no other injury than the fright. The adjoining house experienced a similar shock; and two females in a room were struck to the ground, one of whom had not on Wednesday evening recovered the use of her limbs.

LAW INTELLIGENCE.

In the king's bench, at Guildhall, an action of damages, at the suit of sir John Carr, knt. against Messrs. Hood and Sharpe, booksellers.

The plaintiff had written a variety of books of travels, of which he made a considerable emolument. The defendants had published a book, called "My Pocket Book," ridiculing the plaintiff's writings, and in consequence of which he was prevented from disposing of a manuscript Tour through Scotland. For this he sought damages, not only to the amount of the loss

loss sustained, but to deter others from sending forth such scandalous and scurrilous publications.

Mr. Johnson, bookseller, proved that he purchased the manuscript of The Stranger in France from the plaintiff for 100*l.*—Sir Richard Phillips deposed that he purchased from the plaintiff his Northern Summer Tour in the Baltic for 500*l.*; The Stranger in Ireland he gave him 700*l.* for; and for his Tour through Holland 600*l.* He had seen the manuscript of the Tour through Scotland, and would have given 600*l.* if it had not been for My Pocket Book, which he heard had depreciated the works of the plaintiff so much, that it deterred him. Sir Richard was cross-examined by the attorney-general, who asked if he ever read Reviews: to which he answered, that he did not; abhorring the scurrility, partiality, and misrepresentation with which they abounded, and knowing, as he did, the manner in which they were manufactured. He had, he allowed, for some time been a publisher of The Oxford Review, which had been set up as an experiment, to try if a review free from scurrility would succeed; which it did not: Being asked if he had not read The Edinburgh Review, he said, he did not remember to have read more than two or three of the first numbers, unless he might occasionally turn it over in a bookseller's shop; and the same as to the other Reviews mentioned by the attorney-general.—He was asked if he himself published no anonymous books. He said, he published a great many; but they contained no scurrility or abuse. He was asked, had he not published books, entitled Anecdotes of the Founders of the French Republic, and Public Characters, with some others. [Here lord Ellenborough said, the witness need not answer this question to criminate himself.] Sir Richard warmly replied, that he was ready to answer that, and all other questions the attorney-general might choose to ask, and was in no degree afraid to criminate himself by acknowledging the contents of any work he had ever published. He, therefore, courted the questions of the attorney-general rather than shrunk from them, exclaiming, God forbid that he should be ashamed to avow, in that place, every act of his life. Nothing was gained by the cross-examination, which lasted above an hour.

The attorney-general, in his reply, declared sir Richard Philips must either have slipped in his testimony, or he was the greatest fool on earth, to be, as he was, the greatest publisher of books in London, and not to read the Reviews of his works, and treat with his authors accordingly. The publication called My Pocket Book, the learned gentleman contended, was nothing more than a fair criticism of a book which deserved to be held up to public ridicule.

Lord Ellenborough observed that every man had a right to criticise the writings of another, and even to hold them up to ridicule, so that he cast no personal reflections on the author. If fair criticism injured the sale of a work, it was *damnum absque injuria.* As to the present question, if the criticism went beyond observations on the work or on the author, merely as such, it was actionable, and not otherwise. The jury found for the defendant.—The duke of Bedford, and other noblemen, friends of sir J. Carr, were on the bench.

SLAVE

SLAVE TRADE.

Interesting dispatches have been received from Africa, and with them some Sierra Leone Gazettes, from one of which, published in March last, we make the following extract:

"To the editor of the Sierra Leone Gazette.

"Permit me to send you the following facts for your insertion, which will tend to show in what manner some of the natives of this country are disposed to view the abolition of the slave-trade.

"Since the abolition of the slave-trade was made known in the neighbourhood of Goree, a quarrel took place between the king of Damel and the Maraboos; after several skirmishes the Maraboos drove them back, and carried away with them from 500 to 1000 head of cattle, saying, that as there was no sale for slaves, they would not take their people, but that, as cattle could be turned to advantage, they would take them.

"I had some conversation with a man who took an active part against the king of Damel: he assured me that the natives in their neighbourhood had no intention of taking any more prisoners, as they would not sell; but, that the idea that those who might unavoidably be taken, would be put to death, was quite erroneous.

"Mamadoo Saani, a powerful and intelligent chief on the river Gambia, told me that he regretted the abolition himself, as being the means of depriving him of some considerable emoluments, but that he believed, generally speaking, it would be of great service to the country. One very strong reason he gave was, that the want of confidence in each other, occasioned by the fear of kidnapping, or otherwise making slaves, obliged the natives to be constantly armed, and every man to suspect his brother; but, since the abolition, they had already begun to lay aside their guns when they went out; and he had no doubt, but in a short time, they would clear away the woods from about their towns that were then built; and that, in building new ones, they would have them in more exposed situations, and that he himself had altered his mind as to the place he had chosen to build a town in, determining to build it now on the banks of the river, and cut down all the woods near him; and that he intended, as he knew many other natives did, to attend as much as possible to cultivation, particularly cotton, which grows there in great abundance."

AUGUST

4. A grand dinner, in honour of the glorious cause of the Spanish patriots, was given to the Spanish deputies at the city of London tavern. The chair was filled by sir Francis Baring; and immediately around him sat the Spanish deputies, the Spanish admiral, Portuguese ambassador, earls Camden and Bathurst, viscount Sidmouth, lords Erskine and Hawkesbury, sir C. Price and W. Curtis, Messrs. Canning, Windham, Perceval, and Sheridan, aldermen Combe and Shaw, Messrs. Mellish, Thornton, &c. There were six tables lengthways, and one cross table, in the large room, at which 328 noblemen and gentlemen sat down to dinner; and in the adjoining room there were 72, making together 400 persons, whose united property, it is no exaggeration to say, exceeded fifteen millions. The decorations

corations and style of the entertainment in general were most splendid. Every thing was elegant, profuse, and excellent. There were drest for the day 2500 lbs. weight of turtle, and the intervals between the tureens had every delicacy in season. The dessert was extremely magnificent. The scene was enlivened by many loyal and patriotic songs and toasts; among the latter were The king, The queen, Prince of Wales, Ferdinand VII; Success to the gallant heroes of Spain, &c.; The patriots of Portugal, and the house of Braganza; The king of the Two Sicilies; The king of Sweden, &c.; all of which were drunk with enthusiastic plaudits. The health of the president of the United States of America was alone received with murmurs of disapprobation; but it was explained, that it was to the president individually, and not to the United States, that this disapprobation extended. On the health of their noble visitors being given, Mr. Canning returned thanks in their name. The health of the chairman, and of Mr. Canning, were also drunk. The Spanish deputies departed amid loud testimonies of respect from the company at large. Sir F. Baring was succeeded in the chair by Beeston Long, esq. governor of the bank of England, who kept up the festivity of the night to a late hour.

At the conference of the Methodists at Bristol about 200 ministers assembled, the rev. Mr. Wood the president. The progress of Methodism, particularly in Wales, is said to be rapid beyond example; above 50 chapels and meetings have been built and organized in the course of a few years.—A general conference of this sect was held in Baltimore (America) on the 6th of June. Last year the society consisted of 144,590 members. The returns of this year are 121,687 whites, and 30,903 coloured, making a total of 151,995 members, and the increase during that period 7,405 members.—The number of itinerant ministers in the Methodist connexion at present amounts to 542.

The waste lands in England amount to 6,259,470 acres; in Wales, to 1,629,307; and in Scotland, to the enormous quantity of 14,218,224 acres; the wastes in some counties, as Inverness, Perth, and Sutherland, being equal to five-sixths of the whole superficies.

At York assizes Joseph Ingleson was indicted for the commission of a rape on the person of his own daughter, a girl 15 years of age.—Grace Ingleson, the unfortunate daughter of the prisoner, stated, that on the 11th of July she went with her father to cut turf, at Radlish, a distance of six miles; that on their return, her father threw her down in the cart; and, notwithstanding her cries, had perpetrated the foul and unnatural crime of which he stood charged: yet, when the question was put to her by the judge, though she was almost convulsed with agony by the recitation of the transaction, she asserted, and persisted in it, in the face of her own evidence, and the repeated admonition of the judge to speak the truth, that the crime was committed with her own consent, and that her father neither used violence nor threats. The judge, in his address to the jury, said, whatever suspicions they might have, and however well-grounded those suspicions might be, that the unhappy witness, Grace Ingleson, had, to save a father's life, suppressed a material part of the dread-

ful

ful transaction; yet as she had repeatedly declared, upon her oath, that she was consenting to the great crime which had been committed, the jury could not safely convict the prisoner. The jury accordingly returned a verdict of *Not guilty*. When the judge addressed the prisoner in the following terms:—"Joseph Ingleson, you have narrowly escaped paying the forfeit of your life to the offended laws of your country. You are, there is too much reason to believe, a very bad man; and if you do not repress your wicked propensities, you will certainly terminate your life at the gallows: you ought to be for ever ashamed of yourself, and hide your face from the view of your fellow-creatures."

12. The following official bulletin was issued by our government on the 11th inst.:

Intelligence was this morning received by government from lieutenant-colonel Doyle, dated Corunna, August 4, at midnight. The lieutenant-colonel states that he had read a letter, dated Madrid, 27th July, which says, that on that morning the French had commenced their retreat from that city; that Joseph Bonaparte had quitted Madrid, and had taken away every thing of value belonging to the court. Every Frenchman was following him, and they were taking the direction to Burgos.—The writer of the letter is nephew to a member of the junta of the Gallicias.

The entry into, and retreat of the would-be king of Spain from the capital of Madrid, afford a contrast at once striking and gratifying. With a parade blazoned forth in the foreign papers, Joseph Bonaparte enters Spain, his route is marked out with the utmost nicety; to-day at Bilboa, to-morrow at Victoria, on the 16th at Burgos, on the 20th at Madrid. Europe was desired to believe that this notice of his route was given, that the impatient Spaniards might be prepared to receive him with fêtes, with illuminations, and with all the pomp and circumstance which generally attend accessions. We were told, that clemency and affability were in his train,—he pardoned the guilty, he conversed with the utmost graciousness with the poorest of his new subjects; his march was described rather as the march of a monarch who had saved his country, and who, after some great and decisive victory, was returning in triumph to his capital, amid the thanks, the gratitude, and the benedictions of his people. He enters the capital on the 20th, and on the 27th he sneaks from it in the dead of the night with fear and trembling; he enters it with all the pride and retinue of an eastern sultan, and he is glad to depart with the court plate in his pocket to pay the expenses of his journey. On the Monday he exposes his august person to the eager view of the populace, and on the Saturday he is glad to take away his august person with all possible secrecy and dispatch: he enters Madrid as a powerful monarch, he quits it as a petty thief. Pride and insult accompany his arrival; fear and felony attend his departure. Such are the Bonapartes: if they cannot govern, they can steal; and if they are not permitted to play the parts of kings, they will content themselves with playing the parts of thieves.

Downing street, Aug. 16.

The following dispatch has been transmitted by lieut.-gen. sir Hew Dalrymple, K. B.

Head

Head Quarters, Andujar, July 21.

Sir, I had the honour to inform you, in my letter of the 17th July, that in a council of war held on that day at head-quarters, it was resolved that the division of the marquis de Coupigny should join that of major-general Reding, and that the attack upon Baylen should be undertaken with the united force of the two divisions, whilst the third division and the reserve should occupy the attention of the enemy by a feigned attack upon Andujar. Major-general Reding entered Baylen on the morning of the 18th, at nine; he met with little opposition. The enemy retreated towards La Carolina. The major-general wrote to the commander in chief for orders, either to advance against Andujar, or to pursue the column which was retiring upon La Carolina. General Castanos ordered him to advance upon Andujar without delay. On the 19th, at two A. M., the general received information of the retreat of the French from Andujar. Lieutenant-general Pena, with the reserve, was ordered to advance immediately towards Baylen. The French began their retreat at nine P. M. 18th July. A letter from general Reding informed the commander in chief that he intended commencing his march from Baylen towards Andujar at three A. M. 19th July. At two P. M. the advanced guard of general Pena's division came up with the enemy. At this moment an express arrived from major-gen. Reding, to inform the lieutenant-general that he had been engaged with the division of general Dupont from three in the morning till eleven; that he had repulsed the French, and remained master of the field of battle. The guns of the advanced guard of lieutenant-general Pena's division had scarcely begun to fire, when a flag of truce arrived to treat upon the terms of a capitulation. General Dupont was told he must surrender at discretion. The discussion did not last long. Lieutenant-general Pena halted, and formed his division upon the heights of Umbla, distant three miles from Baylen; between four and five general Casterick, aide-de-camp to Bonaparte, was sent by general Dupont with orders to treat with general Castanos in person. At nine P. M. major-general Reding informed the lieutenant-general, that during the truce he had been treacherously attacked by general Wedel, who was just come from La Carolina with a reinforcement of 6000 men; and that the battalion of Cordova had been surprised and taken prisoners, together with two field pieces. The negotiations lasted till the evening of the 20th, and the glorious result I have the honour to enclose, is as exact an account of the killed and wounded, on both sides, as I have been able to collect in the hurry of the moment. The French themselves acknowledge the bravery and steadiness of the Spanish troops; their firmness, constancy, and perseverance, under the greatest possible privations, are worthy of the admiration of the world, particularly when it is remembered that half the army is composed of new-raised levies.——The marquis Coupigny is detached with his division to take immediate possession of the passes of Sierra Morena. General Castanos deserves the highest praise for his well conceived plan, and for the cool determination with which he has carried it into execution, in spite of the popular clamour for an immediate attack on the position of Andujar.

—Whilst

—Whilst the negotiations were carried on, gen. Castanos received an intercepted dispatch from the duke of Rovego to Dupont, ordering him to retreat immediately upon Madrid, as the army of Gallicia was rapidly advancing. This determined the general to admit the capitulation of general Wedel.

French force:—Division of Dupont, 8000 rank and file; division of Wedel, 6000. Total 14,000. —Spanish force:—Reding, 9000; Coupigny, 5000; Pena, 6000; Jones, 5000. Total 25,000* — Nearly 3000 of the French killed and wounded. From 1000 to 1200 of the Spaniards killed and wounded.

Terms of capitulation.

The division of general Dupont prisoners of war. The division of general Wedel to deliver up their arms till their arrival at Cadiz, where they are to be embarked and conveyed to Rochefort. There no longer exists a French force in Andalusia.

S. Whittingham, 13th light dragoons.

N. B. The division of general Dupont is also to return to France by Rochefort.

Upon the first of August it was believed there was not a Frenchman remaining in the capital.

CURIOUS TRIAL.

The King v. *Shuttleworth.*

18. This was an indictment to procure the removal of a nuisance at Gainsborough, alleged to have been committed by the defendant, in improperly carrying on the business of a soap-boiler in a populous part of that town. The manufactory of the defendant was stated to have been in Caskgate-lane, where not only the business of a soap-boiler was carried on, but pans had been erected for boiling the refuse or lees of the manufactory, and extracting from them, by steam, a sort of salt, by a process which produced to the neighbouring inhabitants effects the most noisome and unwholesome that a tortured imagination could conceive.

Mr. Serjeant Vaughan, with great humour, detailed some of those effects. Nothing, he said, that depended upon the natural principle of respiration for existence, could endure the "abominable superlative sublimate of stench" with which the manufactory of the defendant invaded all around it; a tallow-chandler's melting-house in the dog-days was, in comparison, a nosegay, to which any man who had breathed in the air infected with the odour of these steaming-pans, would run five miles, with distended nostrils, to catch the fragrant gale. "But," said the learned serjeant, "I need not look for evidence beyond the enemy's camp, that this is a nuisance of the foulest cast. My learned friend, Mr. Balguy junior, who has been prudently retained on the other side, would himself be a sufficient witness to establish my client's case. Being lately at Gainsborough, on a day when this abominable operation was carrying on at the soap-manufactory, he sat down to dinner at an inn a considerable distance off; but the horrid stench pursued him like a ghost, and not a morsel of meat could he eat. It was in vain the poor tortured inhabitants of Gains-

* Of this total one half peasantry.

borough

borough had new doors and new window-frames, made to fit with the utmost nicety, in hopes of keeping out the invasive mist and stench: unless they would deprive themselves of the very principle of vitality, it was no way to be eluded. To be sure there were some advantages which they enjoyed, in return, of a very peculiar cast—they were in possession of a compendious recipe for transmuting metals—thus, if a person hung a silver watch at his bed's head at night, in the morning he was sure to find it changed to a gold one; and so with all the plate in the houses of those who resided within the range of this pestilence. Cask-gate-lane, since the defendant had made it an emporium of his processes, had, as well as the neighbouring streets, been a ruinous neighbourhood for any one in business. If the cabinet-maker exposed for sale furniture, fresh from the hands of the workmen, in a few days it assumed such a hue, from the fog of the soap-manufactory, that every customer accosted the poor shop-keeper with—"Well, Mr. Cabinet-maker, for second-hand goods you of course ask a second-hand price!" The poor barber could no how entice a customer to him, notwithstanding he shaved at a proper reduction of price, in consideration that every one that walked down his street came with his chin ready soaped; but unless the operator held his customer so hardly by the nose that the pain was intolerable, the latter was sure to fly from the maddening stench of the manufactory, and run, ready lathered, to a shop in some more felicitous district of the town."

The learned serjeant mentioned some other instances of the prejudicial effects of the nuisance; such as a boarding-school being shut up, meat rendered tainted, &c. Alluding to the evidence which would be adduced by his learned friends on the opposite side, he said, he understood this case was intended to be cut up by a Russian general and a Scots physician. He begged therefore to impress upon the jury that a nuisance in England would be a nuisance still, notwithstanding the Russians, whose delight was in a soup of train oil and tallow-graves, might think the thing delightful. He remembered an anecdote which would illustrate the Russian taste aptly for his purpose:—Some years ago, many accidents occurred in Edinburgh from the lamps of that elegant city being lighted, as was supposed, with a scanty quantity of oil, or with oil of a bad quality, in consequence of which they went out long before the return of the day. For a long while the remedy for this inconvenience baffled those whose duty it was to attend to the matter; at length, after trying a succession of lamp-lighters and contractors, it was discovered that the soldiers of a detachment of Russians, then quartered in Edinburgh, were the cause of this nocturnal darkness, and that they regularly swarmed the lamp-posts to feast upon the oil and cotton in the pans! Whether they took the trouble to extinguish the burning cotton, or swallowed fire and all, he could not tell!! In conclusion, he observed that there could be no evidence that the good people of Gainsborough should undergo purgation in this world for their sins, any more than the other liege subjects of the king; and if they were

to be allowed to breathe a wholesome air, this nuisance must be put down.

A witness, named Rashdall, was then called, who proved that last summer the stench was very much increased by the defendant evaporating lees at the manufactory, which had not used to be done by the former owners of it, Messrs. Taylor and Cowley. All summer the process was continued four or five days in a week, and sometimes day and night for a week without intermission. He lived near, and was often awakened in the night, as well as his family, by the abominable stench. His health had much declined in consequence.

In this stage of the cause the counsel for the defendant agreed to submit to a condition which had been insisted upon as a preliminary to a reference, and the defendant undertook to remove the evaporating-pans within two months. The other part of the alleged nuisance, the soap-manufactory itself, was left to be decided upon by the arbitrator.

CHARGE OF MURDER.

Guildford Assizes.

21.—William Pilkington was tried on an indictment, charging him with the wilful murder of Montague William Hyndes, at the Red Lion public-house, in the Maze, Southwark, on Friday se'nnight, by discharging a pistol laden with ball.

From the report of the coroner's inquest, it was stated that the prisoner, who married the daughter of the deceased, was alone with Hyndes in the parlour of the Red Lion public-house, when a pistol was discharged, which killed him. There were five witnesses called on the part of the prosecution, but none of them could prove how the act was committed. The only material evidence was the assertion of the deceased, from the time of his having been shot until he died, in which he varied very materially. After he had received the wound, he, in the utmost rage and agony, accused the prisoner of having committed pre-meditated murder, by pointed expressions, such as "You have killed the best of fathers—You pulled the fatal trigger," &c. It however appeared, that in the moments when death was fast approaching, the deceased imputed the shocking catastrophe to accident, as was stated by a material witness, Mr. Clark, surgeon, of Tooley-street. This witness proved, that Hyndes had died of his wound, and that on questioning him if the pistol had gone off in a struggle, he first said that the prisoner had pulled the trigger, and afterwards that it was an accident, as his son did not mean to kill him, he never had such an intention. It was proved on all hands, that the prisoner was much inebriated, and that his father and he lived on the most affectionate terms. From the evidence in general, it was certain that the deceased, who had been using persuasive arguments to get the prisoner home, attempted in a struggle to get the pistol he held in his hand from him, and also that from his pocket, and thus happened the fatal event. The prisoner made a very artless defence, in a way so truly penitent and distressing that tears of sympathy were flowing in every part of the court. He protested his wretchedness, and the sincere love he bore his father, whom he had for a length of time maintained,

maintained, and never once excited his anger. Had the pistol discharged its contents in his own body, it would have been desirable to a being so wretched as himself. The prisoner was so truly overwhelmed with grief, that he was unable to proceed.

After a humane charge from the lord chief baron, the jury returned a verdict of *Manslaughter*.

The judge passed sentence on the prisoner in a feeling manner. He observed that his situation was truly pitiable, and he hoped that the tears of sympathy shed in the court for his situation, would prevent men from carrying firearms about them, and particularly those given to drunkenness and dissolute habits. Public justice required that the extent of punishment for manslaughter should be inflicted in this instance, as the idea of carrying loaded pistols was monstrous, and the most dangerous thing to society. The prisoner was sentenced to be imprisoned twelve months.

24.—A London gazette extraordinary contains dispatches received from admiral Keats, dated the 13th inst., off the island of Sproe, in the Great Belt. They state, that the Spanish troops in the island of Fuhnen, under the command of the marquis de la Romana, "though surrounded," as the gallant admiral observes, "by hostile battalions, planted their colours in the centre of a circle they formed, and swore on their knees to be faithful to their country." All were equally anxious of returning to it. But one regiment in Jutland was too distant and too critically situated to effect its escape; and two in Zealand (after having fired on the French general Frision, who harangued them in favour of king Joseph, and killed one of his aides-de-camp) were disarmed."

On the 9th inst. the marquis of Romana, with 6000 troops, took possession of the town of Nybourg, in the island of Fuhnen, and was joined on the day of his embarkation by 1000 more from Jutland; and another 1000 had been sent to strengthen the existing Spanish position at Langeland; so that, including this last force, said to be 2500, here are certainly 10,500 brave men restored to their country, or at least rescued from the tyranny of its scourge.

What could be so sublimely impressive, as the spectacle of this band of Spanish patriots, who, when called upon by their perfidious oppressors to desert their allegiance, and transfer it to an usurper, planted their colours, threw themselves on their knees, and, with eyes attesting the Almighty, swore to be faithful to their king and country! Such was their proud attitude, though relegated in a distant land, and surrounded by hostile and barbarous battalions ready to devour them! What a splendid triumph for patriotism and loyalty!—What an affecting and instructing scene for sovereigns and subjects!—What a striking example! What a salutary lesson for other nations!—There they may learn, that no human force can break a resolution inspired on such motives—no face of peril appall a courage that is kindled from above!

What a damning contrast is here furnished between the heroism of the Spanish people, and the abject baseness of those that would enslave them! On one side we are attracted to admire truth, modera-

tion, manliness, generosity, patriotism, and loyalty; on the other, we have to loathe falsehood, violence, malignity, hypocrisy, and servility to the meanest tyrant that ever trampled on the necks of men. At one moment we are reading the authentic account of the undaunted spirit and strenuous efforts with which the Spanish troops have braved the tyrant's threats, and eluded his iron grasp: at the next we find the basely lying assertion (in the French and Dutch papers), that these brave men have taken the oath of allegiance to the usurper with every demonstration of enthusiastic loyalty.

King Joseph Bonaparte appointed a new constitution for his late subjects of Naples, which has been formally guarantied by his brother Napoleon.

The grand duke of Berg (Murat) was proclaimed king of Naples on the first instant.—Should the princess Caroline, his wife, and sister to Napoleon, survive her consort, she is to succeed to the throne. The new king has commenced his reign with issuing a proclamation, in which he declares his intention to abide by the constitution promulgated by his predecessor, king Joseph, and guarantied by Napo-

COURT MARTIAL.

26.—At a general court martial held at Weeley, on the 8th of July last, and continued by adjournment to the 3d of August following, on capt. John George Hallilay, of the 10th regiment of foot, for bringing different charges against some officers of the same regiment, and talking disrespectfully of them, particularly of colonel Newman, the commanding officer,—the prisoner was found guilty of part of the charges, and the sentence of the court was, that he should be suspended from rank and pay for the space of three months. His majesty has been pleased to confirm the sentence of the court, but from various considerations of the conduct of the prosecutor, lieut.-colonel Newman, he has commanded that it should be signified to lieut.-colonel Newman, that he does not consider him to be a fit person to command the 2d battalion of the 10th regiment, and that he will be immediately removed from it; and as it appears the officers who composed the mess of the 2d battalion of the 10th regiment did not behave in a becoming manner towards captain Hallilay, his majesty has been pleased to order that it should be intimated to those officers that their promotion should for the present be suspended. His majesty has been also pleased to signify, that he does not consider captain Hallilay a proper person to remain longer in the 10th regiment, and that he will be immediately removed from it.

The sentence of the court martial which tried the generals who signed the capitulation of the surrender of Copenhagen to the English has been made public. Generals Pyeman and Bielfeld are adjudged to suffer death, and gen. Watterdorff to be banished. The sentence of death was commuted to that of banishment.

New South Wales.

The Dart is arrived from New South Wales, with accounts of some disturbances having taken place in that settlement. Governor Bligh has, it is said, been arrested and sent home in confinement.

The

The following proclamation was issued by the lieut.-governor:—

GEORGE JOHNSTON.—The public peace being happily, and I trust in Almighty God permanently established, I hereby proclaim the cessation of martial law. I have this day appointed magistrates and other public functionaries, from among the most respectable officers and inhabitants, which will, I hope, secure the impartial administration of justice, according to the laws of England, as secured to us by the patent of our most gracious sovereign. Words cannot too strongly convey my approbation of the behaviour of the whole body of people on the late memorable event. By their manly, firm, and orderly conduct, they have shown themselves deserving of that protection which I have felt it my duty to give them, and which, I doubt not, they will continue to merit. In future no man shall have just cause to complain of violence, injustice, or oppression:—no free man shall be taken, imprisoned, or deprived of his house, land, or liberty, but by the law. Justice shall be impartially administered, without regard to, or respect of, persons; and every man shall enjoy the fruits of his industry in security.

Soldiers!—Your conduct has endeared you to every well-disposed inhabitant in this settlement! Persevere in the same honourable path, and you will establish the credit of the New South Wales Corps on a basis not to be shaken.

God save the king.

By command of his honour,
the lieut.-governor,
NICH. BAYLY, secretary.

Head-quarters, Sidney,
Jan. 23, 1808.

Private letters from Sidney Cove state, that major Johnston was induced to adopt the strong measure of securing the person of governor Bligh, as well to exempt him from danger, as to avert the popular tumults which threatened to break out every moment. The governor, these letters say, at first determined to resist the intention of major Johnston to arrest him; and, being dressed in full uniform, waited, sword in hand, to receive him; but before the former arrived, governor Bligh had concealed himself; and after an hour's search was found under a bed, from which he was dragged by the heels. Major Johnston immediately issued a proclamation to quiet the minds of the people; and it is said that the inhabitants of the settlement were so much rejoiced at the event which had happened, that a general illumination took place for three nights.

LANCASTER ASSIZES.

John Angus, esq. of Liverpool, was put to the bar on the charge of murdering miss Margaret Burns, his sister-in-law.—Mr. serjeant Cockell, for the prosecution, stated, that the prisoner had married the deceased's sister, who died about three years ago, leaving two children, and that the deceased had continued to live with the prisoner in the capacity of housekeeper. Her neighbours suspected her of being pregnant for some time previous to her decease, and no medical man had attended her until the melancholy circumstance occurred.—Elizabeth Nixon house-maid to the prisoner at the time the deceased expired, was called upon as principal evidence: she said the deceased was suddenly taken ill on the 23d of March, and died on the 25th. She was troubled with a constant vomiting and a complaint in the bowels,

whilst her disorder continued, but refused every assistance from the witness and other servants.—The prisoner alone attended her. When the witness discovered that the deceased was dead, she had some difficulty in awakening the prisoner, who was wrapped in a counterpane in an easy chair, and seemed fast asleep in the same room. On her cross-examination, she said, that she did not observe any appearance of the deceased having been delivered of a child.—Several females confirmed the testimony of this witness, but they suspected the deceased to have been pregnant for some months previous to her decease. It was proved that the deceased had an aversion to the attendance of medical persons.—The trial lasted till past three o'clock in the morning, when the prisoner was *acquitted*.

John Shepherd, John Rhodes, Joseph Sutcliffe, and John Turner, were indicted for having, with divers persons unknown, riotously assembled at Rochdale, and burnt the prison on the 1st of June.—John Kershaw deposed that at noon on the 1st day of June, the town was extremely agitated by the entrance of a most alarming mob to the number of about two hundred, which was increased in the course of the day to about one thousand. Dr. Drake and Mr. Entwisele, magistrates, came into the town and addressed the mob in the most mild and persuasive language, to endeavour to prevail on them to disperse. They behaved very civilly and respectfully to the magistrates, but refused to disperse. The magistrates, in consequence, went to the house where they usually transact their business, and swore in the witness and about 200 others, special constables. Two-thirds of them were, in the course of the day and night, maimed or bruised by stones being thrown at them, and other violence exercised towards them. The rioters entered the peaceable weavers' houses, and forcibly took away their shuttles. The special constables succeeded in securing some shuttles from the rioters, and deposited them in prison for safety, and they took five or six of the rioters before the magistrates; but as they were conveying them to the prison, they were rescued. The windows of the room where the magistrates were sitting were broken with large stones. The magistrates remained in the town till seven o'clock. At their departure the prisoners and others of the mob pulled off their hats to them, and behaved respectfully. Soon after the magistrates were gone they behaved in a very outrageous manner. They attacked the prison, set it on fire, and contrived to demolish it so much, that it is now merely ruinous walls.

The above evidence was corroborated by several other witnesses.

There being considerable doubts as to Rhodes and Sutcliffe, Mr. Park in the most candid and liberal manner acknowledged it; and said, from the discretionary power vested in him on the part of the crown, he should give up the prosecution against them.—The jury found Shepherd *Guilty*.

Joshua Heard was indicted under lord Ellenborough's act, charged with having cut, maimed, and wounded with a knife, Alice Heard, of Great Bolton. It appeared, that about ten years since the prosecutrix was married to a man of the name of Barlow, who inlisted for a soldier: he was sent abroad, and she did not hear from him for eight years, and she thought him dead; she

she therefore married the prisoner. In the beginning of last March, John Barlow, her first husband, came to the prosecutrix, who therefore refused to cohabit with the prisoner any longer, and took to her first husband. After he had returned to his regiment, the prisoner applied to the prosecutrix to live with him again; she, however, refused. On the 23d of April the prisoner followed the prosecutrix on the road leading from Bolton, and gave her a violent blow on her head, which knocked her into a ditch; he then got upon her, with a knife in his hand, and succeeded in cutting her left cheek open, from her mouth to her ear.—*Guilty.*

MIDDLESEX MEETING.

30. A meeting of the freeholders of this great county was held at the Mermaid, Hackney. The business being opened by Mr. sheriff Smith,

Major Cartwright rose, and stated that, as one of the persons who had signed the requisition to the sheriffs, he had thought himself bound to draw up some resolutions for the approbation of the meeting. His only object was the good of the country and mankind.

The major here took an animated view of the present situation of Spain, highly praising the exertions of government to assist that magnanimous nation in throwing off its chains.

The hon. mover could not refrain from calling the attention of the meeting to the remarkable similarity which existed between this country and Spain. Spain was a peninsula—we were an island. Spain was separated from France by hills—we by a channel, which in particular circumstances might be as easily passed. They had their cortez—we had our house of commons. They had achieved their late exploits by their armed inhabitants—we owed the liberties we enjoyed to our *posse comitatûs*, the best model for ensuring the liberties and prosperity of a nation which the world ever saw. It was impossible for us too strongly to inculcate into the minds of our brave allies in Spain what we ourselves knew to be the true principles of freedom, prosperity, and safety;—Liberty, and arms in the hands of the people! These were the only means by which a nation could be defended against such a power as France. Since Bonaparte had taken on him to dictate to the Spanish nation, he had given them a constitution which would not be unworthy the perusal of many gentlemen in the present meeting. In one clause their cortez were secured to them, but in many instances 300,000 were to be represented by one man, and the whole nation by 36. These, again, were to meet at least once in three years; but this was to be at the pleasure of the king. They were not to be at liberty to make any of their proceedings public; if promulgated, the person disclosing them was to be punished as if he had been guilty of causing an insurrection. Our cortez, the honourable mover confessed, needed mending; but, he trusted, we would keep the mending of it in our own hands, and would never allow Bonaparte to interfere in so sacred, yet so necessary a work. On this head, therefore, he should move a petition to the house of commons, convinced that the two nations could not do mutual good to each unless they strengthened themselves. Freedom and arms were the only means of doing so. These could only be secured by a fair re-

presentation of the people, and by the *posse comitatûs* which we had enjoyed for a thousand years, having been handed down to us from the immortal Alfred. As the honourable mover began with thanking the king for his exertions in behalf of the Spaniards, so should he end with moving an address of thanks to him.

He then moved the resolutions severally; and they were seconded by Mr. Holt White. The first six were as follows; and they were adopted unanimously, after a slight amendment to the third, proposed by Mr. Mellish, one of the representatives for the county, and cheerfully acquiesced in by the honourable mover.

1st, That for aiding the Spanish patriots the king is entitled to the gratitude of mankind.

2dly, That a people who will fight for their liberties are alone worthy of the friendship of a free nation.

3dly, That to have found such allies is an event peculiarly gratifying.

4thly, That we ardently desire to see reestablished in Spain the antient government of a king and an independent cortez, so balanced as to secure their national liberties.

5thly, That in the grand example of Spain is seen how a nation is to be defended, and how Europe is to be delivered.

6thly, That what has been lost to the sacred cause of human liberty, by the levity, the vices, and excesses of France, since from that she departed, we trust may be regained by the gravity, the virtues, and the moderation of Spain.

LOTTERIES.

The committee of the house of commons appointed to inquire how far the evils attending lotteries have been remedied by the laws passed respecting the same, have, in their first report, come to six resolutions, the substance of which follows:

1st, It is their opinion, that, in case it shall be thought expedient to continue state lotteries, they should be limited to two yearly, of not more than 30,000 tickets each; that the days of drawing should be eight instead of ten; and that the number of tickets to be drawn should be kept secret till the close of the drawing each day, care being taken that too many shall not be left to be drawn on the latter days.

2dly, That no person should be permitted to deal in lottery tickets, except those who take out a license, and their agents.

3dly, That to prevent persons setting up lottery offices, as a cloak for carrying on illegal insurances, no person should be entitled to a license unless he shared one hundred and fifty tickets, instead of thirty, the present number.

4thly, That lottery offices should not be permitted to do business before eight o'clock in the morning, or after eight o'clock in the evening.

5thly, That the practice of illuminating lottery offices, for outside show, exhibiting lottery bills and schemes upon boards, carts, or carriages, in town or country, should be subjected, on conviction, to a considerable penalty, or the party imprisoned for a limited period.

6thly, That the exemption of lottery office keepers from the jurisdiction of justices of the peace and police magistrates should be discontinued as inexpedient.

The committee, in their second report, say, that the foundation of the lottery is radically vicious, and that parliament cannot adopt any system

system of regulations to make it an efficient source of revenue, and at the same time divest it of all the evils and calamities of which it has hitherto proved so baneful a source. All the punishments inflicted by the statutes upon offenders against the lottery act, fall only on the ignorant and the destitute, while the wealthy offenders hold them in utter contempt. The effects of the lottery, even under its present restrictions, viz. idleness, dissipation, and poverty, have materially increased; sacred and confidential trusts are betrayed; domestic comfort is destroyed; madness is often created; crimes subjecting the perpetrators of them to the punishment of death; and even suicide itself, are committed, as fully appear by evidence submitted to the committee. Such fatal attendants upon state lotteries, this committee are afraid, will always continue, so long as state lotteries are permitted to exist. The committee conclude with their opinion, that the money paid to government by the contractors is not equivalent to the distress occasioned to many persons, ultimately forced to apply for parochial relief.

THE POPE'S PROTEST.

The pope has published a very long and energetic protest against the usurpations of Bonaparte, and his unprincipled attacks on the holy see, particularly the decree of spoliation of the pope's temporal states, and the other decree, which enjoins all cardinals, prelates, and officers, holding any employment at the court of Rome, who are natives of Italy, to return, under the penalty of their whole property in case of disobedience. Therefore his holiness protests against a law, which spares not even distinguished ecclesiastics, chosen to assist him in his labours for the church of God. His holiness at the same time strongly protests, in the face of all the earth, against the usurpation of his states. He solemnly declares it to be unjust, vain, void, and of no avail; and that it can never truly affect the imprescriptible and legitimate rights of sovereignty and possession of his holiness and successors for ever; and if force shall deprive him of its possession, he is determined to maintain the integrity of his rights, because the holy see can recover the real possession, when it may please the true and faithful God, who fights for justice, and who hath inscribed on his garments and forehead the King of Kings and Lord of Lords.

SEPTEMBER.

An account of the attack on the person of Ann Izzard, for the supposed crime of witchcraft; and the circumstances which led to it.

In the afternoon of Wednesday the seventeenth of February last, Alice Brown, a young woman of Great Paxton, imprudently ventured to cross the ice which then covered the surface of the Ouse. A thaw of some hours had rendered the ice unsafe, and she had not walked many yards upon it, before it gave way, and let her into the river. From this perilous situation she providentially extricated herself, and reached the opposite bank, where her friend Fanny Amey, scarcely less terrified than herself at what had happened, stood anxiously waiting for her. Shivering and frightened she hastened to her father's house, about a quarter of a mile from the river, and almost as soon as she entered was seized with

with a strong epileptic fit. Fanny Amey had been subject to epilepsy for several months previous to this period, and therefore it is not at all surprising that she should be sympathetically affected, and fall into similar convulsions.

Alice Brown did not speedily get over the effects of her fright: her distressing fits returned at short intervals, and disqualified her for every kind of work; indeed she was so much reduced by them, that her friends began to despair of her recovery. The clergyman, inquiring after the state of her health on the 5th of April, was astonished and grieved to hear from her brother, that her fits, weakness, and dejection, were ascribed to the effect of witchcraft. "She is under an ill tongue," said the youth. "As sure as you are alive, sir," continued a man who stood by, "she is bewitched; and so are two other girls that live near her. There is a man in the town I come from in Bedfordshire, who was exactly like Alice Brown—he could do no work, lost all his strength, and was wasting away very fast, when a person told him what was the matter with him, and how he might be cured. He filled a bottle with a particular kind of a fluid, stuffed the cork both top and bottom with pins, set it carefully in an oven of a moderate heat, and then observed a profound silence. In a few minutes the charm succeeded; for he saw a variety of forms flitting before his eyes, and amongst the rest the perfect resemblance of an old woman who lived in the same parish. This was what he wanted—he was now satisfied who it was that had injured him, and that her reign would soon be over. The woman whose figure he saw died in a few days, and the man immediately recovered. Thomas Brown tried this charm last night for his daughter; and though a strange noise was distinctly heard twice by his wife, who was in bed with the poor girl, it did not succeed according to our wishes: so they have not at present found out, who it is that does all the mischief."

"Shocked," says the writer, "at this man's absurdity and superstition, but infinitely more so to understand it was the general opinion of the people, that Alice Brown, Fanny Amey, and Mary Fox, were certainly bewitched by some person who had purchased a familiar or an evil spirit of the devil, at the expense of his own soul; and that a variety of charms and experiments had been tried to discover who it was—

"When the public service of the day was over, I called on Fanny Amey and Alice Brown. It was not in my power to judge from the countenance of the former that any thing was the matter with her; she was perfectly collected, and looked the picture of health. Alice Brown was asleep in bed, and therefore I did not see her. At both houses I endeavoured to explain to the relations and friends of the young women, that it was an utter impossibility for one human creature to injure the health of another by any invisible and preternatural process,—entreated them to discountenance notions so wild and irrational, and begged them to try other means than senseless charms to recover their children.

"A few minutes before I went into church on the following Sunday, Ann Izzard, a poor woman of Great Paxton, requested leave to speak with me. She is a little woman, about sixty years of age, and by no means ill-looking; she

has had eight children; five are now living. In tears, and greatly agitated, she told me, her neighbours pretended they had discovered by means of certain charms that she was a witch, and blamed her for the fits and illness of Alice Brown, Fanny Amey, and Mary Fox: she said, they threatened to punish her, abused her children, and frightened her so much that she frequently dropped on the ground in fainting fits; and concluded with asserting her innocence in these words:—*I am not a witch, and am willing to prove it by being weighed against the church Bible.*"

After the sermon, the clergyman addressed the congregation upon the subject, pointed out the folly of their opinions, the fatal consequences which might result from brooding over them, and tried to persuade them, that, although they might be weak enough to suppose there was no harm in laying violent hands on a woman they madly called a witch, yet the laws of their country would view their conduct in a very different light.

But the mania had taken full possession of them, and was only to be cured or restrained by the powerful arm of the law.

On Thursday, the fifth of May, Ann Izzard was at St. Neots market; and it so happened that her son, about sixteen years old, was sent the same day to St. Neots, by his master, Mr. John Bidwell, a respectable farmer of Great Paxton, for a load of corn. Mr. Bidwell and his wife have been the steady friends of Ann Izzard in her affliction. They have been very instrumental in keeping her from the horrors of despair. Instead of being commended, however, they have been abused and pointed at for their humanity.

When the lad returned, his mother and another woman accompanied him. Contrary to the better advice of her neighbour, the latter insisted upon putting a basket of grocery upon the top of the sacks of corn. One of the horses which drew the cart was young and unmanageable, and in going down the hill which leads into the village of Paxton, by his plunging and restiveness, overturned it. By this unfortunate accident, the shopkeeper's grocery was materially damaged; and because Ann Izzard had repeatedly advised her not to put the basket upon the sacks, she charged her with overturning the cart by means of her infernal art, on purpose to spoil her goods. It will scarcely be credited, that in an hour after, the whole parish was in an uproar: "She has just overturned a loaded cart, with as much ease as if it had been a spinning-wheel," was echoed from one end of it to the other. Men, women and children raised their voices, and exclaimed, "We have now proof positive of her guilt—this last act in open day speaks for itself—she is the person that does all the mischief, and if something is not done to put a stop to her baseness, there will be no living in the place."—Nor did this extraordinary fit of phrensy terminate till they had made two attacks upon her, which, atrocious as they must appear to every rational person, are considered by themselves as not only justifiable, but highly meritorious.

A considerable number of people assembled together, as it grew dark on Sunday evening the eighth of May, and taking with them the young women ridiculously supposed to be bewitched, about ten o'clock proceeded to the cottage of Wright Izzard, which stands alone, at some distance from the body

body of the village. When they arrived at this solitary spot, so favourable for the execution of their villanous designs, they broke into the poor man's house, dragged his wife out of bed, and threw her naked into the yard; where her arms were torn with pins, her head was dashed against the large stones of the causeway, and her face, stomach and breast were severely bruised with a thick stick that served as a bar to the door. Having thus satiated themselves, the mob dispersed. The woman then crawled into her house, put her clothes on, and went to the constable, who said, "He could not protect her, because he was not sworn." The humanity, protection, and assistance, which she could not find at the constable's, very happily for herself, she found under the roof of a poor widow. The compassionate and honest Alice Russel unlocked her door at the first call, wrapped up her neighbour's bleeding arms with the nicest linen rags she had, affectionately sympathized with and comforted her, and gave her a bed. But, with the deepest grief, it must be mentioned, that the compassion and kindness of this poor woman were the means of shortening her days. "The protectors of a witch are just as bad as the witch, and deserve the same treatment," cried the infatuated populace the next morning. The envenomed shaft flew direct to its mark,—and the widow Russel neither ate nor slept again. She who had exhibited during life many proofs of her punctuality, fidelity, and honesty, died, a martyr to fear and apprehension, on Friday the twentieth of May.

In the evening of Monday the ninth of May, Ann Izzard was a second time dragged out of her house, and a second time were her arms torn with pins till they streamed afresh with blood. Alive the next morning, and apparently likely to survive this attack also, her enemies resolved to have her ducked, as soon as the labour of the day was over. On hearing this, she hastily quitted her home, and took refuge in a neighbouring village, where their inhumanity and malevolence could not reach her.

At the assizes for the county of Huntingdon, on Monday Aug. 8, 1808, a bill of indictment was preferred against Joseph Harper, James Staughton, Thomas Braybrook, Mary Amey, Fanny Amey, and Alice Brown, for an assault on the persons of Wright Izzard and Ann Izzard, of Great Paxton, in the night of Sunday May 8th, 1808.

Another bill of indictment was preferred against Edward Briers, James Staughton, Mary Hook, and Mary Fox, for an assault on the same persons in the evening of Monday, May 9th. The same were found true bills by the grand jury. The indictments were then traversed, and the offending parties bound over to keep the peace, and to appear at the next assizes at Huntingdon.

This transaction being so very extraordinary, we did not choose to copy it from the newspapers of the day, which must, in general, be the common source whence the "Public Occurrences" for an Annual Register can be obtained. Animadversions having been made on a fact recorded in our last volume, by a flippant writer, in a very respectable periodical work, calls for this notice. The writer of those animadversions, and the gentleman who replied to them, will see that in this instance, at least, we have been cautious in trusting to unauthenticated sources,—that we have waited for the publication

of the clergyman of the place, who has treated the subject with candour, but with becoming indignation; and who, besides the narrative to which we have been indebted for the above account, has published an excellent discourse which he preached on the occasion:—to this we gladly refer our readers. See a Sermon against Witchcraft; with a brief Account of the Circumstances which led to two atrocious Attacks on the Person of Ann Izzard as a reputed Witch. By the Rev. Isaac Nicholson.

LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY, SEPTEMBER 3.

Downing-street, Sept. 2.

The following dispatches were last night received from lieut.-gen. sir H. Burrard and lieut.-gen. sir A. Wellesley, dated from head-quarters at Lourinha, brought by capt. Campbell, aide-de-camp to sir A. Wellesley, addressed to lord viscount Castlereagh, one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state.

Extract of a letter from lieut.-gen. sir A. Wellesley, dated Head-quarters at Caldas, Aug. 16.

I marched from Lyria on the 13th, and arrived at Ahobaca on the 19th, which place the enemy had abandoned in the preceding night: and I arrived here yesterday. The enemy, about 4000 in number, were posted about 10 miles from hence, at Borica; and they occupied Brilos, about three miles from hence, with their advanced posts. As the possession of this last village was important to our future operations, I determined to occupy it; and as soon as the British infantry arrived upon the ground, I directed that it might be occupied by a detachment, consisting of four companies of riflemen of the 60th and 95th regiments. The enemy, consisting of a small piquet of infantry and a few cavalry, made a trifling resistance, and retired; but they were followed by a detachment of our riflemen to the distance of three miles from Brilos. The riflemen were then attacked by a superior body of the enemy, who attempted to cut them off from the main body of the detachment to which they belonged, which had now advanced to their support; larger bodies of the enemy appeared on both the flanks of the detachment, and it was with difficulty that major-gen. Spencer, who had gone out to Œbidos, when he had heard that the riflemen had advanced in pursuit of the enemy, was enabled to effect a retreat to that village. They have since remained in possession of it, and the enemy have entirely retired from the neighbourhood. In this little affair of the advanced posts, which was occasioned solely by the eagerness of the troops in pursuit of the enemy, I am concerned to add, that lieut. Bunbury, of the 2d battalion of the 95th, was killed, and the hon. capt. Pakenham wounded, but slightly; and we have lost 1 rank and file killed, 5 wounded, and 21 missing.

Head Quarters, at Villa Verde, Aug. 17.

My lord, The French general Laborde having continued in his position at Roleia since my arrival at Caldas on the 15th instant, I determined to attack him in it this morning. Roleia is situated on an eminence, having a plain in its front, at the end of a valley, which commences at Caldas, and is closed to the southward by mountains, which join the hills, forming the valley on the left, looking from

Caldas.

Caldas. In the centre of the valley, and about eight miles from Roleia, is the town and old Moorish fort of Œbidos, from whence the enemy's picquets had been driven on the 15th; and from that time he had posts in the hills on both sides of the valley, as well as in the plain in front of his army, which was posted on the heights in front of Roleia, its right resting upon the hills, its left upon an eminence, on which was a windmill, and the whole covering four or five passes into the mountains in his rear. I have reason to believe that his force consisted of at least 6000 men, of which above 500 were cavalry, with five pieces of cannon; and there was some reason to believe that gen. Loison, who was at Rio Major yesterday, would join gen. Laborde by his right in the course of the night. The plan of attack was formed accordingly; and the army, having broken up from Caldas this morning, was formed into three columns; the right, consisting of 1200 Portuguese infantry and 50 Portuguese cavalry, destined to turn the enemy's left, and penetrate into the mountains in his rear; the left, consisting of major-gen. Ferguson's and brig.-gen. Bowes's brigades of infantry, three companies of riflemen, a brigade of light artillery, and 20 British and 20 Portuguese cavalry, was destined, under the command of major.-gen. Ferguson, to ascend the hills at Œbidos, to turn all the enemy's posts on the left of the valley, as well as the right of his post at Roleia: this corps was also destined to watch the motions of gen. Loison, on the enemy's right, who I had heard had moved from Rio Major towards Alcoentre last night. The centre column, consisting of major-gen. Hill's, brig.-gen. Nightingale's, brig.-gen. Craufurd's and brig.-gen. Fane's brigades, (with the exception of the riflemen detached with major-gen. Ferguson,) and 400 Portuguese light infantry, the British and Portuguese cavalry, a brigade of 9-pounders and a brigade of 6-pounders, were destined to attack gen. Laborde's position in front. The columns being formed, the troops moved from Œbidos about seven in the morning. Brig.-gen. Fane's riflemen were immediately detached into the hills on the left of the valley, to keep up the communication between the centre and left columns, and to protect the march of the former along the valley; and the enemy's posts were successively driven in. Major-gen. Hill's brigade, formed in three columns of battalions, moved on the right of the valley, supported by the cavalry, in order to attack the enemy's left; and brig.-generals Nightingale and Craufurd moved with the artillery along the high road, until at length the former formed in the plain, immediately in the enemy's front, supported by the light infantry companies, and the 45th regiment of brig.-gen. Craufurd's brigade, while the two other regiments of this brigade (the 50th and 91st), and half of the 9-pounder brigade, were kept as a reserve in the rear. Major-gen. Hill and brig.-gen. Nightingale advanced upon the enemy's position, and at the same moment brig.-gen. Fane's riflemen were in the hills on his right; the Portuguese infantry in a village upon his left; and major-gen. Ferguson's column was descending from the heights into the plain. From this situation the enemy retired by the passes in the mountains with

with the utmost regularity and the greatest celerity; and, notwithstanding the rapid advances of the British infantry, the want of a sufficient body of cavalry was the cause of his suffering but little loss in the plain. It was then necessary to make a disposition to attack the formidable position which he had taken up. Brig.-gen. Fane's riflemen were already in the mountains on his right, and no time was lost in attacking the different passes, as well to support the riflemen as to defeat the enemy completely.—The Portuguese infantry were ordered to move up a pass on the right of the whole; the light companies of major-gen. Hill's brigade and the 15th regiment moved up a pass next on the right; and the 29th regiment, supported by the 9th, under brig.-gen. Nightingale, a third pass; and the 45th and 82d regiments passes on the left. These passes were all difficult of access, and some of them were well defended by the enemy, particularly that which was attacked by the 29th and 9th regiments. These regiments attacked with the greatest impetuosity, and reached the enemy before those whose attacks were to be made on their flanks: the defence of the enemy was desperate, and it was in this attack principally that we sustained the loss which we have to lament, particularly of that gallant officer the hon. lieut.-col. Lake, who distinguished himself on this occasion.—The enemy was, however, driven from all the positions he had taken in the passes of the mountains, and our troops were advanced in the plains on their tops. For a considerable length of time the 29th and 9th regiments alone were advanced to this point, with brig.-gen. Fane's riflemen at a distance on the left, and they were afterwards supported by the 5th regiment, and by the light companies of major-gen. Hill's brigade, which had come up on their right; and by the other troops ordered to ascend the mountains, who came up by degrees. The enemy here made three most gallant attacks upon the 29th and 9th regiments, supported, as I have above stated, with a view to cover the retreat of his defeated army; in all of which he was, however, repulsed; but he succeeded in effecting his retreat in good order, owing principally to my want of cavalry, and, secondly, to the difficulty of bringing up the passes of the mountain, with celerity, a sufficient number of troops, and of cannon, to support those which had first ascended. The loss of the enemy has, however, been very great; and he left three pieces of cannon in our hands. I cannot sufficiently applaud the conduct of the troops throughout this action. The enemy's positions were formidable, and he took them up with his usual ability and celerity, and defended them most gallantly. But I must observe, that although we had such a superiority of numbers employed in the operations of this day, the troops actually engaged in the heat of the action were, from unfavourable circumstances, only the 5th, 9th, 29th, the riflemen of the 95th and 60th, and the flank companies of major-gen. Hill's brigade, being a number by no means equal to that of the enemy: their conduct, therefore, deserves the highest commendation.—I cannot avoid to take this opportunity of expressing my acknowledgements for the aid and support I received from all the general and other officers of this army. I am particularly indebted to major-gen. Spencer for the advice and assistance I received

received from him, to major-gen. Ferguson for the manner in which he led the left column, and to major-general Hill, and brig.-generals Nightingale and Fane, for the manner in which they conducted the different attacks which they led. I derived most material assistance also from lieutenant-colonel Tucker and lieutenant-colonel Bathurst in the offices of deputy adjutant, and deputy quarter-master-general, and from the officers of the staff employed under them. I must also mention that I had every reason to be satisfied with the artillery under lieutenant-colonel Robe.—I have the honour to transmit herewith a return of killed, wounded, and missing. ARTHUR WELLESLEY.

Officers killed, wounded, and missing, on the 17th of August.—General staff: capt. K. J. Bradford, 3d regiment guards, dep. assist. adj. gen., killed.—Artillery: capt. H. Geary, killed.—Engineers, capt. H. Elphinstone, badly wounded.—5th foot: major Emes, slightly wounded; lieut. Doyle, wounded.—9th foot: lieut.-col. Stuart, severely wounded; major Molle, capt. Sankey, and ensign Nichols, wounded.—29th foot: lieut.-col. the hon. G. A. F. Lake, killed; majors G. Way, and T. Egerson; capts. P. Hodge, and A. Patison; lieuts. R. Birmingham, St. John, W. Lucas, and R. Stannus, wounded: capt. G. Tod; lieuts. W. Birmingham, A Newbold, and T. Langton, missing.—6th foot: capt. J. Curry, slightly wounded.—45th foot: ensign Dawson, killed; lieut. Burke, slightly wounded.—82d foot: lieut. R. Reid, dangerously wounded.—60th foot: lieut. Kiety, ensign Dawes, and adj. De Gilso, slightly wounded.—95th foot: capt. Creagh, and lieuts. Hill and Cortman, slightly wounded.

Abstract of the above return.—4 officers killed; 20 officers wounded; 4 officers missing; 3 non-commissioned officers and drummers wounded; 2 non-commisioned officers and drummers missing; 63 rank and file killed; 295 rank and file wounded; 68 rank and file missing; 1 horse killed; 2 horses wounded.—Total officers, non-commissioned officers, rank and file, and horses, killed, wounded, and missing, 482.

G. B. TUCKER, dep. adj.-gen.

Head Quarters, at Lourinha, Aug. 18.

My lord, Since I wrote to you last night, I have heard from brig.-gen. Anstruther, that he is on the coast of Piniche, with the fleet of victuallers and store-ships, in charge of capt. Bligh, of the Alfred, with a part of the force detached from England under brig.-general Ackland, in consequence of the receipt of orders which I had left at Mondego bay for gen. Ackland, which he had opened. I have ordered brig.-gen. Anstruther to land immediately; and I have moved to this place, in order to protect his landing, and facilitate his junction. Gen. Loison joined gen. Laborde in the course of last night at Torres Vedras; and I understand that both began their march towards Lisbon this morning. I also hear that gen. Junot has arrived this day at Torres Vedras, with a small corps from Lisbon; and I conclude that the whole of the French army will be assembled between Torres Vedras and the capital in the course of a few days.

ARTHUR WELLESLEY.

Head Quarters, Maceira, Aug. 21.

My lord, The report which I have the honour to enclose to your lordship, made at my request by lieut.-gen. sir A. Wellesley, conveys information

formation which cannot but prove highly gratifying to his majesty.—On my landing this morning, I found that the enemy's attack had already commenced, and I was fortunate enough to reach the field of action in time to witness and approve of every disposition that had been and was afterwards made by sir A. Wellesley, his comprehensive mind furnishing a ready resource in every emergency, and rendering it quite unnecessary to direct any alteration.—I am happy on this occasion to bear testimony to the great spirit and good conduct displayed by all the troops composing this gallant army in this well-contested action. I send this dispatch by capt. Campbell, aide-de-camp to sir A. Wellesley, no person being better qualified to give your lordship information.

HARRY BURRARD, lieut.-gen.

Sir, *Vimiera, Aug.* 21.

I have the honour to report to you, that the enemy attacked us in our position at Vimiera this morning. The village of Vimiera stands in a valley, through which runs the river Maceira; at the back, and to the westward and northward of this village, is a mountain, the western point of which touches the sea, and the eastern is separated by a deep ravine from the heights, over which passes the road which leads from Lourinha and the northward, to Vimiera. The greater part of the infantry, the 1st, 2d, 3d, 4th, 5th, and 8th brigades were posted on this mountain, with eight pieces of artillery; major-general Hill's brigade being on the right, major-general Ferguson's on the left, having one battalion on the heights, separated from the mountain. On the eastern and southern side of the town is a hill, which is entirely commanded, particularly on its right, by the mountain to the westward of the town, and commanding all the ground in the neighbourhood to the southward and eastward, on which brigadier-general Fane was posted with his riflemen, and the 50th regiment, and brigadier-general Anstruther with his brigade, with half a brigade of 6-pounders, and half a brigade of 9-pounders, which had been ordered to the position in the course of last night. The ground over which passes the road to Lourinha commanded the left of this height, and it had not been occupied, excepting by a piquet, as the camp had been taken up only for one night; and there was no water in the neighbourhood of this height. The cavalry and the reserve of artillery were in the valley, between the hills on which the infantry stood; both flanking and supporting brigadier-general Fane's advanced guard.—The enemy first appeared at eight o'clock in the morning, in large bodies of cavalry on our left, upon the heights on the road to Lourinha; and it was soon obvious that the attack would be made on our advanced guard, and the left of our position; and major-general Ferguson's brigade was immediately moved across the ravine to the heights, on the road to Lourinha, with three pieces of cannon: he was followed successively by brigadier-general Nightingale with his brigade, and three pieces of cannon; brigadier-general Ackland with his brigade, and brigadier-general Bowes with his brigade. These troops were formed (major-general Ferguson's brigade in the first line; brigadier-general Nightingale's in the second; and brigadier-general Bowes's and Ackland's, in columns in the rear) on those heights, with their right upon

the valley which leads into Vimiera; and their left upon the other ravine, which separates these heights from the range which terminates at the landing-place at Maceira. On these last-mentioned heights, the Portuguese troops, which had been in the bottom near Vimiera, were posted in the first instance, and they were supported by brigadier-general Craufurd's brigade. The troops of the advanced guard on the height to the southward and eastward of the town were deemed sufficient for its defence; and major-general Hill was moved to the centre of the mountain on which the great body of the infantry had been posted, as a support to these troops, and as a reserve to the whole army. In addition to this support, these troops had that of the cavalry in the rear of the right. The enemy's attack began in several columns upon the whole of the troops on this height; on the left they advanced, notwithstanding the fire of the riflemen, close to the 50th regiment, and were checked and driven back only by the bayonets of that corps. The 2d battalion 43d regiment was likewise closely engaged with them in the road which leads into Vimiera; a part of that corps having been ordered into the church-yard to prevent them from penetrating into the town. On the right of the position they were repulsed by the bayonets of the 97th regiment, which corps was successfully supported by the 2d battalion 52d regiment, which, by an advance in column, took the enemy in flank. Besides this opposition given to the attack of the enemy on our advanced guard by their own exertions, they were attacked in flank by brigadier-general Ackland's brigade, in its advance to its position on the heights on the left; and a cannonade was kept up on the flank of the enemy's columns by the artillery on those heights.—At length, after a most desperate contest, the enemy was driven back in confusion from this attack, with the loss of seven pieces of cannon, many prisoners, and a great number of officers and soldiers killed and wounded. He was pursued by the detachment of the 20th light dragoons, but the enemy's cavalry were so much superior in numbers, that this detachment has suffered much, and lieutenant-colonel Taylor was unfortunately killed. Nearly at the same time the enemy's attack commenced upon the heights on the road to Lourinha. This attack was supported by a large body of cavalry, and was made with the usual impetuosity of the French troops. It was received with steadiness by major-general Ferguson's brigade, consisting of the 36th, 40th, and 71st regiments; and these corps charged as soon as the enemy approached them, who gave way, and they continued to advance upon him, supported by the 82d, one of the corps of brig.-gen. Nightingale's brigade, which, as the ground extended, afterwards formed a part of the first line; by the 29th regiment, and by brig.-general Bowes's and Ackland's brigades, while brig.-gen. Craufurd's brigade, and the Portuguese troops, in two lines, advanced along the height on the left. In the advance of major-gen. Ferguson's brigade six pieces of cannon were taken from the enemy, with many prisoners, and vast numbers were killed and wounded. The enemy afterwards made an attempt to recover a part of his artillery by attacking the 71st and 82d regiments, which were halted in a valley in which it had been taken. These regiments

retired

retired from the low grounds in the valley to the heights, where they halted, faced about, fired, and advanced upon the enemy, who had by that time arrived in the low ground; and they thus obliged him to retire with great loss. In this action, in which the whole of the French force in Portugal was employed, under the command of the duke d'Abrantes in person, in which the enemy was certainly superior in cavalry and artillery, and in which not more than half of the British army was actually engaged, he has sustained a signal defeat, and has lost 13 pieces of cannon, 23 ammunition waggons, with powder, shells, stores of all descriptions, and 20,000 rounds of musket ammunition. One general officer (Beniere) has been wounded and taken prisoner, and a great many officers and soldiers have been killed, wounded, and taken.—The valour and discipline of his majesty's troops have been conspicuous upon this occasion, as you, who witnessed the greatest part of the action, must have observed; but it is a justice to the following corps to draw your notice to them in a particular manner, viz., the royal artillery, commanded by lieut.-col. Robe; the 20th dragoons, which had been commanded by lieut.-col. Taylor; the 50th regiment, commanded by col. Walker; the 2d battalion 95th foot, commanded by major Travers; the 5th battalion 60th regiment, commanded by major Davy; the 2d battalion 43d, commanded by major Hull; the 2d bat. 52d, commanded by lieut.-col. Ross; the 97th reg. commanded by lieut.-col. Lyon; the 36th, commanded by col. Burne; the 40th, commanded by colonel Kemmis; the 71st, commanded by lieut.-col. Pack; and the 82d, commanded by major Eyre.—In mentioning col. Burne and the 36th regiment to you upon this occasion, I cannot avoid to add, that the regular and orderly conduct of this corps throughout this service, and their gallantry and discipline in action, have been conspicuous.—I must take this opportunity of acknowledging my obligations to the general and staff officers of the army. I was much indebted to major-general Spencer's judgment and experience, in the decision which I formed with respect to the number of troops allotted to each point of defence; and for his advice and assistance throughout the action. In the position taken up by major-gen. Ferguson's brigade, and in its advance upon the enemy, that officer showed equal bravery and judgment; and much praise is due to brig.-general Fane, and brig.-gen Anstruther, for their gallant defence of their position in front of Vimiera, and to brig.-general Nightingale, for the manner in which he supported the attack upon the enemy made by major-gen. Ferguson. Lieut.-col. G. Tucker, and lieut.-col. Bathurst, and the officers in the departments of the adjutant and quarter-master-general, and lieut.-colonel Torrens, and the officers of my personal staff, rendered me the greatest assistance throughout the action. I have the honour to enclose herewith a return of the killed, wounded, and missing. A. Wellesley.

N.B. Since writing the above, I have been informed that a French general officer, supposed to be gen. Thebault, the chief of the staff, has been found dead upon the field of battle. A. W.

Officers killed, wounded, and missing.—General staff, capt. Hardinge, 57th foot, dep. assist. quart.-

mas.-gen., wounded.—Royal engineers, lieut. Wells, missing.—20th light dragoons, lieut.-col. Taylor, killed; capt. Eustace, missing.—20th foot, lieutenant Brooke, killed; lieut. Hogg, wounded.—29th foot, brig.-major A. Creagh, wounded.—36th foot, capt. Herbert, lieuts. Hart, Lought, and Edwards, wounded; ensign Bosell, slightly; lieutenant and adjutant Poveah, severely.—40th foot, capt. Smith, and lieut. Frankley, slightly.—43d foot, major Hearne, capts. Ferguson, Brock, and Haverfield, lieut. Madden, and ensign Wilson, wounded.—50th foot, capt. A. G. Cooke, killed; major C. Hill, lieuts. J. Kent, J. Wilson, and R. Way, wounded.—52d foot, capt. Ewart, and lieut. Bell, wounded.—60th foot, lieut. C. Kirk, and L. Reith, wounded.—71st foot, capt. A. Jones, major Mackenzie, lieuts. W. Hartley, R. Dudgeon, and A. S. M'Intyre, and ensign W. Campbell, slightly wounded; lieut. J. D. Pratt, and acting adj. R. M'Alpine, severely wounded.—82d foot, lieut. R. Donkin, killed.—95th foot, lieut. Pratt, and ensign W. Cox, wounded.—97th foot, major J. Wilson, and lieut. E. Kettlewell, wounded.—Total: 1 lieut.-col., 1 capt., 2 lieuts., 3 serjeants, 128 rank and file, 30 horses, killed; 3 majors, 10 capts., 19 lieuts., 3 ensigns, 2 staff, 27 serjeants, 4 drummers, 466 rank and file, 12 horses, wounded; 1 capt., 1 lieut., 1 serjeant, 2 drummers, 46 rank and file, 1 horse, missing.—Total officers, non-commissioned officers and drummers, rank and file, and horses, killed, wounded, and missing, 783.

G. B. Tucker, dep. adj.-gen.

Ordnance and ammunition taken on the 21st.—One 6-pounder, four 4-pounders, two 3-pounders, six 5½ inch howitzers; 2 ammunition-waggons, 21 Portuguese ammunition-cars, 40 horses, 4 mules. The above is only the number already received in the park; but, from several accounts, there are eight more taken from the enemy. The ammunition-waggons and cars contain a portion of powder, shells, and stores of all descriptions, and about twenty thousand pounds of musket ammunition.

Wm. Robe,

Lt.-col., commanding roy. art.

Lieut.-col Tucker, &c.

Message of the emperor and king Napoleon to the senate.

4.—Senators,—My minister for foreign affairs will lay before you the different treaties relative to Spain, and the constitutions agreed to by the Spanish junta. My war minister will acquaint you with the wants and the situation of my armies in the different parts of the world. I am determined to carry on the war with Spain with the utmost activity, and destroy the armies which England has disembarked in that country. The future security of my subjects, the prosperity of commerce, and a maritime peace, must alike depend on these important operations.—My alliance with the emperor of Russia extinguishes every hope which England can entertain from her projects. I have no doubts respecting the peace of the continent; but I neither will nor ought to rely upon the false calculations and the errors of other courts, and since my neighbours increase their armies, it is a duty incumbent on me to increase mine.

The empire of Constantinople is struggling with the most violent convulsions; sultan Selim, the best emperor the Ottomans have had for a length of time, has just fallen by

by the hands of his own nephew. This catastrophe has deeply affected me. I impose fresh sacrifices on my people, confident of their support; they are necessary, in order to secure them from heavier sacrifices, and to lead them to the grand result of a general peace, which ought also to be considered as the moment of repose.

Frenchmen, my projects have but one object in view—your happiness and the permanent well-being of your children; and if I know you right, you will hasten to comply with this new call, rendered necessary by the interests of the country. You have so often assured me of your affection, I will behold the sincerity of your sentiments in the alacrity with which you will second projects that are so intimately connected with your dearest interests, with the honour of the empire, and with my glory.

Given at the imperial palace of St. Cloud, this 4th Sept. 1808.

(Signed) NAPOLEON.

The report of the war minister announces the high state of the imperial armies in Poland, Prussia, Silesia, Denmark, Dalmatia, Albania, Italy, Naples, and Spain. But as the different events in Spain have occasioned a pretty considerable loss, his majesty has taken the resolution of assembling more than 200,000 men beyond the Pyrenees, without weakening either the armies of Germany or Dalmatia; a levy of 80,000 men is indispensable, to be taken from the conscription of the years 1806, 7, 8, and 9, who from the registers might, if necessary, furnish 600,000 men. The minister also proposes to order out the conscription of 1810, to amount at present to 80,000 men. This is particularly necessary from the increase of the armies, not only of England, but of Austria.

8.—A very gallant exploit has been performed by a small detachment from one of ou cruizers in the Mediterranean. An Italian brig of war being chased under a battery, the party of royal marines, which consisted of two lieutenants and forty-five rank and file, were landed just out of gun-shot; these brave fellows immediately ascended the heights, when, upon approaching the battery, the French officer, who commanded, confident of his strength, (having upwards of seventy men of the favourite French regiment, the 3d Legere,) marched out with a field-piece to attack them. The lieutenant, without firing a musket, ordered his men to charge; which was executed so firmly, that although the French maintained their ground for some time with great courage, they at length gave way, leaving their field-piece behind; and our men, by a masterly manœuvre, having placed themselves between them and their battery, of which they got possession, opened a heavy fire upon the brig, which, upon the approach of our frigate, hauled down her colours. The whole then, after spiking the guns, and blowing up the magazines, re-embarked. Our loss on this service, which was the admiration of all who witnessed it, was, the second lieutenant of marines badly wounded in the arm; one serjeant and seven privates killed; and five badly wounded.

An equestrian figure of his majesty, on his favourite gray charger, has been formed in chalk on the hills of Ormington estate, opposite Weymouth bay. Although its length is 280 feet, and its height 320 feet, yet the likeness of the

king is well preserved, and the symmetry of the horse complete.

9.—At Marlborough-street, John Palmer, a man of ruffian-like appearance, was charged with a burglary, and with cutting and maiming a man of the name of Waller, who had the care of the house and furniture. The following is in substance the testimony adduced:—Waller was placed in the house, No. 20, Manchester-street, by mess. Kempton and Co., auctioneers at Hertford, a lady who resided in it having departed for the East Indies a few days since, and the furniture was to have been sold tomorrow. The man in charge left the house at seven o'clock on Thursday evening, and on his return to bed by moon-light, at eleven o'clock, he found the clothing had been disturbed, which gave rise to suspicion that thieves had been, or were at that time in the house. He opened the door of an adjoining bed-room, where he perceived two men, one of whom (the prisoner) seized him by the collar, threw him on the bed, and with horrid imprecations told him to be silent, or his brains would be blown out. Waller seized an opportunity to make towards the window, when the prisoner struck him over the head with a weighty crow-bar, which felled him to the ground: the man, however, when recovered from the stupefaction the blow had occasioned, called out, Murder! and the robbers ran down stairs. Some persons had caught the alarm in the street, and the prisoner was secured whilst climbing over the area railing; and he observed to the person who took him, that a man was near murdered in the house. The other thief unfortunately escaped. In the house were found several moveables, ready put up for carrying off, and a pair of snuffers belonging to the house was found in the prisoner's pocket. He was fully committed for trial.

13.—The Sultan, of 74 guns, captain Griffith, lying at Port Mahon, Minorca, was struck with lightning. The officers were at dinner, when, in a moment, the ship received a dreadful shock, as though a ball of fire had struck her, and had gone quite through, making an explosion in its passage as loud as the explosion of a quantity of gun-powder. The officers, as it were involuntarily, rushed out of their cabins, and discovered that it had struck the jib-boom, killed seven men, badly wounded three others, and, conducted by some of the iron work, ran along the jib-boom, tore it to pieces, struck the cap of the bowsprit, shivered it, and then fell into the water.

LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY.

Downing-street, Sept. 16.

The following dispatch was received yesterday evening from lieut.-general sir Hew Dalrymple, commanding his majesty's troops in Portugal, addressed to lord viscount Castlereagh.

Head-quarters, Cintra, Sept. 3.

My lord, I have the honour to inform your lordship that I landed in Portugal, and took the command of the army on Monday the 22d of August, the next day after the battle of Vimiera, and where the enemy sustained a signal defeat, where the valour and discipline of British troops, and the talents of British officers, were eminently displayed. A few hours after my arrival, general Kellermann came in with a flag of truce from the French general-in-chief, in order

order to propose an agreement for a cessation of hostilities, for the purpose of concluding a convention for the evacuation of Portugal by the French troops. The enclosed contains the several articles at first agreed upon, and signed by sir Arthur Wellesley and general Kellermann; but as this was done with a reference to the British admiral, who, when the agreement was communicated to him, objected to the 7th article, which had for its object the disposal of the Russian fleet in the Tagus, it was finally concluded, that lieut.-col. Murray, quarter-master-general to the British army, and gen. Kellermann should proceed to the discussion of the remaining articles, and finally to conclude a convention for the evacuation of Portugal, subject to the ratification of the French general-in-chief, and the British commanders by sea and land.—After considerable discussion and repeated reference to me, which rendered it necessary for me to avail myself of the limited period latterly prescribed for the suspension of hostilities, in order to move the army forwards, and to place the several columns upon the routes by which they were to advance, the convention was signed, and the ratification exchanged the 30th of last month.—That no time might be lost in obtaining anchorage for the transports and other shipping, which had for some days been exposed to great peril on this dangerous coast, and to insure the communication between the army and the victuallers, which was cut off by the badness of the weather, and the surf upon the shore; I sent orders to the buffs, and 42d regiments, which were on board of transports with sir C. Cotton's fleet, to land and take possession of the forts of the Tagus, whenever the admiral thought it proper to do so. This was accordingly carried into execution yesterday morning, when the forts of Cascais, St. Julien and Bugio, were evacuated by the French troops, and taken possession of by ours. As I landed in Portugal entirely unacquainted with the actual state of the French army, and many circumstances of a local and incidental nature, which doubtless had great weight in deciding the question; my own opinion in favour of the expediency of expelling the French army from Portugal, by means of the convention the late defeat had induced the French general-in-chief to solicit, instead of doing so by a continuation of hostilities, was principally founded on the great importance of time, which the season of the year rendered peculiarly valuable, and which the enemy could easily have consumed in the protracted defence of the strong places they occupied, had terms of convention been refused them.—When the suspension of arms was agreed upon, the army under the command of sir John Moore had not arrived; and doubts were even entertained, whether so large a body of men could be landed on an open and a dangerous beach; and, that being effected, whether the supply of so large an army with provisions from the ships could be provided for, under all the disadvantages to which the shipping were exposed. During the negotiation, the former difficulty was overcome by the activity, zeal, and intelligence, of captain Malcolm, of the Donegal, and the officers and men under his orders; but the possibility of the latter seems to have been at an end, nearly at the moment when it was no longer necessary.—Capt. Dalrym-

ple, of the 18th dragoons, my military secretary, will have the honour of delivering to your lordship this dispatch. He is fully informed of whatever has been done under my orders, relative to the service on which I have been employed, and can give any explanation thereupon that may be required.

HEW DALRYMPLE, lieut.-gen.

[A suspension of arms agreed upon between sir A. Wellesley and general Kellermann, on the 22d of August, was the basis of the following convention; the seventh article of that preliminary treaty (which was afterwards rejected by sir Charles Cotton) stipulated that the Russian fleet should be allowed to remain in the Tagus, unmolested, as long as it thought proper, or to return home.]

Definitive convention for the evacuation of Portugal by the French army.

The generals commanding in chief the British and French armies in Portugal, having determined to negotiate and conclude a treaty for the evacuation of Portugal by the French troops, on the basis of the agreement entered into on the 22d inst. for a suspension of hostilities, have appointed the undermentioned officers to negotiate the same in their names, viz.: On the part of the general-in-chief of the British army, lieut.-col. Murray, quarter-master-general, and on the part of the general-in-chief of the French army, M. Kellermann, general of division; to whom they have given authority to negotiate and conclude a convention to that effect, subject to their ratification respectively, and to that of the admiral commanding the British fleet at the entrance of the Tagus. Those two officers, after exchanging their full powers, have agreed upon the articles which follow:—Art. I. All the places and forts in the kingdom of Portugal occupied by the French troops shall be delivered up to the British army in the state in which they are at the period of the signature of the present convention.—Art. II. The French troops shall evacuate Portugal with their arms and baggage; they shall not be considered as prisoners of war, and, on their arrival in France, they shall be at liberty to serve.—Art. III. The English government shall furnish the means of conveyance for the French army, which shall be disembarked in any of the ports of France between Rochefort and L'Orient inclusively.——Art. IV. The French army shall carry with it all its artillery of French calibre, with the horses belonging to it, and the tumbrils supplied with sixty rounds per gun. All other artillery, arms, and ammunition, as also the military and naval arsenals, shall be given up to the British army and navy, in the state in which they may be at the period of the ratification of the convention.—Art. V. The French army shall carry with it all its equipments, and all that is comprehended under the name of property of the army; that is to say, its military chest, and carriages attached to the field commissariat and field hospitals; or shall be allowed to dispose of such part of the same on its account as the commander-in-chief may judge it unnecessary to embark. In like manner, all individuals of the army shall be at liberty to dispose of their private property of every description, with full security hereafter for the purchasers.—Art. VI. The cavalry are to embark their horses, as also the

the generals and other officers of all ranks. It is, however, fully understood, that the means of conveyance for horses at the disposal of the British commanders are very limited; some additional conveyance may be procured in the port of Lisbon; the number of horses to be embarked by the troops shall not exceed six hundred; and the number embarked by the staff shall not exceed two hundred. At all events, every facility will be given to the French army to dispose of the horses belonging to it which cannot be embarked.—Art. VII. In order to facilitate the embarkation, it shall take place in three divisions, the last of which will be principally composed of the garrisons of the places, the cavalry, the artillery, the sick, and the equipment of the army. The first division shall embark within seven days of the date of the ratification, or sooner, if possible.—Art. VIII. The garrisons of Elvas, and its forts, and of Peniche and Palmela, will be embarked at Lisbon: that of Almaida at Oporto, or the nearest harbour. They will be accompanied on their march by British commissaries charged with providing for their subsistence and accommodation.—Art. IX. All the sick and wounded who cannot be embarked with the troops are intrusted to the British army. They are to be taken care of whilst they remain in this country at the expense of the British government, under the condition of the same being reimbursed by France when the final evacuation is effected. The English government will provide for their return to France, which shall take place by detachments of about one hundred and fifty or two hundred men at a time. A sufficient number of French medical officers shall be left behind to attend them.—Art. X. As soon as the vessels employed to carry the army to France shall have disembarked in the harbours specified, or in any other of the ports of France to which stress of weather may force them, every facility shall be given them to return to England without delay, and security against capture until their arrival in a friendly port.—Art. XI. The French army shall be concentrated in Lisbon, and within a distance of about two leagues from it. The English army will approach within three leagues of the capital, and be so placed as to leave about one league between the two armies.—Art. XII. The forts of St. Julien, the Bugio, and Cascais, shall be occupied by the British troops on the ratification of the convention. Lisbon and its citadel, together with the forts and batteries, as far as the lazaretto or Trafuria on one side, and fort St. Joseph on the other, inclusively, shall be given up on the embarkation of the second division, as shall also the harbour, and all armed vessels in it of every description, with their rigging, sails, stores, and ammunition. The fortresses of Elvas, Almaida, Peniche, and Palmela, shall be given up as soon as the British troops can arrive to occupy them. In the mean time the general-in-chief of the British army will give notice of the present convention to the garrisons of those places, as also to the troops before them, in order to put a stop to all further hostilities.—Art. XIII. Commissaries shall be named on both sides, to regulate and accelerate the execution of the arrangements agreed upon.—Art. XIV. Should there arise doubts as to the meaning of any article, it will be explained favourably to the French army.

army.—Art. XV. From the date of the ratification of the present convention, all arrears of contributions, requisitions, or claims whatever, of the French government, against subjects of Portugal, or any other individuals residing in this country, founded on the occupation of Portugal by the French troops in Dec. 1807, which may not have been paid up, are cancelled; and all sequestrations laid upon their property, moveable or immoveable, are removed, and the free disposal of the same is restored to the proper owners.—Art. XVI. All subjects of France, or of powers in friendship or alliance with France, domiciliated in Portugal, or accidentally in this country, shall be protected: their property of every kind, moveable and immoveable, shall be respected; and they shall be at liberty either to accompany the French army, or to remain in Portugal. In either case their property is guarantied to them, with the liberty of retaining or of disposing of it, and passing the produce of the sale thereof into France, or any other country where they may fix their residence, the space of one year being allowed them for that purpose. It is fully understood that shipping is excepted from this arrangement, only, however, in so far as regards leaving the port; and that none of the stipulations above mentioned can be made the pretext of any commercial speculation.—Art. XVII. No native of Portugal shall be rendered accountable for his political conduct during the period of the occupation of this country by the French army; and all those who have continued in the exercise of their employments, or have accepted situations under the French government, are placed under the protection of the British commanders; they shall sustain no injury in their persons or property, it not having been at their option to be obedient or not to the French government: they are also at liberty to avail themselves of the stipulations of the 16th article.—Art. XVIII. The Spanish troops detained on-board ship in the port of Lisbon shall be given up to the commander-in-chief of the British army, who engages to obtain of the Spaniards to restore such French subjects, either military or civil, as may have been detained in Spain without being taken in battle, or in consequence of military operations, but on occasion of the occurrences of the 29th of last May, and the days immediately following.—Art. XIX. There shall be an immediate exchange established for all ranks of prisoners made in Portugal, since the commencement of the present hostilities.—Art. XX. Hostages of the rank of field-officers shall be mutually furnished on the part of the British army and navy, and on that of the French army, for the reciprocal guarantee of the present convention. The officers of the British army shall be restored on the completion of the articles which concern the army; and the officers of the navy on the disembarkation of the French troops in their own country. The like is to take place on the part of the French army.—Art. XXI. It shall be allowed to the general-in-chief of the French army to send an officer to France with intelligence of the present convention. A vessel will be furnished by the British admiral to convey him to Bourdeaux or Rochefort.—Art. XXII. The British admiral will be invited to accommodate his excellency the commander-in-chief, and the other

principal

principal officers of the French army, on board ships of war.

Done and concluded at Lisbon this 30th day of August, 1808.

(Signed)
GEORGE MURRAY, quar.-mas.-gen.
KELLERMANN, le gén. de division.

Nous duc d'Abrantes, général en chef de l'armée Française, avons ratifié et ratifions la présente convention définitive dans tous ses articles, pour être exécutée selon sa forme et teneur.
(Signed) LE DUC D'ABRANTES.
Au quartier général de Lisbonne, le 30 Aout, 1808.

Additional articles to the convention of the 30th Aug. 1808.

Art. I. The individuals in the civil employment of the army made prisoners, either by the British troops, or by the Portuguese in any part of Portugal, will be restored, as is customary, without exchange.—Art. II. The French army shall be subsisted from its own magazines up to the day of embarkation: the garrisons up to the day of the evacuation of the fortresses.—The remainder of the magazines shall be delivered over in the usual form to the British government, which charges itself with the subsistence of the men and horses of the army from the abovementioned periods till their arrival in France, under the condition of their being re-imbursed by the French government for the excess of the expense beyond the estimation, to be made by both parties, of the value of the magazines delivered up to the British army. The provisions on board the ships of war, in possession of the French army, will be taken on account by the British government, in like manner with the magazines in the fortresses.—Art. III. The general commanding the British troops will take the necessary measures for re-establishing the free circulation of the means of subsistence between the country and the capital.

Done and concluded at Lisbon this 30th day of August, 1808.

(Signed)
GEORGE MURRAY, quar.-mas.-gen.
KELLERMANN, le gén. de division.

Nous duc d'Abrantes, général en chef de l'armée Française, avons ratifié et ratifions les articles additionels à la convention et contre, pour être exécutés suivant leur forme et teneur.
LE DUC D'ABRANTES.
A. J. DALRYMPLE, cap. military sec.

Admiralty-office, Sept. 16.

Captain Halsted, first captain to the squadron under the command of sir C. Cotton, bart., commander-in-chief of his majesty's ships and vessels on the coast of Portugal, arrived yesterday with dispatches to the hon. W. W. Pole.

Hibernia, off the Tagus, Sept. 3.

Sir, Enclosed herewith, for the information of the lords commissioners of the admiralty, is a copy of a convention*, entered into by lieut.-col. Murray and gen. Kellermann, for the evacuation of Portugal by the French army; such convention having been ratified by lieut.-gen. sir Hew Dalrymple, myself, and the French commander-in-chief. British troops, consisting of the 3d and 42d regiments, were on the 2d inst. landed, to occupy the forts of Cascais, St. An-

* A copy of the convention enclosed in a letter from sir Hew Dalrymple.

tonio,

tonio, St. Julien, and the Bugio; and no time shall be lost to embark the French troops, agreeably to the said convention.—Capt. Halsted, first captain of this ship, and captain of the fleet, who is the bearer of these dispatches to their lordships, respecting the Russian squadron in the Tagus, is in full possession of my confidence, and will be able to explain to their lordships the motives inducing me to ratify the convention in question, as well as give any further information that may be thought necessary.

C. Cotton.

Hibernia, off the Tagus, Sept. 4.

Sir, Herewith I have the honour to enclose to you, for the information of the lords commissioners of the admiralty, a copy of a convention entered into by me with vice-admiral Seniavin, commanding the Russian fleet in the Tagus; by which it will appear to their lordships that such fleet has been surrendered to me, to be held by his majesty as a deposit, until six months after the conclusion of peace between Russia and England. I have charged capt. Halsted, first captain of the Hibernia, and captain of the fleet, with the delivery of this dispatch to their lordships; he was sent by me to negotiate the convention with vice-admiral Seniavin, and will be able to explain every particular. To capt. Halsted I feel greatly indebted for his able advice and assistance upon all points of service; his zeal and diligence have been exemplary, and entitle him to my highest commendation. Rear-admiral Tyler has been directed to superintend the first division of the Russian fleet, which I purpose ordering under his protection, immediately to Spithead; to him (since with me) I have been indebted for every assistance, and to the captains, officers, and crews, of those ships that have been employed throughout a tediously protracted blockade (by whom every exertion has been made with a degree of cheerfulness, doing them infinite honour). I feel extremely grateful, and deem it my duty to offer every possible testimony of my approbation in their favour.

C. Cotton.

Articles of a convention entered into between vice-admiral Seniavin, knight of the order of St. Alexander, and other Russian orders, and admiral sir Charles Cotton, bart., for the surrender of the Russian fleet, now anchored in the river Tagus.

Art. I. The ships of war of the emperor of Russia, now in the Tagus, as specified in the annexed list, shall be delivered up to admiral Cotton immediately, with all their stores as they now are, to be sent to England, and there held as a deposit by his Britannic majesty, to be restored to his imperial majesty within six months after the conclusion of a peace between his Britannic majesty and his imperial majesty the emperor of all the Russias.

Art. II. Vice-admiral Seniavin, with the officers, sailors, and marines, under his command, to return to Russia without any condition or stipulation respecting their future services; to be conveyed there in men of war, or proper vessels, at the expense of his Britannic majesty.

Done and concluded on board the ship Twerday, in the Tagus, and on board his Britannic majesty's ship Hibernia; off the mouth of that river, the 3d day of Sept. 1808.

De Seniavin,
Charles Cotton.

(Counter-

(Counter-signed)
By command of the admiral,
L. Sass, assesseur de college.
(Counter-signed)
By command of the admiral,
James Kennedy, secretary.

List of the ships referred to in the foregoing convention.

Twerday, vice-admiral Seniavin, capt. du 1er rang Malayoff, of 74 guns and 736 men.—Scoroy, capt. du 1er rang Shelling, of 60 guns and 524 men.—Ste Helene, capt. du 2d rang Bytchenskoy, of 74 guns and 598 men.—S. Rafael, capt. du 2d rang Roshnoff, of 74 guns and 610 men.—Ratzivau, capt. du 2d rang Rtishchoff, of 66 guns and 549 men.—Silnoy, capt.-lieutenant Malygruin, of 74 guns and 604 men.—Motchnoy, capt.-lieutenant Rasvosoff, of 74 guns and 629 men.—Rafael, capt.-lieut. Bytchenskoy, of 80 guns and 646 men.—Fregatte Kilduyn, capt.-lieutenant Dournoff, of 26 guns and 222 men.—Yarowslav, capt. du 2d rang Milkoff, of 74 guns and 567 men.—Total, 5635 men.

Malivjeff, le capitaine de pavillon.

Protest made by Bernardine Friere de Anrade, general of the Portuguese troops, against the articles of the convention agreed on between the English and French armies for the evacuation of Portugal.

I protest, in general, on account of this treaty being totally void of that deference due to his royal highness the prince regent, or the government that represents him; on account of what may be hostile in it to the sovereign authority and independence of this government, and for all that may be against the honour, safety, and interests of the nation: and, in particular, I protest against what is stipulated in the following articles:

Articles I, IV, and XII.—Because these articles determine the surrender of Portuguese fortified places, stores, and ships, to the English forces, without solemnly declaring that this surrender is momentary, and that it is intended they should be immediately restored to the prince regent of Portugal, or the government that may represent him to whom they belong, and in whose aid the English forces came as auxiliaries!—Art. XVI. Because it permits the residence in Portugal of the individuals mentioned in it.—Art. XVII. Because it attempts to tie down the government of this kingdom, not to bring to justice and condign punishment those persons who have been notoriously and scandalously disloyal to their prince and their country, by joining and serving the French party: and, even if the protection of the English army should be allowed to screen them from the punishment they have deserved, still it should not prevent their expulsion, whereby this country would no longer have to fear being again betrayed by the same men.

First of the additional articles.—This article can by no means bind the government of the kingdom, as no reciprocal conditions are stipulated.—I protest, finally, on account of the want of attention to the safety of the inhabitants of the capital and its environs, nothing having been stipulated in their favour to insure their not being still vexed and oppressed by the French during their stay—not even an equivalent for what is established by art. XVI and XVII, in favour of the French and their followers. And to these heads I limit my protest,

test, in order not to make too long a list, passing over other objects of less importance, such as the concession of 800 horses, which was made without considering that they almost all belong to Portugal, and thus cannot be considered as the property of the French; that of the magazines of the army, filled at the expense of the country, and consequently only belonging by fact, not by right, to the unjust occupants of the country.

BERNARDINE FRIERE D'ANRADE.

Head quarters at the Incarnation, Sept. 14, 1808.

The whole of the French troops have sailed from the Tagus, with the exception only of some who were driven back in consequence of severity of weather. One transport went down, the Three Brothers of London; about 300 people were lost. The fleet in the Tagus, under the orders of sir C. Cotton, consisted of five ships of the line, viz. the Hibernia, Ganges, Plantagenet, Audacious, and Resolution. The Portuguese ships had been restored to the provisional government of Portugal. About 50 sail of Danish merchantmen were found in the Tagus, and at St. Ubes, which had been laid up with much care; they have been converted into transports, and are likely to prove very useful in that service.

An edict has been issued by the lords regents of Portugal, decreeing the restitution of the horses taken from the Spanish troops in that kingdom by the French, or engaging to pay the full value for them.

The Spanish general Garosa has been arrested at Lisbon, upon a charge of having acted perfidiously towards the Portuguese, and betrayed a party of Spanish troops in the neighbourhood of Lisbon, at the commencement of the present struggle.

SWEDEN.

Thirty-five Swedish gun-boats, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Brant, had an action with 40 Russian gun-boats, and several armed country-barges, in the channel between Westerby and Frisalo (between Abo and Nystad) on the 30th of August. The loss of the Russians was considerable.—One of their gun-boats was blown up, and eight sunk, with several smaller vessels. Their loss in men cannot be exactly ascertained; but, to judge from the number found in the boats, it must have been very severe. The Swedes lost two gun-boats, one blown up, and the other sunk, with four officers killed, three wounded, and 200 men killed and wounded.

RUSSIA.

The Russian government has lately united the navigation of the Baltic and Black sea, by means of the canal of Berini; which communicating with the Duna (in the government of Mittau), and the Dnieper, admits the easy transport of the produce of White Russia, and of the Crimea, to the capital.

TURKEY.

A fresh revolution has taken place in Constantinople, attended with all the barbarities with which political changes there are generally accompanied. The sultan who last reigned, and whom it was the object of the insurgents to restore, was murdered; probably by the sultan then on the throne. He, in his turn, is supposed to have sustained the same fate; and the

greater part of his ministers were put to death by the successful traitor Mustapha Bairacter. Humanity shudders at atrocities like these; and we should feel equal horror at the recital of them, even if we had been able to add, that the change which they have produced had been favourable to the interests of our country. The fact, however, we believe to be otherwise, and that the triumphant party is hostile to England.

Mahmud, the new grand seignior, is half-brother to the late sovereign Mustapha. He was born on the 20th July, 1785.

20.—This morning about four, Covent-Garden Theatre was discovered to be in flames; and so fierce and rapid was the fire, that no exertions could stop its course. Within less than three hours the whole of the interior was destroyed: nearly all the scenery, wardrobe, musical and dramatic libraries, and properties of all kinds, were a heap of smoking ruins. The books of accounts, deeds, and the receipts of the preceding night's performance, were fortunately preserved, through the exertions of Mr. Hughes, the treasurer. A considerable number of engines promptly attended; but there was a total want of water for some time, the main pipe having been cut off with the intention of laying down a new one, and above an hour elapsed before some of the engines could be supplied. During the time that there was no supply of water, the most essential assistance for the neighbours was derived from the pumps of the Bedford coffee-house and hotel. The engines afterwards played with the utmost effect for upwards of an hour, when the roof of the theatre fell in with a dreadful crash, and thus announced the destruction of the interior of this elegant building. The fire raged with most violence at the upper end of Bow-street; on the western side of which, the house No. 9, belonging to Mr. Paget; Nos. 10 and 11, which were attached to the theatre; No. 12, belonging to Mr. Hill; No. 13 (the Struggler's coffee-house); No. 14, belonging to Mr. Johnson, the fruiterer; and No. 15, were completely destroyed. The three latter were insured in the Hope for 2650*l.* Nos. 16 and 17 were seriously damaged, though not entirely consumed. Some of these houses were uninsured; and the rest only partially. Mr. Donne, who kept the Struggler's coffee-house, has lost all his property, no part of which was insured. In Hart-street the flames communicated to the houses opposite the theatre, and four caught fire at the same moment: but by the great activity of the firemen, they suffered little more damage than a severe scorching. Great apprehensions were entertained for the safety of Drury-lane theatre, as the flakes of fire were carried on by the wind with force and in great quantities in that direction. A great number of people mounted the roof, ready, in case of actual fire, to open the large cistern of water provided there. All the people in the neighbourhood were employed, with their servants, in extinguishing the flakes of fire as they fell upon the roofs or in the yards. This is the whole extent of injury sustained in the neighbourhood; but as to the theatre itself, it is totally consumed, and on the Hart-street side, not even the walls are standing. The Ship tavern, and part of Mr. Brandon the box-keeper's office, are all that remain at that angle. The most painful

part

part of this dreadful event remains to be described. At an early stage of the fire, a party of firemen broke open the great door under the Piazza, Covent-garden; and, having introduced an engine belonging to the Phœnix fire-office into the passage, they directed it towards the galleries, where the fire appeared to burn most fiercely; when, dreadful to relate, the burning roof of the passage fell in, and buried them, with several others who had rushed in along with them, in the ruins. It was a considerable time before the rubbish, which now blocked up the door, could be cleared away. When it was effected, a miserable spectacle presented itself; the mangled bodies of dead and dying appearing through the rubbish, or discovered in each advance to remove it. At twelve, eleven dead bodies had been carried into the church-yaad of St. Paul, Covent-Garden. Some were sent to St. Bartholomew's, and others to the Middlesex hospital, miserably mangled, with broken limbs and dreadful bruises. The insurances on the theatre scarcely exceeded 60,000*l.*, and the savings from the Shakspeare premises amount to 3500*l.* more, which, upon the whole, is not more than one-fourth part of the sum requisite to replace the loss. Besides the usual stock of scenery, there was an additional quantity for a new melo-drama, which was shortly to be brought forward. Of the originals of the music of Handel, Arne, and many other eminent composers, there are no copies; and of many other pieces of music, only an outline had been given. Some excellent dramatic productions, the property of the theatre, have also been for ever lost. It is supposed, with some probability, that it was occasioned by the wadding of the gun fired during the performance of Pizarro, having lodged in one of the scenes. The Bedford and Piazza coffee-houses escaped the flames, owing to a wall which had been erected by the proprietors of the theatre, a short time since, to insulate the theatre from the back of those premises.—Too much praise cannot be bestowed on the prompt attendance and active exertions of the volunteer corps, which prevented many depredations; who were afterwards relieved by parties of the life and foot guards.—The organ, left by Handel as a legacy to the theatre, stated to be worth upwards of 1000 guineas, and which played only during the Oratorios, was consumed.—The Beef Steak Club also, which held its meetings at the top of the theatre (in addition to their stock of wines, valued at 1500*l.*) have to regret the loss of the table service, and dinner implements.—Mr. Ware, the leader of the band, lost a violin of 300*l.* value, which he had left behind him that night for the first time in two years; Mr. Munden, his wardrobe, which cannot be replaced under 300*l.*; miss Bolton, her jewels; and the other performers property, in the aggregate, to a considerable amount.—It is almost too painful to describe the situation of those persons who were dug out of the ruins alive: they were, in general, so dreadfully burned, as scarcely to be recognised by their nearest relations, and their flesh, in several instances, literally peeled from off the bone. The dead bodies taken from the same place were nearly shapeless trunks.—Another accident happened the next day by the falling of a wall in Hart-street, which killed one man and bruised several others. They had been warned

warned of their danger, but disregarded it.—An immense concourse of spectators thronged all the avenues to the ruins on the three first days; and amongst the nobility who visited the coffee-houses adjoining, were the dukes of York and Cambridge, marquis Tweedale, &c.—The coroners for London, Middlesex and Surrey, have sat on 19 bodies, killed at the fire: *viz.* twelve at Covent-garden, three at St. Bartholomew's hospital, two at the Middlesex hospital, and two at St. Thomas's. Two persons are now in a dangerous state at St. Bartholomew's, and one at the Middlesex hospital, amounting in all to 22.—Others have been carried to their houses; but it is not yet known exactly how many lives have been lost.—From the evidence of Wm. Addicot, one of the stage carpenters of the theatre, and Wm. Darley, one of the firemen belonging to the Eagle Insurance Office, and one of the jury, who had witnessed the falling in of the cieling, by which the unfortunate men were burnt to death, it appeared, that the firemen, and others who perished, had been employed in endeavouring to extinguish the flames at the room called The Apollo, which had fallen in upon them. It also appeared that the surmises which had gone abroad as to the explosions of barrels of gunpowder were entirely unfounded, there never being more gun-powder kept in the theatre than was necessary for the consumption of a single night.—The names of the deceased are as follows: Mr. T. Harris, jun. optician, of Hyde-street Bloomsbury, a serjeant in the Bloomsbury volunteers; Mr. R. Davis, a gentleman who had lately arrived in London, from Wales, on a visit; ——— Musket, Wm. Ricklesworth, George Kilby, John Seyers, James Stewart, and Samuel Steevens, firemen belonging to the Phœnix Fire-office; Richard Cadger; T. Holmes; James Hunt; Wm. Jones, a printer; Jas. Evans; J. Crabb; T. Mead; T. James; Richard Rushton, a tailor; Mr. Hewitt, a plumber; J. Beaumont, a soldier belonging to the 1st regiment of Guards; another private in the same regiment was taken to the military hospital, and died in three or four hours; Richard Bird, a coach-maker in the employ of Mr. Hilditch, Long Acre; James Philkins, coal-heaver, aged 20.—Mr. Richards, clerk to Messrs. Shaw and Edwards, St. Paul's Church-yard, was scalded so much with the water from the burning materials, that he died about 12 o'clock the same day.—The firemen and others in Bow-street were for some days employed in pulling down the tottering ruins of the theatre, which threatened destruction to the passengers.—On Saturday two more bodies were dug out of the ruins. A subscription, was opened and liberally patronized for the relief of the sufferers. The King's Theatre was, with much liberality, offered by Mr. Taylor to Mr. Harris; and the Covent Garden Company, a few days after the event, performed there.—The plan of a new theatre, to be completely insulated, it is said, has also been submitted to the proprietors, and accepted.

24.—A most melancholy accident happened one evening this week, in the river, off Fulham. A young couple, on the point of marriage, took a sail in a funny, which unfortunately upset, and the two lovers were drowned. The body of the young woman, who was the daughter of a boat-builder at Fulham, was found this day; but that

of her companion has been dragged for in vain. A dog, which belonged to the father of the young woman, was in the boat, and swam to shore. The animal no sooner reached his master's house, than, by his gestures and howls, he attracted some of the family to the Bishop's Stairs, off which the fatal accident happened, and were they beheld the boat in which the lovers had embarked, with its bottom upwards. The young man was the son of an innkeeper at Fulham; his age was 25, his intended bride was only 17.

NEW SHERIFFS.

30.—Pursuant to annual custom, the lord mayor and the new sheriffs, aldermen Smith and Hunter, accompanied by the recorder, common serjeant, the late sheriffs, and several of the livery, went in procession to Blackfriars-bridge, where they embarked on board the state barges, and proceeded to Westminster-stairs, where they landed, and went up to the court of exchequer, and were there introduced to the cursitor baron by the recorder. They were then sworn in the usual forms, and entered into the accustomed sureties, and received an excellent charge from the baron upon the nature of their official duties.

The recorder then introduced their predecessors, who passed their accounts as usual; after which the senior alderman was called, and the new sheriffs, to perform, according to antient usage, their annual service of chopping the billets and counting the hob-nails; after which they were dismissed.

SHIPWRECKED MARINERS.

30.—A most interesting and highly important experiment was made at Woolwich, by captain Manby, of Yarmouth, on a vessel at anchor in the Thames, upwards of 100 yards from the shore, before a committee of general officers of artillery, commissioner Cunningham, admiral Losack, and several officers of the royal navy, for the purpose of effecting a communication with a ship stranded on a lee-shore, and to bring the crew in perfect safety from the wreck. A rope was projected from a royal mortar across the ship supposed to be stranded, by which was hauled on board by the crew a large rope, to be made fast to the mast-head, and kept at a proper degree of tension for a cot to travel on it, by a tackle purchase, that likewise admitted of the vessel's rolling: at the same time was sent to the ship a tailed block, with a small rope rove through it; each end of the small rope was made fast to the end of the cot, that conveyed it to the ship, and brought a person in perfect safety to the shore. The whole service was performed in a quarter of an hour.

OCTOBER.

BRITISH NAVY.

1.—The amount of the British naval force up to this day is as follows:—At sea, 92 ships of the line, 12 from 50 to 44 guns, 130 frigates, 168 sloops, &c. 166 gun-brigs, and other vessels—total 568. In port and fitting, 33 of the line, 4 from 50 to 44 guns, 34 frigates, 69 sloops, &c. 64 gun-brigs, and other vessels—total 204. Guard ships, &c. 39 of the line, 1 of 50 guns, 3 frigates, 2 sloops, 2 gun-brigs—total 14. In ordinary and repairing, 46 of the line, 13 from 50 to 44 guns, 56 frigates, 49 sloops, &c. 15 gun-brigs, and other vessels—total

total 179. Building, 60 of the line, 15 frigates, 22 sloops, &c. 6 gun-brigs, and other vessels—total 103. Grand total 1,121.

3.—The remains of Mr. Professor Porson were removed from the house of the London Institution in the Old Jewry, in order to be deposited in Trinity College Chapel, Cambridge. The directors of the institution ordered the house to be shut for the day, and the under librarians and other officers assisted in the solemnity. The procession from London consisted of four mourning-coaches, followed by six private carriages; and the persons who attended him were his relatives and most intimate friends. At half after two o'clock on Tuesday afternoon, the hearse arrived at Trinity College, Cambridge, and was received at the great gate, and conveyed to the hall, where, according to antient usage, in cases where this tribute of respect is paid to a member, the body lay in state till five o'clock; at which hour the lord bishop of Bristol (master of the college), the vice-master, senior and junior fellows, bachelors of arts, scholars, and other members resident in the university, in their academical habits, and in black scarfs, bands, and gloves, walked from the combination room, accompanied by the chief mourners into the hall; and, after moving round the body, which was placed in the midst, they took their seats, the chief mourners being placed on the right hand and left of the master. Several epitaphs in Greek and English verse, the effusions of reverential respect for his high attainments and of love for his virtues, were placed on the pall, and were read with the most sympathetic interest by his former associates in study. An anthem was chanted by the choir. After which, the body was raised by the bearers, and a most solemn procession was made round the great quadrangle of the college, from the hall to the chapel, in this order:

Two porters.

Singing men and boys, two and two.

Mr. Wilson, the undertaker.

A page. The feather-lid. A page.

Dr. Davy, phys. Mr. Oakes, apoth.

The Rev. John Shepherd, minister of Trinity church. — The Rev. Mr. Henshaw, conduct of the chapel.

The lord bishop of Bristol, master.

The Body, supported by the eight senior fellows; *viz.* the rev. G. A. Browne, rev. Dr. Ramsden, rev. Dr. Raine, rev. J. Lambert, rev. G. F. Tavell, rev. J. Hailstone, rev. J. Davis, and the rev. J. H. Renouard, vice-master.

Chief mourners.

James Perry, and Siday Hawes, jun. esqrs. brother-in-law and nephew of the deceased.

Junior fellows, two and two.

Bachelors, two and two.

Scholars, two and two.

Pensioners, two and two.

Mr. J. Newbery, clerk of the chapel.

and

Other servants of the college, two and two.

On entering the chapel, which was illuminated, the lord bishop, chief mourners, and all the members of the college took their places, and the choir performed an anthem. After which, the lord bishop read the lesson, and the procession moved in the same order to the grave, which was at the foot of the statue of sir Isaac Newton, and surrounded by those of all the illustrious persons which this college has produced. When they had taken their stations round the

grave, and the body was placed above it ready for interment, the funeral anthem was performed by the choir, in the adjoining chapel, during the most perfect silence of the auditory, and with the most solemn effect. The service was then read by the lord bishop with as aweful, dignified, and impressive a pathos as was ever witnessed on any former solemnity of the kind. He was himself overwhelmed as he proceeded by his feelings; and he communicated the sympathetic emotion to every listening friend of the deceased. Nothing could be more solemn nor more affecting than his tone and delivery. The senior members of the college, who had lived with the professor in habits of the most endearing intercourse for 30 years, and who had had the best means of estimating the wonderful height and variety of his attainments, shed tears of sorrow over the grave; and the whole assembly displayed a feeling of grief and interest, which bespoke the sense they entertained of the irreparable loss that not only their own society but the literary world had suffered by his death.

COURT OF COMMON COUNCIL.

4.—Mr. Waithman rose to make his promised motion, for an address and petition to his majesty on the convention lately entered into by the commanders of the British forces in Portugal with the commander of the French troops in Lisbon. Mr. Waithman, in making the present motion, found it unnecessary to adduce many arguments to support it, feeling its tendency to be congenial to the general sense of the nation. He should, however, make some remarks on such articles as appeared to him particularly objectionable. From the official dispatches it appeared, that the commander in chief acceded to the convention, because he had just gained and assumed the command of the British troops, and was ignorant of the relative situation of both armies. After the time which had been consumed, and the disputes which had taken place in the cabinet on the appointment of an able commander, he was utterly astonished that they should at last select a person who was capable of concluding such a disastrous convention. To him it appeared to be the climax of human ignorance in a British officer to sign a convention with a defeated enemy, which had been fraught with so many articles detrimental to the interest and honour of his country. In the beginning it appeared that Bonaparte and his generals were respectively acknowledged as Napoleon the First and duke of Abrantes, whilst the government of Portugal had never been so much as mentioned. Our country indeed had fortunately escaped one humiliating article, sanctioned by the general, but refused by the admiral; he meant the original article signed by sir Arthur Wellesley, which declared the port of Lisbon a neutral port, and which permitted the Russian fleet to sail away in the face of a superior British fleet which had blockaded them for ten months. How the officers of the British land forces could accede to such an unparalleled article, trenching so materially on the authority of the British admiral, appeared to him utterly incomprehensible. He would next inquire, Why the French army were permitted to surrender on any other conditions than those of prisoners of war? The dispatches published by government

government asserted that they were completely defeated, and forced to retire to the fortifications of Lisbon. Being so situated in the heart of an enemy's country, he could not devise what considerations impelled the British officers to grant them any other terms than those of an unconditional surrender. The motion he should have the honour of making would be opposed, he understood, on the ground that no precedent existed on the subject. Considering the circumstances connected with the present case, as they were known to the court and the public, he conceived it to be laudable and meritorious in every corporate body in the kingdom to make a precedent. He, however, contended, that the records of the city of London afforded various precedents for the address and petition which he should have the honour to propose. He would instance a case which occurred in 1756, where a similar address had been presented by the court of common council to the sovereign, praying for an inquiry into the causes of the failure of the expedition against Minorca, and another address of a similar tendency, relative to the expedition against Rochefort in 1757. On that occasion their address had been attended to. A committee of experienced military officers was appointed to examine the dispatches of the officers complained of, and the instructions transmitted them by the ministry. This was accomplished, and a court martial was immediately appointed. Such a line of procedure he should be extremely happy to see adopted on the present occasion, and he had no doubt of its giving general satisfaction to the nation. He had once made a similar motion relative to an enquiry into the subject of the Helder expedition, but it was negatived on the ground of its being ill-timed, and tending to harass government. The consequence was, that the inquiry never took place, and no delinquents were discovered or punished. But he would assert it as his firm belief, that had such an inquiry taken place, the present disgrace never would have happened. He also regretted that the expedition to Ferrol had not been investigated in a similar manner. Had that been done, the commander who conducted it might not now perhaps fill the official situation of secretary at war. If the present motion should not be carried, the nation had no security against generals sir Hew Dalrymple and sir Arthur Wellesley shortly holding the same and similar situations. He would ask, whether the country had been satisfied with the conduct of that administration who had appointed general Whitelocke to a chief command, an officer who had never distinguished himself in any military transaction? He would likewise ask, whether sir Hew Dalrymple, or sir Harry Burrard, had ever evinced symptoms of their military capacity? If they had, he trusted some gentlemen present would state it, and justify administration in appointing them. In saying this, he begged not to be understood as wishing to censure any individual or party of men, but to ascertain with whom the blame lay, by a dispassionate and candid inquiry. He wished that large sums of money should not be extorted from the people to fit out and support wild and extravagant expeditions, and that so many human lives should not be sacrificed to no evident purpose. From the information at present before the public, it appeared that our magnanimous administration

had fitted out and sent a powerful army to assist our brave allies; that our army had been eminently successful, but had their laurels snatched from them by a disgraceful convention. He therefore asked whether the people were to neglect the case, and let it die away, or leave the investigation of it to our sapient administration? For his own part he thought it meritorious in any class of the people to carry bold and salutary truths even to the throne. Should his majesty's government disregard the universal feeling of indignation which was excited against the authors of the shameful convention, no military officer would, in future, be able to excite that ardour and magnanimity in his troops so essential to the service, knowing that misconduct is not liable to exposure and punishment. He then concluded with moving, "That an humble and dutiful address and petition be presented to his majesty, expressing the grief and astonishment of the court at the extraordinary and disgraceful convention lately entered into by the commanders of his majesty's forces in Portugal, and the commander of the French army in Lisbon, and praying his majesty to institute such an inquiry into this dishonourable and unprecedented transaction, as will lead to the discovery and punishment of those by whose misconduct and incapacity the cause of the country and its allies has been so shamefully sacrificed."

Mr. Quin rose to second the motion: the disgraceful conclusion of the campaign must excite the regret of his majesty and his ministers themselves. He deprecated all allusion to individuals who might be supposed to be implicated in the unhappy affair. We were indignant at any British minister who could propose or sanction the trea ty, and at any British officer wh could permit high treason again his king and country, by puttin his hand to it; at the same time h could not blame the hand whic signed, but the head which conceive it. He would restrict his observa tions to the official documents whic had been published by government and he would ask, whether the pub lication of the gazette, and th firing of guns about the metropolis were to be considered an unneces sary and improper parade,—

'Mere sound and fury, signifying nothing'

No; the result of the battles wa glorious for the arms of this coun try, but the advantages whic might be derived from it were shamefully relinquished by the in famous treaty. Instead of aveng ing the wrongs of our gallant allies and making their oppressors restore their plunder, we actually agreed to transport them in British ships to their native country. For his own part, he believed that British oak was never consigned to such an infamous purpose as conveying a horde of robbers to France, from whence they may return in fifteen days into the heart of Spain or Navarre. He regretted the article which stipulated for the libera tion of the French spies who had been arrested in Spain, for an equal number of Spanish prisoners con fined by the French in the Tagus. This article, he trusted, would ne ver be acceded to by the Spaniards. He also adverted to the restoration of the Russian fleet, which, 10 years hence, may be employed against this country. He also re gretted, and was astonished, that no stipulation had been made in fa vour of 9 or 10,000 of our own countrymen, who have been seized and detained in France, since the commence-

commencement of the war, contrary to the laws of nations and of hospitality. The convention would still appear more impolitic, if we should consider the present situation of Austria, ready to strike a blow at France, and of Naples, daily threatening an insurrection. In fact, it seemed to him, as if Frenchmen had a charm of confusing our officers, and "making the worse appear the better reason." He concluded with requesting the court to set an example to the country, to declare their sentiments openly on a subject, whereon an uniformity of opinion was so apparent in the country.

Mr. Samuel Dixon was unwilling to condemn men before they should be heard. He thought the subject required rigid inquiry, as well as many others; for instance, the failure of the expedition to the Dardanelles; but he thought it the province of his majesty's ministers. He concluded with suggesting the propriety of addressing for instituting an inquiry, but the clause which regarded punishment should be expunged.—Aldermen Birch, Combe, Price, and Mr. Slade, supported the original motion.

Alderman Curtis thought the address unnecessary, as his majesty would himself institute such proceedings as were called for by the feelings of the country. He was decidedly against the convention, and hoped the guilty would be properly punished.

Mr. Waithman, finding the sense of the court in his favour, declined making any reply.

The common serjeant put the question, and the original motion was carried unanimously.—A committee was then appointed to withdraw and prepare the address, and the sheriffs were desired to attend his majesty, and know his royal pleasure when the court should attend him to present the same.

A young man in the employment of messrs. Bryan and Brandon, wholesale grocers in Newgate-street, was brought up on a charge of having feloniously embezzled a sum of 32*l.* 10*s.* 5*d.*, received as their servant, for their account. It was stated by Mr. T. Bryan, one of the partners, that the young man at the bar had entered the service of himself and partner about the 22d of January last; that when he first came to tender them his services, he said, he had 80*l.* a year in his last place, that he was worth much more on account of his connection, and must have 100*l.* a year; but he would rather act on commission at one per cent. upon all the goods he could sell for their account outdoors, either amongst their customers or his own. They preferred giving him 100*l.* the first year, but said, they would think of the other part of the proposal, and would have no objection to allow him the commission in a second year, if his connection should prove as he stated. He accordingly proceeded to solicit orders, and receive money for their account, paying in from time to time the sums he received. They discovered, however, about the middle of September, that he had received the sum of 32*l.* 10*s.* 5*d.* from Mr. Sutton, a grocer, in East-street, Mary-le-bone, for their account, but did not pay it in, and denied that he had received it; until upon inquiry of Mr. Sutton, they found the money had been paid, and a receipt given by the defendant, who had never accounted with them since, but acknowleged he had received the money. Mr. Bryan positively alleged, that

the defendant was employed as their confidential servant, at a yearly salary. Mr. Sutton proved the payment of the money to the defendant, and indeed it was acknowledged on his behalf by his counsel, Mr. Alley. The young man being called on for his defence, denied that he was ever employed as the servant or clerk of the prosecutors. He had applied to be employed by them on the recommendation of a friend, who knew that he had a good connection in the grocery line, and that the prosecutors being a young house, would want such assistance toward their establishment. When he first applied, and showed them a list of his connections, they highly approved it; and he demanded one and a half per cent. commission for selling their goods, saying he would dispose of to the amount of 25 to 30,000*l.* a year. Mr. Brandon proposed to allow him 50*l.*, and board in the house, or 100*l.* a year out of doors. But this he declined, after a day's consideration, saying he preferred commission, as more independent to each. Upon which Mr. Brandon said, he should make a trial at a commission of one per cent.; and if it should not be productive in six month's experiment, he would secure to the defendant, at all events, the rate of 100*l.* a year. To this the defendant agreed; and stipulated to have his accounts settled, and his commission paid every six months. It appeared by the testimony of Mr. Bryan, that 43*l.* had been advanced to the defendant at the end of the first two months, and that they had charged to his account by his own desire 10*l.* for groceries sent, as they conjectured, to the person with whom he lodged. The defendant acknowledged he was wrong in not immediately accounting for the 32*l.* he had received; but that he had detained it in part of the commission due to him, as he desired a settlement at the end of six months, and to have the sale account looked over for the purpose, but could not obtain the settlement. He had afterwards acknowledged the receipt of 32*l.* 10*s.* 5*d.* to Mr. Brandon, who he supposed had placed it to his account; but he took no receipt for it. There was a considerable balance in his favour, and the prosecutors, instead of settling, had thought proper to bring this charge against him. Alderman Curtis was of opinion, that the charge of felony was not sustained, as the prosecutors had failed to prove the defendant to be their actual yearly servant, and not acting for them merely on commission; for, had they proved that, the felony would have been fully sustained under the statute.—The defendant was of course discharged, after a very impressive lecture.

5.—A daring attempt was made to commit a burglary in the countess of Morton's house in Park-street, by five notorious characters.

They were, however, met by stratagem, the servant maid who had the charge of the house having given notice to the office at Marlborough-street, of seeing some suspicious-looking persons for several evenings reconnoitring. On this the officers went and secreted themselves in the house; the servant was sent out about eight o'clock, and soon after the bell was rung violently, and afterwards loud knocking at the door, which satisfied the thieves that nobody was in the house. Hereupon they broke the door open, and went to the room adjoining the closet where the officers had concealed themselves, when

when the latter rushed out upon the robbers. A battle immediately ensued, and in the scuffle the candle was put out. One of the officers had just time to discharge his blunderbuss, and shot one of them in the left arm. Thus rudely attacked, the robbers attempted to make their escape through the back part of the house, by jumping off the first-floor leads into Park-lane; in the attempt one of them broke his leg, and was immediately secured. The man that had been shot ran down South-street, and turning down a mews where there was no thoroughfare, he was also taken; the other three escaped. As soon as the man that had been shot was brought in, he dropped down, and fainted from loss of blood. Medical assistance was immediately procured. The above two burglars were so bad next morning, they could not be brought up for examination. One of them, it appears, formerly lived as groom in the earl of Morton's family.

Collins, *alias* Jasper, one of the wounded house-breakers, underwent amputation of his arm on Thursday afternoon.

6.—Boston papers to the 14th ult. have come to hand. The president's answer to an address from Boston, relative to the embargo, is the only article of interest.—Mr. Jefferson, after stating his regret at the necessity which called for that measure, and the increasing impediments to American navigation, proceeds: "At length, however, all regard to the rights of others having been thrown aside, the belligerent powers have beset the high-way of commercial intercourse with edicts, which, taken together, expose our commerce and marines, under almost every destination, a prey to their fleets and armies. Each party, indeed, would admit our commerce with themselves, with the view of associating us in their war against the other. But we have wished war with neither. Under these circumstances, were passed the laws of which you complain, by those delegated to exercise the power of legislation for you, with every sympathy of a common interest in exercising them faithfully. In reviewing these measures, therefore, we should advert to the difficulties out of which a choice was of necessity to be made. To have submitted our rightful commerce to prohibitions and tributary exactions from others, would have been to surrender our independence. To resist them by arms was war, without consulting the state of things, or the choice of the nation. The alternative preferred by the legislature, besides saving to our citizens their property, and our mariners to their country, has the peculiar advantage of giving time to the belligerent nations to revise a conduct as contrary to their interests as it is to our rights.—The president is authorised to suspend the embargo. But no peace or suspension of hostilities, no change affecting neutral commerce is known to have taken place. The struggle in Spain is of a doubtful character, and does not warrant a hasty change in our politics.—You desire that congress may be speedily convened; but you will be sensible, on attending to dates, that the legal period of their meeting is as early as, in this extensive country, they could be fully convened by a special call. I should with great willingness have executed the wishes of the inhabitants of the town of Boston, had peace, or a repeal of the obnoxious edicts, or other changes, produced the case

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in which alone the laws have given me that authority; and so many motives of justice and interest led to such changes, that we ought continually to expect them. But while these edicts remain, the legislature can alone prescribe the course to be pursued."—August 6, 1808.

7.—Mr. Brookes, the lottery-office-keeper, in Piccadilly, put an end to his existence by shooting himself with a pistol through the head, in the necessary. The clerk and several of his neighbours, alarmed at the report of the pistol, rushed in and found him lifeless. He has been in a desponding state for this fortnight past, during which time his brother has been with him adjusting his accounts. On Thursday morning he seemed better, and went out about eleven o'clock with a friend in a hackney coach, and on his return he invited several of his neighbours' children to spend the evening at his house to celebrate his eldest daughter's birthday. He had been for many years clerk to St. James's-market, and has left a wife and four children.—A coroner's inquest sat on the body yesterday, and brought in a verdict—*Lunacy*.

9.—A child three years old, whose parents reside in Windmill-street, near the Haymarket, died of the hydrophobia this day. She had been bitten by a rabid animal nearly a fortnight since, and her parents, having had her bathed in salt water, fondly imagined she was entirely recovered; but the day preceding her death, she was seized with the most violent paroxysms of that disorder, which speedily terminated her existence.

10.—Don Cevallos, secretary of state to Ferdinand VII, and who accompanied that unfortunate monarch to Bayonne, has published an exposition of the base and perfidious practices of the emperor of the French, in his usurpation of the crown of Spain. This interesting paper is accompanied by the most authentic documents; which, while they must tend to increase the enthusiasm of the Spanish people, are well calculated to unite every legitimate monarch in a league against the ruler of France. Its extreme length, however, only allows us to present a summary of its contents. In doing this, we shall endeavour to include every circumstance of interest.—Don Cevallos, after noticing the subserviency of Spain to the wishes of France, owing to the weakness and treachery of the prince of peace; that fleets, armies, and treasure, had been sacrificed to preserve the ruinous alliance of 1796; and that every thing was done to satisfy the insatiable demands of the French government, proceeds to observe, that scarcely had the treaty of Tilsit been concluded, in which the destiny of the world seemed to be decided in Bonaparte's favour, when he turned his eyes towards the west, and resolved in his mind the ruin of Portugal and Spain.—"He began by demanding a respectable body of our troops to exert their valour in remote regions, and for foreign interests. This he effected without difficulty; for the Spanish minister, regarding him as his patron, immediately placed a gallant and chosen force of 16,000 men at his disposal.—The enterprize of making himself master of Spain, however, was not so easy as he imagined: it was necessary to find some pretext for the introduction of his troops into the kingdom; to excite discord and enmity in the royal family, that his designs might not be penetrated, or his forces experience

perience any opposition: his ambassador at our court, (Beauharnois) who is nearly related to the imperial family, received instructions to that effect; and shortly after, the arrest of the prince of Asturias, who had entered into a correspondence with the emperor respecting a marriage with his niece, was the consequence. At this period, a treaty which had been concluded between his catholic majesty and Bonaparte at Fontainbleau, on the 27th Oct. 1807, was brought to Spain. It had been negotiated by an agent of the favourite's, without the participation, or even knowledge, of the Spanish ministry. The result of this treaty was, to render the emperor master of Portugal with very little expense; to furnish him with a plausible pretext for introducing his troops into the peninsula, with the intent of subjugating it at a proper opportunity; and to put him in immediate possession of Tuscany. In return for these concessions, his imperial majesty engaged to acknowledge Charles IV emperor of the two Americas, and to reward the treacherous favourite with the Algarves and Alentejo, in full property and sovereignty. The execution of the treaty was delayed, and the favourite became apprehensive that he had lost the imaginary protection of the emperor. In truth, Bonaparte, aware that he had incurred the hatred of the Spanish people, and conceiving it no longer necessary to treat him with confidence, wished to inspire him with apprehensions for his safety, that he might persuade his royal master, over whom he had unbounded sway, to emigrate to South America. The plan succeeded;—for, even during the negotiation of a marriage between the prince of Asturias and Bonaparte's niece, French troops were marched into Spain; their commanders took possession, by fraud and surprise, of the fortresses of Pampeluna, St. Sebastian, Figuieras, and Barcelona; and then industriously propagated the belief that Bonaparte was favourable to the heir-apparent. The royal parents, as well as the favourite, were struck with terror at this conduct of the emperor, and new fears were artfully impressed upon them by French agents. At length they determined to emigrate to Mexico; and this resolution became known to the people by their preparations. The commotions of Aranjuez, however, which, on the 17th and 19th of March, burst forth like a sudden explosion, prevented its execution; the favourite, who, without the title of king, had exercised the functions of royalty, was imprisoned; and the royal parents abdicated in favour of their son, who was proclaimed sovereign under the title of Ferdinand VII. The emperor was ignorant of these events; he imagined that the royal family had fled to the coast, and was preparing to embark: he ordered his army to advance to Madrid; and flattered himself that he should now possess without a struggle a throne which had been thus hastily vacated. The new sovereign, learning the advance of the French army, hastened to communicate the voluntary abdication of his parents to the emperor: he made every effort to procure the latter's recognition of his title; he was, at length, assured by his imperial majesty's envoy, general Savary, that his master would visit him at Madrid; that he was already disposed in his favour; and that nothing would tend more to conciliate the emperor than this

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mark of respect. The pressing solicitations of the duke of Berg, gen. Savary, and others, added to the earnest wishes of the king to make his people happy, and restore tranquillity to the kingdom, at length induced him to quit Madrid, in the expectation of meeting the emperor at Burgos: from thence he was persuaded by Savary, who accompanied him, to advance to Vittoria, where some suspicious movements of the French troops led the courtiers to urge him to return. But Ferdinand had too much confidence in the faith of the French emperor; he passed the frontiers, and arrived at Bayonne. Duroc, on his arrival, came to invite the king to dine with his imperial majesty, where his reception was flattering. What then must have been the feelings of Ferdinand, after his return to his residence, to be informed by Savary (the man who had drawn him from his capital with so many protestations of security, who had assured him of the recognition of his imperial majesty), that Bonaparte had irrevocably decreed, that the Bourbon dynasty should no longer reign in Spain, and that it should be succeeded by his own!—In the conference which succeeded between M. Champagny and don Cevallos, the latter strenuously supported his master's right; and represented that any renunciation he might make while absent from his kingdom, and in a state of confinement, would be null and void, and would not be acknowleged by his people. The emperor, who overheard the conference, insulted the Spanish minister, called him a traitor, and informed Ferdinand that he must nominate a more flexible negotiator, and one who would be less susceptible on the point of honour. In the last interview which the king had with his imperial majesty, the latter said, "Prince, you have only to choose between cession and death."—Who then can doubt (adds don Cevallos) from this clear evidence, that the renunciation executed by Ferdinand VII in favour of his august father, and that which preceded in favour of the emperor, are absolute nullities, and that the rights of the dynasty of Bourbon are not in the least prejudiced by it.

12.—About twelve o'clock this day, his majesty arrived at the queen's palace. At two he was waited upon by a deputation from the city of London, consisting of the lord mayor, the recorder, aldermen, Christopher Smith and Wood, the sheriffs, common council, &c. The following address and petition was read by the recorder.

To the king's most excellent majesty.

The humble and dutiful address and petition of the lord mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, in common council assembled.

Most gracious sovereign,

We, your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the lord mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, in common council assembled, most humbly approach your majesty, with renewed assurances of attachment to your majesty's most sacred person and government, and veneration for the free principles of the British constitution; to express to your majesty our grief and astonishment at the extraordinary and disgraceful convention lately entered into by the commander of your majesty's forces in Portugal, and the commander of the French army in Lisbon.

The circumstances attending this afflicting

afflicting event cannot be contemplated by British minds without the most painful emotions; and all ranks of your majesty's subjects seem to have felt the utmost concern and indignation at a treaty so humiliating and degrading to this country and its allies. After a signal victory gained by the valour and discipline of British troops, by which the enemy appears to have been cut off from all means of succour or escape, we have the sad mortification of seeing the laurels, so nobly acquired, torn from the brows of our brave soldiers, and terms granted to the enemy disgraceful to the British name, and injurious to the best interests of the British nation.

Besides the restitution of the Russian fleet upon a definitive treaty of peace with that power, and the sending back to their country, without exchange, so large a number of Russian sailors by this ignominious convention, British fleets are to convey to France the French army and its plunder, where they will be at liberty immediately to recommence their active operations against us or our allies. The guarantee and safe conveyance of their plunder cannot but prove highly irritating to the pillaged inhabitants over whom they have tyrannised and for whose deliverance and protection the British army was sent; and the full recognition of the title and dignity of emperor of France, while all mention of the government of Portugal is omitted, must be considered as highly disrespectful to the legitimate authority of that country.

We, therefore, humbly pray your majesty, in justice to the outraged feelings of a brave, injured, and indignant people, whose blood and treasure have been thus expended, as well as to retrieve the wounded honour of the country, and to remove from its character so foul a stain in the eyes of Europe, that your majesty will be graciously pleased immediately to institute such an inquiry into this dishonourable and unprecedented transaction, as will lead to the discovery and punishment of those by whose misconduct and incapacity the cause of the country and its allies has been so shamefully sacrificed.

We beg to assure your majesty of our unalterable fidelity, and earnest desire to cooperate in every measure conducive to the peace, honour, and security of your majesty's dominions.

Signed by order of the court,

HENRY WOODTHORPE.

To which his majesty was pleased to return the following most gracious answer, which was read by lord Hawkesbury:—

I am fully sensible of your loyalty and attachment to my person and government. I give credit to the motives which have dictated your petition and address, but I must remind you that it is inconsistent with the principles of British justice to pronounce judgement without previous investigation. I should have hoped that recent occurrences would have convinced you, that I am at all times ready to institute enquiries on occasions in which the character of the country, or the honour of my arms is concerned; and that the interposition of the city of London could not be necessary for inducing me to direct due inquiry to be made into a transaction which has disappointed the hopes and expectations of the nation.

15.—Some days ago, a girl of the name of Sophia Weaver, about six or seven years of age, who had

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gone into the fields at Downside, in the parish of Backwell, Somersetshire, to pick blackberries, was missed by her parents.—A diligent search was made after her by several of the neighbours, till twelve o'clock at night, without effect. In the course of their search, they found a deep pit, covered over with brambles and long grass, from which, many years since, lead ore had been extracted, to which they were led by the barking of a dog belonging to the father of the child. The grass, it appeared, had recently been trampled upon; but the lateness of the evening deterred those who were in search of her from descending. In the morning, however, they returned, and two men were let down with ropes; when, to their great astonishment, the child was found, standing upright and free from injury, excepting the little hurt she had received in being scratched with the brambles. She remained 14 hours in the pit. Its depth is upwards of 100 feet.

A most distressing accident lately occurred at Brighton. Mr. and Mrs. Ball and miss C. Henwood, having returned from the fair at Steyning in a whiskey, between six and seven in the evening were proceeding along the cliff, where some boys were diverting themselves with letting off rockets, &c., by one of which the horse was so alarmed that he became unmanageable, and dashing furiously forward brought himself in horrid contact with a brewer's dray. Stunned by the shock, he instantly dropped; the chaise was suddenly overturned, and miss Henwood, a fine young woman about 20 years of age, fell with such violence on the kitchen-gratings of a house as to fracture her skull above and about the temple. She was taken up in a state of insensibility, and no hopes of her recovery was entertained. Mrs. Ball was also so seriously injured, that she was confined to her bed; and Mr. Ball, who is a surgeon of that place, received some material hurt.

The earl of Lonsdale has signified his intention of enfranchising his numerous copyholders throughout Cumberland and Westmoreland, by which measure he will be enabled to inclose more than 20,000 acres of land in those counties, at this time in a state of commonage.

A curious piece of antiquity has lately been discovered in the churchyard of Hemel Hempstead, in Hertfordshire. In digging a vault for a young lady of the name of Warren, the sexton, when he had excavated the earth about four feet below the surface of the ground, found his spade to strike against something solid, which, upon inspection, he discovered to be a large wrought stone, which proved to be the lid of a coffin and under it the coffin entire, which was afterwards taken up in perfect condition, but the bones contained therein, on being exposed to the air, crumbled to dust. On the lid of the coffin is an inscription, partly effaced by time, but still sufficiently legible decidedly to prove that it contained the ashes of the celebrated Offa, king of the Mercians, who rebuilt the abbey of St. Alban's, and died in the eighth century. The coffin is about six feet and a half long, and contains a niche or resting-place for the head, and also a groove on each side for the arms, likewise for the legs; it is curiously carved, and altogether unique of the kind.

17.—This day an inquest was held on the bodies of Mary Attwood, aged 14, Eliza, aged 7, and

Sarah, aged 5 years, daughters of William Attwood, of Mitcham, Surrey, print-cutter. Mr. Parrott, surgeon, deposed, that on Tuesday, the 11th instant, he was desired to visit William Attwood, his wife, and four daughters, who were supposed to be poisoned in consequence of their having eaten stewed champignons on the preceding day; that he visited them immediately, when he found each of them suffering under severe vomiting and purging, attended with great pain in the head, and violent pain in the bowels; that he administered such remedies as appeared to him best calculated to get rid of the offending matter, as he knew of no method whereby vegetable poison could be decomposed; that he attended the said children till their respective deaths, which happened as follows: Mary died about two o'clock on Friday morning; Eliza at half an hour after; and Sarah at half past four on Saturday morning: that they died violently convulsed; that on opening the body of Sarah, who seemed to suffer the most excruciating pain in the bowels, no appearance of disease existed in any part of the alimentary canal; hence he inferred that the poison acted more immediately upon the brain and nerves. These people were intoxicated within ten minutes after having eaten their meal; and the eldest daughter observed to her father how cheerful they all were. This exhilirating effect was soon followed by stupor, and the symptoms already described. A dog, which had partaken of the same stew, died on the 16th, apparently in great agonies. Mr. Attwood, his wife, and their daughter Hannah, aged 11 years, are recovering; the latter, however, only ate two spoonsful of the stew, alleging, that she did not like its flavour. It is here proper to remark, that the stew was made in an iron vessel. From this statement of facts it is sincerely hoped that persons will in future be cautious in purchasing what are usually termed champignons; as these fungi are indiscriminately gathered off the commons in the vicinity of London, and sold at the London markets for the purpose of making catsup, with the addition of mushrooms.

20.—This day a very numerous meeting of the inhabitants of Westminster was held at Westminster-hall, for the purpose of addressing his majesty on the subject of the late convention in Portugal, and of requesting that an inquiry be made into the causes which gave rise to that disgraceful transaction. The business was opened by Mr. Wishart, in a temperate speech, which he concluded by moving a variety of resolutions, and an address to his majesty, praying for inquiry. —Mr. Finnerty submitted that the proposed resolutions were inadequate to satisfy the injured feelings of the nation. He traced the evil to the improper mode in which military promotions are obtained in this country, which, again, he attributed to our unequal representation in parliament, and to the unfair influence of borough proprietors. He suggested, however, that a parliamentary, not a military inquiry, was alone calculated to meet the present evil.—Mr. Sheridan and Mr. Power supported this last proposition; and it was at length resolved unanimously, to present an address to his majesty, praying inquiry, and that, for that purpose, his majesty would be pleased to give directions for forth-

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with assembling his parliament.—The hall was extremely crowded, upwards of eight thousand being present.

21.—Carlisle gaol was broken open, when the notorious Naylor, with three other prisoners, viz.: White, Row, and Barnes, made their escape. The manner in which this undertaking was achieved, displayed much ingenuity and courage, and gives some consistency to the bravado of Naylor himself, that no gaol in England but Lancaster castle could hold him. Since his last return to the place of his confinement, he was loaded with above 60 pounds weight of iron, only eight pounds short of that which the famous baron Trenck had to sustain while confined in his dungeon at Magdeburgh; he was chained to the wall, frequently hand-cuffed, and generally shin-bolted and neck-bolted. Under all these disheartening circumstances, he effected his escape merely by means of two iron bars, which had been wrenched from the windows of the cell. With these implements, he, with the help of his fellow-prisoners, forced the flags from beneath the door (each stone being sunk a great depth), and proceeding forward, made a hole sufficient to admit one person at a time. Having accomplished this, they scaled the iron palisade, and the outermost wall of the prison, and got clear off. The ingenuity of Naylor, as a prison-breaker, has long been known: some years ago, when confined in Richmond prison, in Yorkshire, he removed a stone from under the door of his cell, which was above a ton weight, by taking away the earth from below it, when it sunk down, leaving the iron-work that secured it, and gave him room to free himself.

Witchcraft, murder, and credulity.

25—A plot, accompanied by most unprecedented instances of credulity, was on Monday developed before the magistrates, at the Rotation-office, in Leeds. The parties were, Mary Bateman, of Campfield, near this town, and William Perigo and his wife, of Bramley; she the witch, and they the dupes. It appeared that in August, 1806, an application was made to this woman by Perigo to cure his wife of a complaint which was not stated on the examination, but which we suppose to be what is called amongst people of her rank, "nervous," and amongst their betters "the hip." Mary, with becoming modesty, declined to undertake the cure herself; but said, that she had a friend at Scarborough, a miss Blyth, who could "read the stars," and collect from them the knowledge requisite to remove all corporeal and mental maladies, and, as a preliminary step, required, that Perigo's wife should send her flannel petticoat to miss Blyth, in order that she might from that article of dress collect a knowledge of her disorder. The petticoat was sent, and a propitious answer returned, wherein it was required, that the medium, Mary Bateman, through which all communication betwixt the astrologer and the patient was to be made, should have four guinea notes presented to her, and she was in return to give Perigo four other guinea notes, inclosed in a small bag, into which, if either his own curiosity, or the still stronger curiosity of his wife, should induce them to look, the charm would be broken,

broken in consequence. Strange as it may appear, the wife of Perigo never looked into the enchanted bag to the day of her death. Soon after the four guineas had been given to Mary Bateman, a letter arrived from Scarbro', directing that another guinea should be paid into her hands. Similar requests were repeated and complied with, till forty guineas had been thus extorted from these infatuated people, under a promise, however, that they should, by and by, be allowed to open the bags; and these bags, they were told, would be found to contain all the money they had advanced.

About six months had now expired, and the business of fraud and delusion still went on. Miss Blyth could not, while certain planets ruled, sleep on her own bed; and in order to promote the comfort of the "wise woman," Perigo was to buy her a new bed, with all the necessary appendages, and send it to Mary Bateman, through whose hands it was to be transmitted to Scarbro'. The bed, &c., which cost eight pounds, was bought, and notes, to the amount of thirty pounds more, paid at various times into the hands of the impostor. She next demanded a set of china; this was also furnished; but she complained that the tea-canister was not sufficiently handsome to set before the genteel company kept by a lady of her distinction, and demanded a tea-caddy in its stead; which demand was also complied with.

Perigo and his wife, thus drained of all the money they had in the world, and all the sums their former good credit had enabled them to raise, and the wife's health still growing worse rather than better, they became impatient to look into the mysterious bags, and extract from them the wealth they contained. Their clamorous impatience probably became troublesome, when, as it should seem, to silence their importunity, Mrs. Bateman received, as she said, a packet from Scarborough: this packet contained a powerful charm, which was to be mixed up in a pudding, to be prepared for the purpose, and of which Perigo and his wife were to eat, but on no account to allow any person to partake with them. The husband ate sparingly; he did not like the taste; but his ill-fated wife, less scrupulous, ate freely. They both became sick almost immediately, and continued in the most deplorable situation for twenty-four hours: the wife lost the use of her limbs, and, after languishing five days, died on the 24th of May, 1807, a victim of credulity. Perigo recovered partially; but from that time to the present has never had the perfect use of his limbs. Part of the pudding was, by way of experiment, given to a cat, and it died; some fowls also picked up other parts of it, and shared the same fate. Contrary to the direction of Mary Bateman, Perigo applied to a surgeon in this town for advice, and was told by him that he had taken poison, but fortunately not in a quantity sufficiently large to occasion his death.

After the death of his wife, it is natural to suppose that the husband would have possessed sufficient fortitude to emancipate himself from the fangs of this wicked woman: this, however, was not the case; she had thrown her toils over him, and though the wife might not have been, as she sup-

posed, bewitched, it is pretty evident the husband was under some such influence. From May, 1807, till Wenesday last, the charm continued to operate, and the spell could not be dissolved. At one time he went to Manchester by the direction of this Jezebel; at another he sent her one of his wife's gowns; again she contrived to coax or frighten him out of another gown, a petticoat, and the family Bible! And last of all she demanded from him a bushel of wheat, with three seven-shilling pieces inclosed. His creditors at length became impatient; and the hopes of getting any part of his property back failing, he determined to brave all danger, and look into the mysterious bags, whose contents he found were not worth one penny.

The bubble now burst: and after having kept the business an entire secret from every soul living, his wife alone excepted, for upwards of two years, he laid his hopeless case before some of his neighbours: by their direction Mary Bateman was apprehended. When brought before the magistates, she in part confessed her delinquency, and admitted that there was no such person as miss Blyth in existence, but that the whole was a mere phantom, conjured up to forward her vile purposes. The magistrates have committed the offender to the house of correction, whether to be tried for swindling or to be removed from there to the county gaol, to take her trial for wilful murder, we are not informed.

On searching the house of this woman (who has a husband and several children), the bed and some other articles, the property of Wm. Perigo, amounting in value to about ten or twelve pounds, were found, and will be restored to the owner.

It is worthy of observation, that Mary Bateman is the person whose hen laid an egg about two years ago, at the bank in this town, bearing this marvellous inscription, "*Christ is coming.*"

25.—Between the hours of six and ten o'clock in the evening some daring villains broke into the house of the reverend sir Robert Peat, of Norton-street. It appears sir Robert had lately had a lease granted of the above premises, and having employed a workman to repair the house, left town for Worthing. He had put several large trunks, &c. filled with plate, linen, books, clothes, &c. into an upper-room, and had left a man servant in the house to sleep in the room. He had, however, unfortunately left the house on Saturday evening, when the robbery happened. The servant returned at half-past ten, and on going into the room discovered on the floor a candle burning, a dark-lanthorn, and a favourite little spaniel lying on the floor. Most of the trunks, boxes, &c. were rifled; but we understand the principal loss sir Robert has to lament is that of some valuable papers, writings, &c. respecting his estates in Poland, which, although of no use to the robbers, are of serious importance to him.

About half-past ten o'clock, a fatal accident happened to the reverend Mr. Vickers, of London, on a visit to Ramsgate. He had dined with a party of friends at the London Hotel, and parted with them in the evening: he went out about ten o'clock, unaccompanied

panied by any other person, to walk on the East pier-head. He had got nearly to the extremity of the pier when, on looking over, the night being dark, he stepped too far, and fell between a vessel and the wall (against both which he is supposed to have struck in his descent into the water), a height of about 30 feet, and was taken up with several bones broken, and otherwise so dreadfully bruised and lacerated, that he expired about three hours afterwards.

Suicide.—A most shocking and melancholy incident occurred in the King's Bench prison:—A young gentleman, named Alexander, a native of Berlin, who had been fifteen months a prisoner there, put an end to his existence by throwing himself from his chamber window in the top gallery, No. 10, a height of three stories. The circumstances which led to this lamentable catastrophe are rather interesting. The deceased was at Hamburgh about two years since, where he was met by a British manufacturer, one of his father's creditors, who had dealt extensively with the house: by this person Mr. Alexander was induced to set out with him to London; but as soon as they arrived in England Mr. Alexander was thrown into Chester gaol at the suit of his friend and fellow-traveller, upon the ground of an alleged debt, as the supposed partner with his father. Having remained there some time, he was removed at his own desire by Habeas Corpus, about fifteen months ago, to the King's Bench. With the feelings natural to a man so circumstanced in a foreign country, neglected by his friends, and destitute of support, at length his mind became deranged. His creditors, however, persisted in his detention, under a persuasion that it would ultimately force his friends to settle their demands, as they conjectured there was an understanding between him and his father; but in this, fatally for the unhappy young man, they were deceived. Indigence and persecution reduced his mind to imbecility, and his body almost to a skeleton: for the last week he had lain on the bed of sickness, and refused to take medicine or sustenance of any kind; and yesterday morning, in a moment of phrensy, while his attendant had quitted his room for a few seconds, he availed himself of the opportunity to precipitate himself from his window upon the pavement.

A common council, holden in the chamber of the Guildhall of the city of London, on Thursday, the 27th day of October, 1808,

Resolved,

That his majesty's answer be entered upon the journals. That at the same time this court cannot forbear declaring it as their opinion, that the address and petition presented to his majesty by this court on Wednesday the 12th inst. was conceived in the most dutiful and respectful terms; that it is the undoubted right of the subject to petition, and that this right ought at all times to be freely exercised in all matters of public grievance without obstruction or reproof.

That they are, therefore, at a loss to know by what construction of their said petition, however strained or perverted, his majesty's advisers could attribute to them any intention or desire "to pronounce judgment, without previous investigation."

That they are equally at a loss

to know why his majesty's advisers should have deemed it necessary to remind them, "that it was inconsistent with the principles of British justice;" unless to throw an unmerited odium on this corporation, and raise a barrier between them and the crown, on all occasions where their object is free and constitutional inquiry.

That had this court refrained from expressing to his majesty their feelings at the humiliating termination of the campaign in Portugal, they must have ceased to feel—to think—to act as Britons, and have shown themselves unsusceptible of that patriotism so essentially necessary for the preservation of their liberties—the maintenance of their national honour—and the independence and security of his majesty's crown and dominions.

They cannot, therefore, sufficiently express their concern, that they should, by any suggestions, have met with obstruction and reprehension in the exercise of this undoubted and invaluable right.

That they particularly regret that his majesty should have been advised to express a hope, "that recent occurrences would have convinced them, that his majesty is at all times ready to institute inquiries on occasions in which the character of the country, or the honour of his arms, is concerned; and that the interposition of the city of London could not be necessary for inducing his majesty to direct due inquiry into a transaction which had disappointed the hopes and expectations of the nation."

Because it appears, that during the eventful period of the last 15 years, various enterprises and expeditions have been undertaken, "in which the character of the country, and the honour of his majesty's arms, were concerned," which have grievously failed, and "disappointed the hopes and expectations of the nation," and into which "due inquiry" has not been made. That in one of the recent occurrences to which his majesty's answer refers, it is not known even at the present moment by whose advice the commander in chief was appointed, or on what account such commander was selected.

That during all these calamitous events and wasteful profusion of blood and treasure, the public burthens have been patiently borne, and his majesty has not been called upon by "the interposition of the city of London" (if their humble supplication must be so termed) to institute inquiries into these failures; although it appears to them that such "interposition" might have been highly necessary and beneficial to the country, and, by promoting "due inquiry," precluded the necessity of their late application.

That during these unhappy reverses, and while his majesty's subjects submitted to so many privations, the most shameful and scandalous abuses and peculations have prevailed; into which "due inquiry" has not been made, so as to bring to justice such great public delinquents.

That whoever advised his majesty to put so unfavourable and unwarrantable a construction on their late petition, has abused the confidence of his sovereign, and is equally an enemy to his majesty and the just rights of his people.

That they do not attribute guilt to any one, much less do they pronounce judgment without previous investigation. They ask for investigation,

vestigation, prompt and rigid investigation, and the punishment of guilt wherever it may be found.

(Signed by order of the court)
WOODTHORPE.

OLD BAILEY.

28.—William Badcock, a hackney coachman, was indicted for burglariously entering, in the night-time, the dwelling-house of Samuel Benjamin, Mary-le-bone-lane, on the 16th of September, and stealing thereout a quantity of wearing apparel, the property of the said Benjamin. The prosecutor was a Jew-salesman, and kept his shop in the lower part of the house, No. 64, Mary-le-bone-lane, which was partitioned off from the rest of the house, and in which his son usually slept at nights. After this shop was shut up on the night above stated, and padlocked on the outside, as his son had not slept there for some weeks on account of illness, word was brought him that his shop was robbed, about half-past nine o'clock. He went there with his son, and found it had been broken open, and the shelves stripped of all the property. Upon inquiry, he was informed that a hackney-coach had been seen waiting for a considerable time before the shop, and two men were seen frequently passing between the shop and the coach, and putting into the latter various parcels of goods. That they then mounted the box, and drove off with the coachman. One young man, who suspected something wrong, followed the coach and called out to the coachman to stop; but instead of stopping he drove the more furiously: the young man, however, came up with the coach, and observed that it was No. 278; and upon some further inquiry, it was found out that the driver was also the owner, and that his stand was in Holborn, near the Bull and Gate. Thither Benjamin, his son, and some others went, and waited at the Bull and Gate till one o'clock, when they saw a coach drive up; the gate of the yard was opened, and the coach drove in, and it was observed to be No. 278. There was one man on the box with the coachman, and both were taken into custody: upon searching the coach, a great coat was found under the seat, which Benjamin knew to have been in his shop the preceding evening, and his son swore that he himself had been repairing it, and that it was not ready for sale when he last saw it. The prisoner, on being interrogated that night about the conveyance of goods from Mary-le-bone-lane, denied positively that his coach had been in Mary-le-bone parish during any part of that whole day and night, or that he knew any thing about the coat found in his coach. The younger Benjamin, however, swore, that he saw him that evening in Mary-le-bone-lane, leaning against a post in the street, with his coach in waiting, for a considerable time, before the robbery, but without having then the most distant suspicion of what was intended; and that he afterwards instantly recollected his face (which was a very remarkable one), and his person, the moment he saw him at the Bull and Gate, Holborn. The other prisoner taken with him was discharged by the magistrates at Marlborough-street office. Mr. Justice Lawrence, after recapitulating the evidence for the jury, observed, that if they believed the prisoner to have been privy to the intention of the parties who actual-

ly broke open the shop and took out the goods, and that with such privity he waited to receive those goods outside in the coach, they must consider him as completely guilty of the burglary and robbery as if he had broken open the shop, and taken out the goods with his own hands; as, in such case, he must be, to all intents and purposes, an accomplice in the robbery.

The jury, without hesitation, found the prisoner Guilty—*Death.*

29.—James Waddell was capitally convicted for obstructing and beating John Clarke, an excise officer, in the execution of his duty. In the year 1797, the prosecutor, Clarke, being in prosecution of his duty, and then stationed near Maidstone, in Kent, at night came up with a cart laden with smuggled tobacco; and in proceeding to examine it, he was obstructed by the prisoner, who rode alongside the cart; and after he had fired a case of pistols ineffectually at the horse, the prisoner, assisted by the driver, knocked him down with a bludgeon, and having given him five desperate wounds, and left him senseless, retired with his booty. Soon after, however, the prisoner returned, and rendered the prosecutor every assistance in conveying him to a neighbouring house, where he was required to give his name and place of abode: the prisoner, however, gave a feigned name and address; in consequence of which he was not apprehended until the year 1801, when he was enlarged upon bail, but forfeited his recognizance. In consequence of the proclamation, extending his majesty's pardon to smugglers who surrendered within a certain time, the prisoner lately delivered himself up to justice. These facts being proved, the prisoner, in his defence, said, that when he assaulted the prosecutor, he took him for a robber who wanted to plunder him, but afterwards, finding his mistake, he returned and rendered him every assistance in his power.—He had given a feigned name, and avoided subsequent prosecution, because he had been a smuggler, but now surrendered himself up to justice in hopes of pardon.

The jury returned a verdict of *Guilty.*

MIDDLESEX SESSION.

Joseph Powell, a noted astrologer, who had been once before convicted, and suffered the sentence of the law, for dealing in the mystic art, was again brought before the court for judgment, under the vagrant act, as an incorrigible rogue and vagabond.

This prosecution, as well as that which followed, were carried on by the Society for the Suppression of Vice, whose clerk, Mr. Western, was the chief evidence. He stated, that in consequence of one of Mr. Powell's late advertisements to the nobility and gentry, notifying that he now vended medicines which performed the most miraculous cures for head-aches, tooth-aches, rheumatism, &c. made black and decayed teeth sound, perfect, and pearly white, &c. concluding with a *nota bene*, that he continued to give his opinion in the wonderful art of consulting the planetary system, gratis—he waited upon this wonderful prophet in Edward-street, Portman-square, for the purpose of detecting him; and having feigned a complaint in his head, he received an infallible nostrum in a small phial. After having

having led to the subject of his art, and given the time of his nativity, the prisoner proceeded in his magic incantations. After a short consultation of the planets, he told him that he was born under the sun, cautioned him against a dark man who was his enemy, and promised him great prosperity in the course of his dealings. For the medicine, but not for his opinion, he received half-a-crown. Wood, the police officer, afterwards caught him in the act of casting the nativity of two young ladies, and seized the prophet, his magic books, &c. The court sentenced him to twelve months imprisonment in the house of correction, and to be publicly whipped.

Elizabeth Lawrence was also brought up for judgment for a similar offence. Her incantations, however, were confined to the mysteries of a pack of cards, upon which she told fortunes at the cheap rate of one shilling per head. Two young damsels, who had been sent for the purpose, proved her dealings in the black art; and after an able defence by Mr. Curwood, in consequence of this being the second conviction for the same offence, the court sentenced her to 12 months imprisonment in the house of correction.

30.—A most dreadful storm of wind and rain occurred last week at Moffat: the rivers in the neighbourhood came down in such torrents as were never seen before by the oldest people here. Amongst the damage occasioned by it, we are sorry to state a distressing accident which happened to the mail-coach from Glasgow to Carlisle, which passes this way, at the bridge over the river Evon, about nine miles from hence, at a place called Howcleagh, betwixt nine and ten o'clock last night. The coach had just got about half way over, when the bridge gave way in the middle of the arch, and the coach, passengers, horses, &c. were instantly precipitated into the river, down a fall of 35 or 40 feet. There were four inside and two outside passengers. The two latter, and two of the horses, were killed upon the spot; and the other passengers had a most miraculous escape with their lives, though, we are sorry to say, they are all very considerably hurt. The coachman and guard were also much hurt; the former had his arm broken, and otherwise much bruised, and the guard got a severe contusion in the head. The other coach, from Carlisle to Glasgow, narrowly escaped sharing the same fate: it arrived at the bridge just at the time the accident happened; and, from the darkness of the night, and the rate the coach necessarily travels, must inevitably have gone into the river at the same breach in the arch, had not the cries of one of the sufferers alarmed the coachman, and induced him to stop. By the exertion of the coachman and guard of the other coach, the passengers who survived (a lady, and three gentlemen), with the coachman and guard, that had fallen into the abyss, were saved, and conducted to a place of safety, until other assistance was afforded them. Much praise is due to the proprietor at Moffat, for his exertion and assistance on this occasion. Immediately on hearing of the accident he set out, in the middle of the night, with several of his servants and surgical assistance, and gave every possible relief to the passengers; and by this means, we are happy to

say, the London mail, and many valuable articles in the coach, have been saved. The exertions of one of the proprietor's servants is particularly deserving of notice: At the risk of his life, he went down the precipice, suspended by a rope, and saved the life of the lady (one of the passengers), and recovered the mail bags, which must otherwise have been carried down the stream. The bodies of the two passengers have been found, and conveyed to Moffat; and, notwithstanding the detention occasioned by this calamity, the mail was delivered in town in its regular course.

31.—The late fall of snow in the vicinity of Galashiels has been attended with very fatal effects. The sudden thaw which followed, caused torrents of water to descend from the surrounding mountains, which increased Gala water to such a degree, as not only to sweep away the bridge, but completely to destroy the public road. The communication in that part of the country is in consequence obstructed. We are sorry also to add, that an extensive machinery, erected for the manufacturing of woollen cloth, was entirely carried away by the torrent; which has thrown a number of industrious people out off employment.

About 14 or 1500 of small Roman copper coins were lately discovered in ploughing some land belonging to Mrs. Ward, of Timberland, near Sleaford. They are coins of Augustus, Tiberius, and the First Claudius; were found in a Roman earthen pot (which was broken by the plough), and are in fine preservation.

NOVEMBER 3.

Letter transmitted by lord Collingwood.

Seahorse, off Skyro, July 6.

My lord, I have the honour to inform your lordship, that yesterday evening we observed two Turkish men of war and a galley coming round the east end of the island of Scopolo, towards which we immediately made sail. On coming near enough to make out that they were both single-decked ships, I determined to bring them to action, having every confidence in the officers and crew of this ship. The action began at half-past nine, the Turks going a little off the wind under easy sail, and continually endeavouring to run us onboard; indeed I early saw that their chief attention was directed to this object; and as the largest ship appeared of great force and full of men, I kept this ship in a position not to be boarded. At ten o'clock, observing a good opportunity of more particularly attacking the small ship to advantage, we dropped along side of her, and after a quarter of an hour's hot fire, at half pistol shot distance, her fire having totally ceased, we left her in a state of the greatest distress and confusion, with her sails mostly down; and just before we had left her she had partially blown up forward. By this time the large frigate, which, from having fallen a little to leeward, had not been able to assist her consort, had again got pretty close up, and the action between us soon recommenced; still so obstinate was the resistance of the Turks, that it was not till a quarter past one we rendered her a motionless wreck. As they now would

would neither answer nor fire, I conceived it most prudent, knowing the character of the people, to wait for day-light to send on-board her. At day-light, observing her colours upon the stump of the mizen-mast, we poured a broadside into her stern, when she struck, and I had the pleasure to take possession of the Badere Zaffer, a very fine frigate of the largest dimensions, carrying 52 long brass guns, 24-pounders, on the main-deck, except two, which are 42-pounders, and 12-pounders on the quarter-deck and forecastle. She had a complement of 500 men, and was commanded by captain Scanderli Kichuc Alli, who, I am informed, was only prevented by his own people from blowing her up. Her loss in killed and wounded is prodigious, 165 killed and 195 wounded; ours comparatively small, 5 killed and 10 wounded. Our mizen-mast fell soon after the action, which is the greatest injury we sustained. The other ship was named the Abs Fezan, carrying twenty-four 13-pounders and two mortars, commanded by captain Daragardi Alli, with a complement of 230 men. I understand they took most of the men out of the galley before the action, and sent her away. Having now, my lord, given you the details of this affair, there only remains the pleasant office of recommending to you the officers and ship's company, who, during a tedious night action, where much depended upon working the sails as well as the guns, behaved in a manner to command my utmost gratitude. The disparity of force, with the loss in the enemy's ships, will prove the greatness of their exertions, to which I shall add, that thirty men were absent from the ship. Mr. Downie, the first lieutenant, is an officer of merit, ability, and experience; and I beg leave strongly to recommend him to your lordship's protection for promotion. Mr. Lester, master's-mate, who has passed, is also very deserving of promotion. Thomas Hully, gunner's-mate, and an excellent man, acted as gunner; and from his conduct is very deserving of such a situation. I am now proceeding, with the prize, for any port I can get first into amongst the islands, as it is with difficulty we can keep her above water. J. STEWART.

3. A large whale, 45 feet long, ran ashore on the banks of the Frith, betwixt Allo and Cambus, where it was discovered by two ploughmen, who endeavoured for a long time to kill it with their knives, but without effect; the fish at the same time making great exertions to escape. At last, a surgeon pointed out the mortal part, and, by applying a spit, they effected their purpose. It is intended to get some vessel near it, to lift it to a proper spot for dissection.

9.—A broker of the name of Oliver, in Mary-le-bone, has had a piece of extraordinary good fortune, in a purchase not only of great profit to him, but of immense value to the arts. A short time since, general Gwynne, who had recently purchased an estate in the vicinity of Farnham, gave instructions for the sale of the decayed antique furniture, in the mansion-house attached to the property. Among other things were several old pictures, lying in a heap in one of the lumber rooms. They were bought for *5l.* 12*s.* 6*d.* by a chandler at Farnham, who took the opinion respecting them of a coach-

herald

herald painter in the neighbourhood. This person saw they were works of a great master, and wrote to his father, Oliver, the broker, to send him 30*l.* For 25*l.* he got possession of the paintings, and bore them off in triumph to the capital. Since their arrival they have been inspected by the *lovers of vertu*, and by them are estimated at 30,000*l.* value. How far the latter report may be depended upon we know not; but certain it is, that sixteen thousand pounds have been tendered and refused. These admirable pictures prove to be ten of the Cæsars, by Titian; they are each about seven feet in height. Each of the Cæsars is mounted on horseback; the fire and spirit displayed by the animals are astonishingly great. The burning of Rome is a master-piece. Each picture has an historical description, placed in an appropriate situation.

Another remarkable circumstance respecting the discovery of a celebrated picture, the good fortune of its owner, and the honourable conduct of two *cognoscenti*, has also occurred in the course of the past week:—Mr. Jennings, commonly called Chiliby Jennings, of eccentric memory, a man of large fortune, an antiquarian, and a virtuoso, passing through Chelsea, a few days since, saw at a broker's shop a picture painted in oil, of vast dimensions. On inspecting it closely, he asked the man the price of it. The reply was, "Thirty-six shillings."—After taking a more minute survey of the subject, Mr. Jennings addressed the vender with, "Have you a family?"—"I have a wife and four children," was the reply.—"My good man," said Mr. Jennings, "take my advice; it will prove a fortune to you and your posterity; do not sell the picture for a less sum than three thousand pounds." Mr. Jennings left the shop, and meeting with tall S—ns in the Park, informed him of the circumstance. S. posted away in a great hurry to the broker's residence; and after taking a slight survey of the picture, asked the man, with an air of indifference, what he expected for it: "Really, sir," replied the broker, "I know not what to ask for it, as a gentleman, not an hour ago, told me it was worth three thousand pounds." Fifteen hundred, and since two thousand pounds, have been tendered. The subject is the Fabulous Pantheon, by Rubens. It is in a high state of preservation, with only a hole in a part of the back-ground, of no consequence whatever to the picture.

14.—The members of the court of inquiry, convened by virtue of his majesty's warrant, assembled in the Great Hall of Chelsea Hospital, to inquire into the circumstances that led to the convention of Cintra. President: gen. sir D. Dundas. Members: Generals, earl Moira, P. Craig, and lord Heathfield; lieutenant-generals, earl Pembroke, sir G. Nugent, and O. Nichols. The board was constituted without any formality; and, after the members had taken their seats, heard his majesty's warrant read by the deputy judge advocate, and deliberated a short time in private, was adjourned.

17.—The court assembled at half-past ten; and the business was opened by the judge advocate, who read the various official correspondence between lord Castlereagh, sir A. Wellesley, sir H. Dalrymple, sir H. Burrard, sir C. Cotton, &c. &c. down to the dispatches of the 21st September. Sir H. Dalrymple

ple then came forward, and addressed the court at some length, in vindication of his character, which, he said, had been grossly aspersed in the public prints, to serve, as it would seem, the cause of a more favoured officer. It had been asserted that he was the sole author of the convention; that he had acted in opposition to the plan of proceedings previously agreed on; that he had dashed the laurels from the brow of the victor; and that sir A. Wellesley had protested against, or strongly disapproved of, the terms of the convention. He now pledged himself to that court, and to his country, that sir H. Burrard, sir A. Wellesley, and himself, were present with general Kellerman when the preliminaries were discussed and settled, and that sir A. Wellesley bore that prominent part in the discussion, to which the important situation he held in the country, the glorious victory he had lately gained, and the information, more particularly of a local nature, which he possessed, so well entitled him to assume. —Sir A. Wellesley begged to say a few words in answer to what he had just heard. He regretted exceedingly that any thing should have appeared in any of the public prints which could be supposed to have the effect of serving him at the expense of the conduct or character of sir H. Dalrymple; and he disclaimed, in his own name and that of his relations and friends, any approbation or knowledge of such statements. He had agreed with the commander in chief on the principle of those articles, though he had differed from him in some of the details: he had signed the preliminaries at the desire of sir H. Dalrymple, but not in consequence of any command or compulsion.—The judge advocate, we undersand, publicly expressed the wish of the court, that its proceedings should not be published until its conclusion, and his majesty's pleasure should be known whether any further proceedings of a military nature were to be instituted. The duke of Cumberland and a number of elegantly dressed females were present. Sir Hew Dalrymple was accompanied by general Green, and sir Arthur Wellesley by major Tucker. Sir Hew spoke with firmness and precision, and appeared in good spirits.

An ecclesiastical cause has been determined in Scotland, which is something curious. The harvest of last year being very wet, Mr. Wright, minister of Maybole, took the opportunity after sermon, on a Sunday which proved dry, to recommend to his parishioners to take advantage of the weather to house their corn. His advice was followed by several; but the ensuing presbytery thought proper to institute an inquiry against him for breaking the Sabbath; but, on an appeal to the synod, they set aside the proceedings of the presbytery.

18.—A shark was caught by the fishermen at Hastings. It was entangled in 17 of their nets, and completely broke them all; but being wounded, and nearly spent, they contrived to tow on shore this monster of the deep. It measures 30 feet in length, and upwards of 20 in circumference, and is supposed to weigh at least ten ton; has four rows of teeth, and the throat is so large that it could swallow a man with the greatest ease. It is the largest of the species ever met with in any of the seas of Europe. Col. Bothwell has purchased it for his friend Mr. Home, surgeon, of Sackville-

Sackville-street, who intends to dissect it, and place the skeleton in his museum.—A sea-snake, 60 feet long, being the second of the kind ever seen, has been driven ashore on the estate of M. Laing, esq. M.P. in one of the Orkney islands.

19.—At the change of the moon, and during an invisible eclipse of the sun, this night, an extraordinary high tide, accompanied by a strong south-west wind, inundated the whole of the Southern coast, from Folkstone to the Isle of Wight. At the former place, the galling of the sea carried off a prodigious quantity of the beach and sand, so as to leave the foundation of several houses quite naked. Fears were at one time entertained that the weight of the sea would break the banks of the royal military canal at Hythe, though situated a quarter of a mile from the shore; but fortunately, after destroying several store-houses, hay-stacks, &c. the sea obtained a vent to the canal, and was thus prevented doing further damage.

Admiralty-office, Nov. 19.

Letter from captain Seymour to lord Gambier.

Amethyst, Hamoaze, Nov. 15.

My lord, I have the most sincere pleasure in acquainting you, that his majesty's ship the Amethyst, under my command, captured, 10th instant at night, the French frigate La Thetis, of 44 guns, and a crew of 330 men, who had served years together, and 106 soldiers, from L'Orient for Martinique. Being close to the N. W. point of Groa, she was seen a quarter before seven P. M. and immediately chased; and a close action began before 10 o'clock, which continued with little intermission till 20 minutes after midnight. Having fallen on-board for a short time after 10, and from a quarter past 11, when she intentionally laid us on-board, till she surrendered (about an hour), she lay fast alongside, the fluke of our best bower anchor having entered her foremost main-deck port, and she was, after great slaughter, boarded and taken possession of, and some prisoners received from her, before we disengaged the ships. Shortly after, a ship of war was seen closing fast under a press of sail, which proved to be the Triumph, which immediately gave us the most effectual assistance that the anxious and feeling mind of such an officer as sir T. Hardy could suggest. At half-past one the Shannon joined, received prisoners from, and took La Thetis in tow. She is wholly dismasted, dreadfully shattered, and had her commander (Pinsun, capitaine de vaisseau) and 135 men killed; 102 wounded, amongst whom are all her officers except three. The Amethyst has lost 19 killed and 51 wounded; amongst the former is lieut. B. Kindall, a most promising young officer, of the royal marines, who suffered greatly; and that invaluable officer lieut. S. J. Payne, dangerously wounded; the mizen-mast shot away, and the ship much damaged and leaky. No language can convey an adequate idea of the cool and determined bravery shown by every officer and man of this ship: and their truly noble behaviour has laid me under the greatest obligation. The assistance I received from my gallant friend the first lieutenant, Mr. G. Blennerhasset,-an officer of great merit and ability, is beyond all encomium. Lieuts. Hill and Crouch, and Mr. Fair, the master (whose admirable exertions, particularly at the

the close of the action, when the enemy was on fire, the boarders employed, and the ship had suddenly made two feet water, surmounted all difficulties), are happily preserved to add lustre to his majesty's service. In justice to Mons. Dede, the surviving commander of La Thetis, I must observe, he acted with singular firmness, and was the only Frenchman on the quarter-deck when we boarded her.

MICHAEL SEYMOUR.

23.—Captain Freemantle and captain Bayntun, who were deputed to see the monument erected on Portsdown Hill, to the memory of lord Nelson, properly executed, inspected it last week, and are satisfied that the wishes of the fleet have been complied with. They have given directions for the following inscription to be put on it:

"Consecrated to the memory of lord viscount Nelson, by the zealous attachment of all those who fought at Trafalgar, to perpetuate his triumph, and their regret, 1805."

And on the opposite side the following:

"The British fleet consisted of 27 ships of the line; of France and Spain there were 33, 19 of which were taken or destroyed."

BASTARDY.

26.—Mr. Best obtained a rule for a writ of *Habeas Corpus*, to bring up the body of a young woman who had been committed by the magistrates of Aylesbury, to the house of correction of Aylesbury, for the space of twelve months, she having refused to discover the name of the father of her bastard female child. It appeared upon the affidavits in support of the rule, that the bastard was never chargeable on the parish, the parties having the means of supporting it. The parish constable repeatedly called upon her to discover the name of the father, and she was at last brought before the magistrates, but she still persisted in her refusal. She was attended by two persons of opulence, who were ready to indemnify the parish from being charged with the bastard, and who had actually prepared the draft of a bail bond for that purpose. Notwithstanding, the magistrates made out her commitment as a vagrant, for twelve months imprisonment, or until she should discover the name of the father of the child.—The court, conceiving that the magistrates had no power to make such a proviso, granted the rule.

29.—In the court of King's Bench, W. Wright was brought up for judgment, for a libel inserted in the Liverpool paper, insinuating that the persons who had volunteered their services to bring home the Danish fleet, would be entrapped by government, and sent against their will on other services. He was sentenced to six months imprisonment in Lancaster gaol.

An action was tried to determine whether the sword-bearer to the lord mayor had a right, by virtue of his office, to demand from the sheriffs three bottles of wine per day during the Old Bailey sessions. It was proved that such a custom had been recognized for the last twenty years, with few or no exceptions.—Mr. Garrow, for the defendant (the Sheriff) did not deny that such a courtesy or custom had prevailed; but the sword-bearer, who was the lord mayor's officer, had no legal right to enforce that custom. The sword-

bearer

bearer had a table found for him, and, not content with that, he wished to sweep away three bottles of wine per day for home consumption. The sword-bearer was no officer of the sheriffs, and his attendance on the lord mayor and sheriffs was amply provided for in the table found him, and the gallery he was permitted to let out to the public—a practice in his mind extremely disgraceful, and one he hoped to see discontinued. There were no other courts where the public were compelled to pay for their admittance.—As to the table, it was furnished with every thing requisite, and he remembered a story told of the late sir William Staines when sheriff, that would prove that fact. Sir William Staines excused himself at the lord mayor's table, and took his seat at the head of the sword-bearer's, where he was so sumptuously entertained with custards, jellies, blancmange, and turtles, that he resolved to put the table œconomy under restraint, and ordered that nothing but good roast and boiled should be served up in future, observing, that he had a numerous family, (the prisoners in the respective gaols) and they would be benefited by the remains of good sirloins and rounds of beef. They preferred the substantial to the decorative. The jury, under the direction of lord Ellenborough, found a verdict for the defendant.

DECEMBER 3.

THE LORD MAYOR AND LIVERY OF LONDON.

In consequence of the lord mayor's refusal to grant a common hall, on the requisition of the livery, a meeting of the livery has been held at the New London Tavern, Mr. deputy Goodbehere in the chair; when a protest and second requisition was unanimously agreed to.

It is addressed to the lord mayor; and after recapitulating the former requisition, and his lordship's answer, it proceeds thus:

We, the undersigned liverymen, beg leave to observe—That the right of the livery of London to meet in common hall to deliberate on matters of public grievance has been ever exercised, with very few exceptions, and that such exceptions have been uniformly stigmatized with the reprobation of the livery:—That if a chief magistrate is to grant such meetings only when they coincide with his own views of the propriety and utility of the measures to be proposed, his conduct must amount to a violation of the most sacred rights of the subject, inasmuch as it necessarily deprives the people of the legal means of expressing their sentiments on all great questions affecting the common weal, and renders null the liberties so repeatedly asserted by their ancestors, and so clearly and emphatically declared by the Bill of Rights:—That with respect to the date of the requisition, we beg to state, that it is subsequent to the appointment of the court of inquiry, and that other meetings have been held under similar circumstances, to which no such objection has been made:—That since the sheriffs of counties, officers appointed by the crown, have not withheld from the people the exercise of the right in question under such pretence, we cannot forbear expressing our astonishment and displeasure, that the chief magistrate of the city of London should, by almost his first official

official act, deny it to those to whose good opinion, confidence and suffrages he has been indebted for his high situation :—That without adopting your lordship's notions respecting what you term a "court of inquiry," we trust we may be allowed to exercise our own judgment as to the institution of a tribunal unknown to the laws of this country; appointed by the crown; unsworn; possessing no authority to compel the attendance of witnesses, to administer oaths, or to acquit or condemn the parties, whose conduct is under investigation :—That we cannot observe without real concern, the suspicion which your lordship's answer evidently implies, that the great body of the livery of London, to whom is intrusted the choice of a chief magistrate, of sheriffs, of members of parliament, and of other important officers, could so far forget themselves as to countenance or adopt any proceedings incompatible with the character they have ever maintained, or repugnant to the pure principles of public justice :—That we presume your lordship may safely confide these matters to the livery themselves, who do not solicit your advice, but merely claim their undoubted right, and leave them to be the guardians of their own character and honour:—That, as the only ground of objection (to put the most favourable contruction upon your lordship's answer) appears to be a supposition, that since the date of the last requisition, circumstances have arisen to preclude the necessity of such meeting, we beg to state to your lordship, that several of the names have been signed subsequent to its date; that the liverymen who signed it were generally aware, that it could not be delivered until a late date, and that no material circumstances occurred to cause a change in their opinion as to the propriety or necessity thereof. For the purpose, however, of obviating every difficulty in that respect, we, the undersigned liverymen of the city of London, do hereby again request your lordship to convene a common hall, on an early day, in order to consider the late convention in Portugal, by which the character, honour, and interests of the country have been so deeply affected, and to adopt such measures as may be deemed advisable.

The above protest and requisition was signed by nearly one hundred liverymen, and presented to his lordship by Mr. Goodbehere. The following answer was returned by the lord mayor :—

"The lord mayor presents his compliments to Mr. deputy Goodbehere. The consideration which induced the lord mayor to decline convening the livery of London in common hall, on the requisition before presented to him, for the purpose of considering, at this time, the late convention in Portugal, remains in full force, and induces his lordship again to decline convening the meeting requested by the renewed application, in the same terms, for the same purpose, which has been presented by Mr. deputy Goodbehere this morning.

"The lord mayor greatly regrets to find himself obliged, in the official exercise of his discretion, to differ from any part of the respectable livery of London, on their view of the subject.

"To Samuel Goodbehere, esq. deputy, &c. &c. &c."

The King v. *Alexander Davidson.*

8.—This was an information filed by the attorney-general against

against the defendant, charging him with fraud in his character of agent to the barrack-master-general, in furnishing supplies for that department of the public service. The information, in specifying the precise nature of the fraud, sets forth, that the defendant, by an agreement entered into with general Delancy, in the year 1795, stipulated to purchase stores for the barrack department, and to see them packed and forwarded to their place of destination; he being allowed for his agency two and a half per cent. upon the charges and expenses so incurred; that he continued to act in the character of agent, consistent with the terms stipulated in the agreement, till the year 1798, when, instead of purchasing the supplies from the merchants, as he had been accustomed to do, he furnished them from his own stores, assuming to himself the double character of seller as well as buyer; and having caused fictitious bills of parcels to be made out in the names of two of his clerks (Watson and Allen), and taken from them receipts, as if they had been dealt with on their own account. These accounts were returned to the barrack office, and the commission charged and allowed upon the transactions, the same as if the defendant had actually been the purchaser on the part of government, and not the seller. By these fabricated bills and receipts, the barrack-master-general was deceived, and the government defrauded, and the defendant obtained a commission which he was not entitled to under his agreement, in addition to his profits on the supplies furnished.

The attorney-general having stated the case, brought evidence to prove the same, and it appeared, that the contract was fairly abided by, from 1795 to 1798, but that the fraud stated in the information was carried on from 1798 until 1802, when the practice was discontinued, in consequence of some investigation into the accounts of the barrack department, and ultimately brought to light by the military commission instituted by the house of commons. The particular instance of fraud imputed, amounted to about 1500*l.* being the commission charged on 15,000*l.*

Mr. Dallas, for the defendant, said, that such a sum could not be an inducement to a man in such an extensive business, and high line in society, to forfeit all that could be dear to him, and that he was employed by general Delancy, without any previous acquaintance, but entirely from his knowledge in business and great mercantile concerns.—Mr. Dallas said, he would admit, by that agreement, he was employed merely as an agent, at a stipulated commission; and that he was bound to deliver in bills of parcels from the parties he dealt with, as vouchers for the purchases he made on the barrack accounts; and he would ask, if it was likely, after four years of honourable conduct, diligent and faithful in the discharge of his duty, and accurate and punctual in his accounts, he should all at once deviate from that line of propriety, and be guilty of a fraudulent breach in the execution of his contract.—The defence, however, on which he rested was, that between the years 1795 and 1798, general Delancy found considerable difficulty to obtain supplies from the merchants, and knowing, that, by the first agreement, Mr. Davidson was prohibited from furnishing supplies from his own stores, entered into a

fresh agreement with him, and, to benefit the public service, agreed that that stipulation should be done away, and that he should be allowed to furnish the supplies himself. The circumstance of the defendant's bills being made out in the name of his two clerks, in this case, evinced no fraud, but was done merely for the safety of formality, as it would have been irregular for the same person to appear both as buyer and seller in the same document. The commission was charged inadvertently, and when the defendant discovered the error, he had endeavoured to get back the accounts from the office, to correct them, but it was too late, the accounts having been passed.

General Delancy was then called, who admitted that he agreed to the defendant's furnishing the supplies from his own stores, but not to his charging commission upon them. Had he done so, he should have considered himself as guilty of a flagrant breach of his duty to the public. He never knew the commission was charged, though he had no doubt Mr. Davidson might have laid the case on that head before the barrack board, that would have called for consideration.

Lord Moira, sir Evan Nepean, sir Andrew Snape Hammond, sir William Rule, the hon. Wellesley Pole, and Messrs. Lee, Hunter, Cowley, Smart, Davidson, Jordaine, Black, Gilpin, Long, and Huskisson, were then examined as to character, and all described the defendant as a man of strict probity and honour, and that they believed him to be incapable of committing a deliberate fraud.

The attorney-general made an able reply, insisting that the defence had contributed to substantiate the fraud. The inaccuracies the defendant wished to correct were not relative to the commission, they respected other errors in his accounts.

Lord Ellenborough summed up with great accuracy and precision: he observed with strong emphasis upon the fabricating of the bills of parcels and the receipts, and said it seldom happened that deceit was necessary to produce an honourable or honest purpose.

The jury, after consulting for some time, found the defendant *Guilty*.

COMMON COUNCIL.

9.—The lord mayor held his first court of common council, when Mr. deputy Halyer, moved the thanks of the court to J. Ainsley, esq. the late lord mayor, for his zealous, upright, and impartial conduct during his mayoralty.

Mr. Quin regretted, that notwithstanding his personal regard for the late lord mayor, he could not concur in the vote proposed, when he considered the case of Christie, a freeman of the city of London, who was not only impressed in the city with his lordship's consent, but even by his concurrence, on which account he must move a negative. Mr. Jacks also, besides the above ground, observed, that there were other parts of that conduct which the original motion of thanks went to approve, from which he must dissent. Rumours, pretty generally circulated, had conveyed to the public, that the mansion-house was deprived of the presence of the late lord mayor for days; and one day, when there was an official attendance, men of business were detained long after those hours set apart for the performance of public duties.—With respect to the facility

afforded by the late lord mayor to the members of that court, on all occasions, he had to observe, that it was his duty to have once sought an interview, and his reception was as repulsive and forbidding as if he presented himself *in formâ pauperis*. A debate of considerable length took place, after which, Mr. Halyer's motion was negatived on a division, 59 against 47.

Admiralty-office, 13.

A dispatch has been received from gen. Stuart, at Messina, containing an inclosure from lieut. Bryce, which details the particulars of a successful attack made on Diamante Harbour, by a small expedition supported by the Halcyon and Weazel sloops, &c.

Off Diamante, Sept. 8.

Sir, I do myself the honour to acquaint you, that the detachment you were pleased to put under my orders has successfully executed the service in view, by capturing, in conjunction with capt. Pearce, of the royal navy, a flotilla of 38 sail of the enemy's vessels, of which four are large gun-boats, under the town of Diamante, where they had been blockaded with much perseverance by capt. Prescott, of the Weazel. On our arrival, I found the position of the enemy very respectable, as the town of Diamante, which covered the vessels ranged on the right and left of it, stands on a peninsula nearly inaccessible on three sides; the fourth is protected by different inclosures; and there is, besides, a building of considerable strength commanding the whole. After the building had been cannonaded for some time by captains Pearce and Rescold, of the royal navy, and the chevalier de Balsamo, commander of a Sicilian galliot, who were indefatigable in their exertions, 250 men of the regiment of Malta, under major Hammill, and 100 of the 58 regiment under capt. O'Brien, were landed at day-break this morning, about half a mile to the northward of the town, accompanied by a howitzer and two 3-pounders, commanded by captain Campbell of the royal artillery. The enemy, who consisted of about 400 men of the civic guard, with a proportion of French troops, were gradually forced back through the underwood upon the town; which, however, they did not attempt to defend, but took to the mountains; and we were enabled to turn their batteries, of four heavy guns, on the beach to the southward of the town, without sustaining any loss, when the whole of their vessels fell into our hands. I beg leave to express great satisfaction with the judicious conduct of major Hammill; and thanks are due to capt. Campbell, commanding the artillery; capt. O'Brien, commanding the 58th; and lieut. Lawson of the engineers, who did me the favour to attend me on shore.

Alex. Bryce, lieut. col. R. E.

Admiralty-office, Dec. 17.

Copy of a letter from sir E. Pellew, bart. to the hon. W. W. Pole.

Culloden, Bombay Harbour, April 7.

Sir, I request you will submit to the lords commissioners of the admiralty the inclosed letter from lieut. Dawson, acting in the command of his majesty's ship St. Fiorenzo, stating the particulars of the capture of La Piedmontaise French frigate, mounting 50 guns, on the 8th ult. in the Gulf of Manaar.—In making this communication, I am desirous of expressing those mingled sentiments of admiration and concern which I experienced

perienced in the loss of capt. Hardinge, who fell in the moment of victory, after having exerted, during three successive days, the most remarkable zeal, gallantry, and judgment, in the conduct of this very brilliant action. His majesty's service has been thus deprived of a most excellent and distinguished officer, of whom the highest expectations have been justly formed, from a knowledge of his many great and excellent qualities.—The merit of lieut. Dawson, upon whom the command devolved after the death of captain Hardinge, is already well known to the board by his gallant behaviour on a former occasion, when he was severely wounded at the capture of the Psyche frigate by the St. Fiorenzo, in which nearly the whole of her present officers and crew had the honour to share.—The manner in which he continued the action, which had been so nearly concluded by his lamented captain, and finally conducted it to a successful issuse, will doubtless secure to him the high approbation and recompense of their lordships.—The undaunted bravery, the animated and persevering exertions of every officer, seaman, and marine on board the St. Fiorenzo, have been truly worthy of the beloved country in whose cause they have been so nobly engaged; the public gratitude will be commensurate with their eminent services.—I learn that the St. Fiorenzo had arrived with her prize in safety at Columbo, from whence she may shortly be expected at this port.

EDWARD PELLEW.

St. Fiorenzo, at Sea, March 9.

Sir, It is with great regret I have to inform you of the death of capt. Hardinge, late of his majesty's ship St. Fiorenzo, who fell gloriously in the early part of an action on the 8th inst. between this ship and the French national frigate La Piedmontaise.—The St. Fiorenzo sailed from Point de Galle on Friday the 4th inst. at half past 11, A. M. On the 6th, at 7, A. M. passed three Indiamen, and shortly after saw a frigate bearing N. E. We immediately hauled our wind in chase, and made all sail, being at that time in lat. 7 deg. 32 min., long. 77 deg. 58 min. We made the private signal, which was not answered; and at five showed our colours, which the enemy took no notice of. At 40 minutes past eleven, P. M. we ranged alongside of him on the larboard tack, and received his broadside. After engaging till 50 minutes past eleven P. M. within a cable's length, the enemy made still a-head, out of the range of our shot. We ceased firing, and made all sail after him, continuing to come up with him till day-light; when, finding he could not avoid an action, he wore, as did we also. At 25 minutes past six recommenced the action at the distance of half a mile, gradually closing with him to a quarter of a mile. The fire was constant and well-directed on both sides; though that of the enemy slackened towards the latter part of the action. At a quarter past eight P. M. the enemy made all sail away; our main topsail-yard being shot through, the main royal mast, and both main-topmast-stays, the mainspring-stay, and most of the standing and running rigging, and all our sails, shot to pieces, and most of our cartridges fired away (as our guns were directed at his hull, he was not much disabled about his rigging), we ceased firing, and employed all hands in repairing the damages

sustained, and fitting the ship again for action. From the great injury our masts, yards, and sails had received, I am sorry to observe that it was not in our power to chase to renew the action immediately. We, however, succeeded in keeping sight of him during the night; and at nine A. M. on the 8th, the ship being perfectly prepared for action, we bore down upon the enemy under all sail. He did not endeavour to avoid us till we hauled athwart his stern, for the purpose of gaining the weather-gauge, and bringing up to close fight, when he hauled up also, and made all sail; but, perceiving that we came fast up with him, and that an action was inevitable, he tacked; and at three we passed each other on opposite tacks, and recommenced action within a quarter of a cable's length. With grief I have to observe, that our brave captain was killed by a grape-shot the second broadside. When the enemy was abaft our beam, he wore; and, after an hour and 20 minutes close action, struck their colours, and waved their hats for a boat to be sent them. She proved to be La Piedmontaise, commanded by Monsieur Epron, capitaine de vaisseaux; she mounts 50 guns, long 18 pounders on her main-deck, and 36-pounder carronades on her quarter-deck. She had 366 Frenchmen on-board, and nearly 200 Lascars, who worked their sails. She sailed from the isle of France on the 30th December. In the action she had 48 killed, and 112 wounded. The St. Fiorenzo has 13 killed, and 25 wounded; most of the latter are in a promising way. A list of them I have the honour to inclose for your information. The enemy was cut to pieces in his masts, bowsprit, and rigging; and they all went by the board during the night. It is now a pleasing part of my duty to recommend to your particular notice the cool, steady, and gallant conduct of lieuts. Edward Davies and Henry George Moysey; the latter, I am sorry to add, was severely wounded about ten minutes before the enemy struck. I also experienced very great assistance from Mr. Donovan the master, by the judicious and seamanlike manner in which he laid us close alongside the enemy. To lieut. Samuel Ashmore, of the royal marines, I am much indebted, for the cool and determined courage evinced by him through the whole action. Indeed, every officer, petty officer, seaman, and marine in the ship, behaved in the most brave and gallant manner, and nobly maintained the pre-eminence of the British flag. In the first boat from the prize came Mr. W. F. Black, assistant-surgeon of his majesty's 86th regiment, captured by the Piedmontaise on his passage to Madras, who rendered the surgeon great assistance. I am also much indebted to the officers of the army, and the captains and officers of the country ships, who were prisoners on board the enemy, for the great assistance they afforded us with their Lascars in erecting jury masts, and working the ship into port, as, from our weak state and the great number of prisoners on-board us, we could spare but few hands from our own ship to send on-board the prize.

WILLIAM DAWSON

Killed. G. N. Hardinge, esq. captain: T. Martin, C. Smallwood, R. Currell, J. Middleton, W. Mead, J. Beer, J. Burn, J. Meadows, and W. Baldwin, seamen; W. Martin, J. Luff, and Jos. Litchfield, marines.—Among the

the wounded are lieutenant H. G. Moysey, and quartermaster W. J. Brown.

29.—The Parthian, of 18 guns, lying at Plymouth, having been ordered to Corunna with dispatches, captain Balderston, her commander, went on-board; and, while talking to the purser on the quarter-deck, one of the master's mates, named Smith, came behind him, and with a pistol shot him between the shoulders, through the spinal marrow. Captain B. exclaimed, "O Lord! I am killed!"—fell on the deck, and expired. The villain was instantly secured in irons. A court martial has been since assembled on-board the Salvador del Mundo, lying at Hamoaze, who found Smith guilty of the murder of capt. B. He was ordered for execution on the 26th; on which day, at a quarter past nine, he ascended the scaffold, where he did not remain more than five minutes, before the fatal bow-gun fired, and he was launched into eternity amidst the ascending smoke. By some accident, in not making fast the rope to the windlass, the coil was suffered to slip, and he was precipitated to the water's edge: he was again drawn up; and, after hanging the usual time, the lifeless body was lowered into a boat alongside, and conveyed to the royal hospital at Stonehouse, where it was delivered to his friends. He had been formerly a master of a gun-brig, was deemed an excellent seaman, but addicted to drinking. He was a good-looking young man, about 25 years of age, and near six feet high. His father is a British planter, of great respectability, residing at Santa Cruz, where young Smith was born; he received his education at New York.

Droits of the Crown and Admiralty.

It appears that the whole of the money paid into the registry of the high court of admiralty from the year 1794, to March 1808, amounts to

	£.	s.	d.
As droits of the admiralty - -	475,325	11	10
As droits of the crown	1,388,484	10	2
A mixed account of both, out of which nothing has been paid to captors - -	1,051,094	19	2
Making the sum total of all the money paid amount to -	3,113,905	1	2
Sum total of all the money drawn by the royal warrant and otherwise - -	2,539.837	19	7
And the balance now remaining, is, as above stated, something more than half a million, viz. -	574,067	1	6

The Danish prizes are not included in this return.

Return of the regular army on the 1st July 1807, and 1st February 1808:—

Number of battalions	278	277
Effective rank and file	182,876	204,815
Average strength of each battalion -	658	740
Artillery - -	24,017	24,781

Return of volunteers, up to the 1st December last.

Cavalry -	25,023
Infantry -	261,821
Artillery -	9,825
Total	296,669
Effective militia on the 1st Feb. 1808.	77,164

Amount of bank of England notes of five pounds each, and upwards, including bank post bills payable seven days after sight:

		£.
1807. May 1st	-	13,413,700
August 1st	-	13,525,740
Nov. 1st	-	12,726,520
1808. Feb. 1st	-	13,557,590

Amount of bank notes of two pounds and one pound each.

		£.
1807. May 1st	-	4,122,700
August 1st	-	4,222,660
Nov. 1st	-	4,203,080
1808. Feb. 1st	-	4,215,510

The LONDON GENERAL BILL *of*

CHRISTENINGS *and* BURIALS *from* December 15, 1807, to December 13, 1808.

Christened	Males 10,189 / Females 9717	In all 19,906	Buried	Males 10,228 / Females 9726	In all 19,954
Whereof have died, under 2 years	6075	5 and 10 847	40 and 50	1971	80 and 90 504
Between 2 and 5 years	2466	10 and 20 643	50 and 60	1690	90 and 100 65
		20 and 30 1200	60 and 70	1499	100 1
		30 and 40 1792	70 and 80	1200	102 1

Increased in the Burials this Year 1620.

DISEASES.					
Abortive & Still-born	462	Cow Pox	1	Miscarriage	2
Abscess	49	Croup	76	Mortification	200
Aged	1554	Diabetes	2	Palsy	98
Ague	5	Dropsy	870	Piles	1
Apoplexy & Sud-denly	229	Evil	8	Pleurisy	17
Asthma and Phthisic	586	Fevers of all kinds	1168	Purples	1
Bedridden	3	Fistula	1	Quinsy	3
Bleeding	28	Flux	10	Rheumatism	7
Bursten & Rupture	26	Gout	33	Scurvy	2
Cancer	54	Gravel, Stone, Stranguary	18	Small Pox	1169
Canker	2	Grief	5	Sore Throat	9
Chicken Pox	3	Headmouldshot, Horse-shoe-head, and Water in the Head	193	Sores and Ulcers	5
Childbed	172	Jaundice	39	Spasm	15
Colds	11	Jaw-locked	2	St. Vitus's Dance	1
Colick, Gripes, &c.	19	Inflammation	765	Stoppage in the Stomach	12
Consumption	5220	Lethargy	1	Teeth	319
Convulsions	4164	Liver-grown	14	Thrush	48
Cough and Hoop-Cough	326	Lunatic	172	Tumour	1
		Measles	1386	Worms	3
				Venereal	28
				CASUALTIES.	
				Bit by a mad Cat	1
				Bit by mad Dogs	3
				Bruised	1
				Burnt	51
				Drowned	123
				Excessive Drinking	7
				Found Dead	17
				Fractured	2
				Frighted	1
				Frozen	2
				Killed by Falls and several other Accidents	77
				Killed themselves	36
				Poisoned	3
				Scalded	5
				Starved	2
				Suffocated	4
				Total	335

There have been executed in the city of London and county of Surrey 5; of which number none have been reported to be buried (as such) within the bills of mortality.

BIRTHS *in the year* 1808.

Jan. 4. The lady of sir John Pigot, bart. of a son.

5. The lady of the right hon. Robert Dundas, of a daughter.

9. Lady Elizabeth Norman, of a son.

18. The lady of Thomas Tooke, esq. of a son.

—. Lady Charles Fitzroy, of a daughter.

20. The countess of Aboyne, of a son.

30. The lady of Horatio Beevor, esq. of a daughter.

Feb. 1. Lady Mosley, of a daughter.

4. Countess Moira, of a son and heir.

6. Hon. Mrs. Fitzroy, of a son.

16. Lady Blackett, of a son.

20. Lady Stanley, of a son.

23. Viscountess Morpeth, of a son.

27. Lady Phillips, of a son.

28. The lady of sir John Hope, of a son.

March 1. Lady Bagot, of a daughter.

3. The lady of the hon. George Villiers, of a son.

6. Mrs. Saunders, of two sons and a daughter.

8. Lady Jemina Johnston Hope, of a son.

12. Mrs.

12. Mrs. Harper, of two sons and a daughter.

19. The lady of George Polhill, esq. of a daughter.

28. The countess of Aberdeen, of a daughter.

April 2. Lady Sinclair, of a son.

4. Countess of Jersey, of a son and heir.

12. The lady of the hon. Montgomerie Stewart, of a son.

17. Countess Talbot, of a daughter.

25. Lady Stanley, of a son.

—. The lady of William Cavendish, esq. M. P. of a son and heir.

May 1. The wife of Isaac Goldsmid, esq. of a son.

13. Countess Grey, of a son.

20. The lady of sir William Walter Yeo, of a son.

28. The lady of the hon. Richard Ryder, of a son.

31. The lady of Wilbraham Egerton, of a son.

June 3. The wife of Joseph Johnson, of three daughters.

14. The lady of Alexander Adair, esq. of a son and heir.

18. The lady of John Gurney, esq. of a daughter.

—. The countess of Abingdon, of a son.

22. The lady of the hon. and rev. Henry Ryder.

28. The lady of lord William Beauclerc, of a son.

July 3. The lady of sir Frederic Eden, of a son.

4. The countess of Caithness, of a son.

7. The lady of William Domville, esq. of a daughter.

13. Lady Lambert, of a son.

16. The lady of Wm. Tooke, esq. of a daughter.

22. The lady of the hon. and rev. F. Powys, of a son.

31. Viscountess Marsham, of a son and heir.

Aug. 6. The duchess of Newcastle, of a son.

10. The lady of the hon. colonel King, of a son.

13. The lady of John Finch Simpson, esq. of a daughter.

20. Viscountess Anson, of two sons.

21. The countess of Bristol, of a son.

24. Lady Petre, of a daughter.

25. The lady of lord Francis Spencer, of a daughter.

28. The lady of H. Thornton, esq. M. P. of a daughter.

Sept. 1. The lady of col. Anson, M. P. of a son.

2. Lady Kenyon, of a daughter.

11. Lady Henry Stuart, of a son.

25. Lady William Leveson Gower, of a daughter.

Oct. 4. Lady Kinnaird, of a daughter.

9. The lady of the hon. E. Stewart, of a son.

12. Viscountess Hinchinbroke, of a daughter.

19. The lady of Frederic Grellet, esq. of twins.

23. Duchess of Bedford, of a son.

27. The lady of Thomas Hope, esq. of a son.

31. Viscountess Duncan, of a daughter.

Nov. 9. Countess of Banbury, of a daughter.

15. The lady of major Northcote, of a son.

19. The lady of James Goodeve Sparrow, esq. of a daughter.

20. The lady of sir William Johnston, bart. of a daughter.

21. The lady of Benj. Hobhouse, esq. M. P. of a daughter.

28. Viscountess Pollayton, of a daughter.

Dec. 7. Lady Mulgrave, of a son.

8. The wife of Mr. M'Currie Holborn, of three children.

10. The lady of Caleb Whitefoord, esq. of a son.

12. The lady of sir Hector M'Kenzie, bart. of a son.

15. The lady of sir James Lake, bart. of a son.

17. Lady Strong, of a son.

21. Lady Anne Ashley Cowper, of a son.

26. The hon. Mrs. Winn, of a son.

MARRIAGES *in the year* 1808.

Jan. 6. The emperor of Austria, to the princess Maria Beatrix.

9. A. R. Sutherland, esq. M. P. to miss Mills.

10. Admiral lord Keith, to miss Thrale.

16. Wm. Frend, esq. to miss Blackburne.

—. Taylor Combe, esq. to miss Elizabeth Gray.

20. James Banks, esq. to miss Mary Barnard.

25. The earl of Pembroke, to the countess of Woronzow.

Feb. 2. William Sturges Bourne, esq. M. P. to miss Anne Bowles.

13. Charles Cockerill, esq. to the hon. Harriet Rushout.

20. Henry Hoare, esq. to miss Dering.

March 3. Capt. Coffin, to miss Larkins.

12. John Lewis Mallet, to miss Baring.

13. N. E. Garrick, esq. to miss Blunt.

15. James Amos, esq. to Mrs. Mitchell.

19. Capt. Sullivan, to miss Henrietta James.

23. Col. Dorrien, to miss Le Clerc.

30. Lord Henry Petty, to lady Susan Strangeways.

April 6. Admiral Edward O'Brien, to Mrs. Bradby.

7. Sir Thomas Dyke Ackland, to miss Hoare.

10. General Campbell, to Mrs. Knox.

11. H. J. Shepherd, esq. to lady Mary Primrose.

18. Davies Giddy, esq. M. P. to miss M. A. Gilbert.

22. William Symonds, esq. to miss Elizabeth Luscombe.

25. C. W. Taylor, esq. M. P. to miss Charlotte Thomson.

May 1. C. J. Reshall, esq. to miss Martin.

3. Sir Nelson Rycroft, to miss Margaret Mandeville.

4. The right hon. Reginald Pole Carew, to the hon. Caroline Anne Lyttleton.

14. Sir J. T. Duckworth, K. B. to miss S. C. Buller.

20. Lord viscount Primrose, to Harriet, 2d daughter of the hon. Bartholomew Bouverie.

21. J. E. Wilmot, esq. to Elizabeth Emma, 4th daughter of Dr. Parry, Bath.

23. The hon. E. S. Cowper, M. P. to miss Catharine Phillips.

28. Captain Murray, to lady Elizabeth, youngest daughter of his grace the duke of Athol.

June 1. The hon. John George Dalrymple, to miss Manners.

7. Stafford O'Brien, esq. to Emma, 2d daughter of G. N. Noel, esq.

14. N. W. Ridley Colborne, esq. to miss Steele.

18. Edward Hartopp, jun. esq. to Anna Eleonora, eldest daughter of sir Bourchier Wray, bart.

19. James Moncrieff, esq. to miss Robertson.

23. Lord Arthur Somerset, to Elizabeth, eldest daughter of the late viscount Falmouth.

29. George Harris, esq. to Christabell,

Christabell, only daughter of admiral Chambers.

July 7. Lord Louth, to the eldest daughter of lord Dunsany.

14. Lieutenant-col. Hanmer, to miss Bucknall.

19. William Macdonald, esq. to miss Miller.

25. Mortimer Drummond, esq. to lady Emily Percy.

30. James Coulthurst, esq. to miss Warren.

Aug. 4. Sir Mordaunt Martin, bart. to Mrs. North.

8. The marquis of Tavistock, to lady Maria Anne, daughter of the earl of Harrington.

10. Robert Smith, esq. to miss Emma Smith.

15. Sir John Gore, to the eldest daughter of admiral Montagu.

25. Sir Wm. George Parker, bart. to miss Still.

29. Philip John Ducarel, esq. to Lucy, youngest daughter of the late Dr. Crossman.

Sept. 1. Thomas Fenton, esq. to miss Ann Spode.

5. J. H. Holder, esq. to miss Elizabeth Hewitt.

12. Rev. Sam. Serrell, to miss Harriet Digby.

21. Lord Charles Bentinck, to the hon. miss Seymour.

27. George Law, esq. to miss Still.

Oct. 3. Wm. A'Court, esq. to Maria, second daughter of lady Bridget Bouverie.

10. Mr. Thompson, to miss F. L. Stodart.

14. Hon. Robert Curzon, to miss Bisshopp.

17. Major Smith, to miss Eliza Coles.

27. Capt. Hopkins, to miss Chamberlaine.

Nov. 8. The hon. Fitzroy Stanhope, to miss Caroline Wyndham.

15. Mr. Francis Wakefield, to Elizabeth, youngest daughter of the late rev. Gilbert Wakefield.

22. Lord George Beresford, to miss Harriet Schutz.

—. Sir Geo. Bowyer, bart. to miss Douglas.

24. Launcelot Rollaston, esq. to the only daughter of sir George Chetwynds.

30. Richard Sharpe, esq. to Mrs. Sherwin.

Dec. 1. William Priestley, esq. to miss Elizabeth Paley.

7. Joshua Hobson, esq. to miss Jane Pulsford.

10. Wm. F. Bonnell, esq. to miss Anna Collins.

26. The prince de Conde, to the princess dowager de Monaco.

DEATHS *in the year* 1808.

Jan. 1. Captain Lydiard, of the Anson frigate, which was wrecked.

3. Gen. Leland, M. P.

4. Edward Horne, esq.

8. Lord Alexander Gordon.

10. Rev. Cornelius Winter.

13. The hon. Margaret Stuart Wortley Mackenzie.

15. Hon. Charles Lewis Mordaunt.

16. Viscount Trafalgar.

23. Mr. Robert Freebairn.

29. Henry lord viscount Gage.

30. Leonard More, esq.

—. Rev. Robert Wharton.

Feb. 1. Charlotte Maria, countess of Euston.

—. Earl Crawford and Lindsay.

5. James White, aged 107.

10. Lord Thomond, by a fall from his horse.

12. Mrs. A. M. Bennet.

15. John Coltman, esq.

20. Gerard lord Lake.

21. George Hill, esq. the king's most ancient serjeant.

29. Rev.

29. Rev. Dr. Barnett.

March 1. Lord Scott, infant son of the earl of Dalkeith.

5. The lady of sir Henry Martin.

6. George Dane, earl of Dorchester.

7. Sir Giles Rooke.

10. Mr. Siddons, husband of the celebrated actress.

12. George Gregory, D. D. F. S. A.

—. Henrietta Maria, dowager countess of Fingall.

14. Rev. Philip Du Val, D. D. F. R. and A. SS.

17. Sophia Anne, the lady of sir Wm. Pole.

19. Jane, countess dowager of Dundonald.

24. W. Jones, of the hydrophobia.

—. Lady Morgan.

25. In her 101st year, Mrs. Catherine Stocks.

26. Sir Bowyer Nigel Gresley, bart.

30. Sir Henry Grey, bart.

31. Robert Roddam, senior admiral of the red.

April 1. Rev. W. Wood, F.L.S.

4. Lady Charlotte Murray.

7. Peter Rainier, admiral of the blue.

11. Elizabeth, countess dowager of Moira.

15. James Paull, esq.

20. The dowager lady Frankland.

24. Mrs. Foss, wife of E. S. Foss, esq.

May 1. Allan, second son of the earl of Galloway.

2. Capt. George Gardner, esq.

3. John Brown, esq. admiral of the blue.

5. The right hon. and rev. Charles Aynsley.

11. Lady Tyrawley.

14. Rev. Thos. Percy, LL.D.

15. Alicia, lady of sir Isaac Heard.

23. Edmund Ayrton, Mus. D.

28. The right rev. Richard Hurd, D.D. bishop of Worcester.

June 5. The rev. Dr. Underhill.

10. The rev. George Ashby, B.D. F.S.A.

13. Sir Roger Kerrison.

14. Sir John Day.

16. Rev. Richard Coulton.

19. Alexander Dalrymple, esq.

27. Aged 110 years and six months, Mary Ralphson.

30. Mrs. Garrow, wife of W. Garrow, esq.

July 1. Rev. Mr. Owen, of Christ Church College, Oxford.

—. Mrs. Jardine, relict of the rev. D. B. Jardine.

6. Miss Emma Marsham, third daughter of the hon. and rev. Dr. Jacob Marsham.

—. William Churchill, esq.

14. Anne, the lady of sir Frederic Eden.

—. Henrietta Laura Pulteney, countess of Bath.

18. The rev. Thomas Randolph, M. A.

19. Mrs. Longman, relict of the late Thomas L. esq.

23. Mr. Barthelemon, the celebrated performer on the violin.

27. John Thomas de Burgh, thirteenth earl of Clanricarde.

31. The dowager lady Dunbar.

Aug. 1. Lady Diana Beauclerc.

5. Mr. John Peltro, engraver.

10. Matthew Richard Onslow, esq. eldest son of admiral sir Richard O. bart.

14. Catherine, lady of sir Charles W. R. Boughton, bart.

19. James Comming, esq. admiral of the white.

22. Benj. Way, esq.

26. The hon. and right rev. James Yorke, lord bishop of Ely.

28. William Daw, esq.

Sept. 4.

Sept. 4. John Home, esq.

5. Rev. Clement Crutwell.

11. Mary, dowager baroness Dacre.

12. Rev. John Edwards, as he was bathing in the sea.

14. William Henry, lord Lyttleton.

16. Peter Isaac Thellusson, baron Rendlesham.

25. Richard Porson, M. A. Greek Professor at Cambridge.

Oct. 1. John Newman, esq.

2. Rev. William James French, of Trinity college Cambridge.

5. John Pym, esq.

8. John Sheldon, esq. F.R.S.

10. Rev. John Beevor, rector of Great and Little Burlingham.

15. Marianne, wife of gen. H. E. Fox.

16. Rev. James Nasmith, D. D.

22. Mr. R. W. Jennings, attorney at law.

28. Mrs. Charlotte Dalrymple.

Nov. 3. Isabella countess of Errol.

—. Rev. Theophilus Lindsey, many years minister of the Unitarian chapel in Essex-street.

10. Guy Carleton, lord Dorchester, K. B.

11. Sir Henry Paulett St. John Mildmay, bart. M. P.

—. Rev. Rochemont Barbauld.

20. Captain Thomas Dacres.

28. Sir Richard Hill.

29. Thomas Panton, esq. brother o the duchess of Ancaster.

—. Admiral sir Thomas Pasley, bart.

Dec. 3. Anna Maria baroness Forester, whose title devolved on the hon. J. W. Grimston, M. P. eldest son of lord Grimston.

4. Hon. Henrietta Sophia Phipps, eldest daughter of lord Mulgrave.

—. Henry Arundel, eighth lord of Arundel of Wardour, and a count of the holy Roman empire.

17. Mark Sprott, esq.

22. The dowager lady Shelly.

24. Aged 104, Thomas Clee of Mitcham, in Surry.

28. At Bath, the rev. John Duncan, D. D.

30. Alan lord Gardner, admiral of the white.

—. James-Bucknall Grimston, lord Verulam, viscount Grimston.

—. Near Rotherham, aged 101, Mrs. Anne Addy.

PROMOTIONS *in the year* 1808.

Queen's palace, Jan. 6. His grace William duke of Manchester, sworn captain-general and governor in chief of the island of Jamaica.

Foreign-office, Jan. 7. Francis Hill, esq. appointed his majesty's secretary of legation to the court of his royal highness the prince regent of Portugal.

Downing-street, Jan. 8. William-Anne Villettes, esq. lieutenant-general of his majesty's forces, appointed lieutenant-governor of the island of Jamaica, and commander of the forces, with the local rank of general in the island of Jamaica.

Downing-street, Jan. 16. Sir George Prevost, bart. appointed lieutenant-governor of the province of Nova Scotia, *vice* sir John Wentworth, bart.; and to be commander of the forces, with the local rank of lieutenant-general in Nova Scotia only.

Whitehall, Jan. 16. Rev. William Leigh, LL.B. recommended, by letter, to the chapter of the cathedral church of Hereford, to be chosen dean of the said cathedral church, *vice* rev. Dr. Nathan Wetherell,

therell, dec.—Rev. Samuel Birch, M.A. Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge (son of alderman B.) presented to the united rectories of St. Mary, Woolnoth, and St. Mary, Woolchurch Haw, in the city of London, *vice* rev. John Newton, dec.—Reverend William Long, LL. B. presented to the rectory of Pulham St. Mary, with the chapel of St. Mary-Magdalen thereunto annexed, in the county of Norfolk, *vice* rev. Thomas Bowen, dec.—Rev. Michael Stirling, presented to the church and parish of Cargill, in the county of Perth, and presbytery of Dunkeld, *vice* Mr. J. P. Bannerman, dec.

Carlton-house, Jan. 18. Rev. Frederick-William Blomberg, M. A. chaplain in ordinary to the prince of Wales, appointed clerk of the closet to his royal highness, *vice* rev. Dr. Lockman, dec.

Whitehall, Jan. 19. Rev. Charles Digby, M.A. appointed a prebendary of the Free Chapel of St. George, in the castle of Windsor, *vice* rev. Dr. John Lockman, dec. —Rev. Edward-Christopher Dowdeswell, D. D. appointed a canon of the cathedral church of Christ, in the university of Oxford, *vice* right rev. Edward Venables, late bishop of Carlisle, translated to the archiepiscopal see of York.

Queen's palace, Jan. 20. His grace Edward-Venables, lord archbishop of York, sworn of his majesty's privy council.

Whitehall, Jan. 26. Rev. Samuel Goodenough, LL. D. Dean of Rochester, recommended, by *congé d'elire*, to be elected bishop of Carlisle, *vice* right rev. Dr. Edward-Venables Vernon, translated to the archiepiscopal see of York.—Rev. Walter King, D. D. appointed a prebendary of the collegiate church of St. Peter, Westminster, *vice* rev. Dr. Nathan Wetherell, dec.

Whitehall, Jan. 30. Rev. Edward Otter, M. A. presented to the canonry or prebend of Ullskelfe, in York cathedral, *vice* Drummond, dec.—Rev. Michael Marlow, D. D. appointed a canon or prebend of Canterbury cathedral, *vice* King, resigned.

Queen's palace, Feb. 24. Robert Barnford, of Upton, esq. appointed sheriff of the county of Chester, *vice* Charles Trelawny Brereton, of Shotwick park, esq.; Marmaduke Middleton Middleton, of Lear, esq. to be sheriff of the county of Derby; William Cary, of Cannock, esq. to be sheriff of the county of Stafford; John Fullarton, of Barton on the Heath, esq. to be sheriff of the county of Warwick; John Nathaniel Miers, of Cadoxtone juxta Neath, esq. to be sheriff of the county of Glamorgan, *vice* the hon. William Booth Grey, of Duffrin; Rees Williams, of Gwainclawth, esq. to be sheriff of the county of Brecon; and John Jones, of Penrhose Brodwen, esq. to be sheriff of the county of Anglesey, *vice* Edward Jones, of Cromleck, esq.

War-office, Feb. 27. General William viscount Howe, K. B. governor of Berwick, appointed governor of Plymouth, *vice* lord Lake, dec.; and lieutenant-general Banastre Tarleton, to be governor of Berwick, *vice* lord Howe.

Queen's palace, March 2. hon. William Asheton Harbord, sworn lieutenant of the county of Norfolk, and city of Norwich, and county of the same, *vice* marquis Townshend, dec.—Francis Lloyd, of Domgay, esq. appointed sheriff of the county of Montgomery, *vice* Robert Knight, of Gwernygoe, esq.

War-

War-office, March 8. Colonel William Dickson, of the 42d foot, appoined lieutenant-governor of Cork, *vice* general Leland, dec.

Queen's palace, March 9. Right hon. Richard earl of Mount-Edgcumbe, sworn one of his majesty's most hon. privy council.

Whitehall, March 15. Reverend William Beaumont Busby, D.D. appointed dean of the cathedral church of Rochester, *vice* rev. Dr. Samuel Goodenough, promoted to the bishopric of Carlisle.

Queen's palace, March 16. Right hon. George earl of Aberdeen, invested with the ensigns of the order of the Thistle.—Right hon. Percy viscount Strangford, created a knight of the Bath, and sworn of his majesty's most honourable privy council.—Right hon. Edward earl of Digby, sworn lord lieutenant of the county of Dorset, and the town of Poole, and county of the said town, *vice* the earl of Dorchester, dec.—William Egerton, of Tatton park, esq. appointed sheriff of the county of Chester, *vice* Robert Bampton, of Upton, esq.

Whitehall, March 19. Hon. and rev. Henry Ryder, M. A. appointed a prebendary of the Free Chapel of St. George, in the Castle of Windsor, *vice* Busby, resigned.—Rev. William Cooper, B. D. presented to the rectory of Wadingham St. Mary's and St. Peter's, with the chapel of Smiterby, co. Lincoln, *vice* Barker, dec.

Whitehall, March 22. Brigadier-general Charles Shipley, of the corps of royal engineers, knighted.

Whitehall, March 29. Rev. Joseph Goodall, D.D. appointed a prebendary of his majesty's Free Chapel of St. George, in the Castle of Windsor, *vice* Du Val, dec.—Francis lord Napier, appointed his majesty's high commissioner to the general assembly of the church of Scotland.

Whitehall, April 5. Rev. Frederick Blomberg, M.A. appointed a prebendary of the Collegiate Church of St. Peter, Westminster, *vice* Smith, dec.

Carlton-house, April 20. Right hon. Richard Brinsley Sheridan, appointed (by the prince of Wales) receiver-general of the duchy of Cornwall, *vice* lord Lake, dec.—[Mr. S. has appointed Charles Carpenter, esq. of Moditonham, his deputy.]

Foreign-office, April 23. James Gambier, esq. appointed his majesty's consul-general in the Portuguese dominions in South America.—*Queen's palace, April* 27. James Gambier, esq. knighted.

Admiralty-office, April 28. Admirals of the white, Charles Buckner, esq. and Alan lord Gardner, to be admirals of the red.—Admirals of the blue, from Robert Man, esq. to Alexander Græme, esq. to be admirals of the white.—Vice-admirals of the red, from John Brown, esq. to sir Charles Cotton, bart. to be admirals of the blue.—Vice-admirals of the white, from James-Hawkins Whitshed, esq. to Peter Aplin, esq. to be vice-admirals of the red.—Vice-admirals of the blue, from George Bowen, esq. to Edward Thornbrough, esq. to be vice-admirals of the white.—Rear-admirals of the red, from Thomas Drury, esq. to Richard Boger, esq. to be vice-admirals of the blue.—Rear-admirals of the white, from Jonathan Faulknor, esq. to William Essington, esq. to be rear-admirals of the red.—Rear-admirals of the blue, from John M'Dougall, esq. to sir Edmund Nagle, knt. to be rear-admiral of the red.—Rear-admirals of the blue, from John Wells, esq. to Herbert Sawyer, esq.

esq. to be rear-admirals of the white.—Captains, from Robert-Devereux Fancourt, esq. to Thomas Bertie, esq. to be rear-admirals of the blue.—Charles Boyles, esq. sir Thomas Williams, knt. William Hargood, esq. and Robert Moorsom, esq. to be colonels of his majesty's royal marine forces, *vice* Edward Buller, esq. the hon. Robert Stopford, Wm. Lechmere, esq. and T. Foley, esq. appointed flag-officers of his majesty's fleet.

War-office, May 6. Lieutenant-general his royal highness Ernest-Augustus duke of Cumberland, K. G. to be general in the army, by commission dated April 25.—Lieutenant-general his royal highness Adolphus-Frederic duke of Cambridge, K. G. to be general in the army, by commission dated April 25.—Lieutenant-general his royal highness William-Frederick duke of Gloucester, K. G. to be general in the army, by commission dated April 25.—Lieutenant-generals, from Edward Fanning to sir James Pulteney, bart. to be generals in the army.—Major-generals, from the hon. Robert Taylor to Ferdinand, baron Hompesch, to be lieutenant-generals in the army.—Colonels, from William-Carr Beresford, of the 88th foot, to the hon. William Stewart, of the 95th foot, to be major-generals in the army.—Lieutenant-colonels, from Thomas Barrow, of the 5th West-India regiment, to Francis-John Wilder, of the 35th foot, to be colonels in the army.—Lieutenant-colonels, hon. George de Grey, of the 1st Dragoons, and Samuel Hawker, of the 14th light dragoons, to be aides-de-camp to the king.—Majors, from George-Herbert Adams, of the 66th foot, to Richard Collins, of the 83d foot, to be lieutenant-colonels in the army.—Captains from Edmund Coghlan, of the 8th Garrison battalion, to William Collis, of the 27th foot, to be majors in the army.

Whitehall, May 7. Right hon. Henry baron Mulgrave, vice-admiral sir Richard Bickerton, bart. William-Johnstone Hope, and Robert Ward, esqrs. the right hon. Henry-John viscount Palmerston, James Buller, esq. and rear-admiral William Domett, appointed commissioners for executing the office of lord high admiral of the united kingdom, &c. &c.

War-office, May 10. Lieutenant-general Robert Morse, of the royal engineers, to be general in the army.—Major-general William Congreve, of the royal artillery, to be lieutenant-general in the army.—Colonels, from John Evelegh to Edward Stephens, to be major-generals in the army.—Lieutenant-colonels, from Theophilus Lewis to David Collins, to be colonels in the army.—Majors, from Robert Stewart to Alexander Brice, to be lieutenant-colonels in the army.—Captains, from William Henry Boys to John Long, to be majors in the army.

Queen's palace, May 11. Mr. justice John Bayley knighted, on his appointment as one of the judges of the court of king's bench.

Queen's palace, May 25. Right hon. John Jeffreys, earl Camden, K. G. lord president of the privy council, sworn lord-lieutenant of the county of Kent, and of the city of Canterbury.

Downing-street, May 27. Brigadier-general James Montgomerie, appointed governor and commander in chief in and over the island of Dominica in America.

Whitehall, June 14. Right rev. Dr. Folliot Herbert Walker Cornewall,

wall, bishop of Hereford, recommended, by *congé d'elire*, to be elected bishop of Worcester, *vice* Dr. Hurd, dec.

Treasury, June 25. C. T. Maling, esq. appointed a commissioner of the excise, *vice* Lowndes, dec.

Carlton-house, June 28. Benjamin Tucker, esq. appointed (by the prince of Wales) surveyor-general of his royal highness's duchy of Cornwall.

Lord Chamberlain's office, July 8. Mr. F. Carbery, of Conduit-street, appointed plumasier to his majesty, *vice* Mrs. Townshend, of Ludgate-hill, resigned.

Whitehall, July 9. Thomas Erskine, earl of Kellie, permitted to accept and wear the ensigns of a knight commander of the royal order of Vasa, conferred on him by the king of Sweden.

Whitehall, July 16. Right rev. John Luxmoore, bishop of Bristol, translated, by *congé d'elire*, to the see of Hereford, *vice* Cornewall, dec.—Dr. Andrew Grant, appointed first minister of the Cannongate church, co. Edinburgh, *vice* Walker, dec.

War-office, Aug. 6. Gen. sir W. Medows, K. B. appointed governor of Hull, *vice* the earl of Clanricarde, dec.; and gen. E. E. Gwyn, to be lieutenant-governor of the Isle of Wight, *vice* Medows.

Whitehall, Aug. 16. Rev. Hugh Ross, presented to the church and parish of Fearn, in the presbytery of Brechin and county of Ross, *vice* Simeon, dec.

Whitehall, Aug. 20. George Ferguson, esq. of Hermand, appointed one of the lords of justiciary in that part of the united kingdom called Scotland, *vice* sir William Nairne, bart. of Dunsinnan, resigned.

Whitehall, Aug. 23. Rev. William-Lort Mansell, D. D. recommended, by *congé d'elire*, to be elected bishop of Bristol, *vice* Dr. Luxmoore, translated to Hereford.

Whitehall, Aug. 27. Rev. John Plumtree, D. D. appointed dean of Gloucester cathedral, *vice* Dr. Luxmoore, resigned.

Whitehall, Aug. 30. Rev. John-Banks Jenkinson, M. A. appointed a prebendary of Worcester cathedral, *vice* Plumtree.

War-office Sept. 3. Col. J. Robertson, on half pay of 92d foot, appointed deputy-governor of Fort George, *vice* Steward, dec.

Whitehall, Sept. 6. Robert Blair, esq. dean of the faculty of advocates, appointed president of the college of justice in Scotland.—Hay Campbell, LL. D. of Succoth, co. Dumbarton, late president of the college of justice in Scotland, created a baronet of the united kingdom.

Whitehall, Sept. 13. Right rev. Thomas Dampier, bishop of Rochester, translated, by *congé d'elire*, to the see of Ely, *vice* Dr. James Yorke, dec.

Whitehall, Sept. 24. The king has been pleased to grant the dignity of a baronet of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland to the following gentlemen, and the respective heirs-male of their bodies lawfully begotten, *viz.* Edward Buller, of Tranant park, co. Cornwall, esq. rear-admiral of the blue; Mark Wood, of Gatton, co. Surry, esq.; Henry-Conyngham Montgomery, of the Hall, co. Donegal, esq.; Thomas Jones, of Stanley-hall, co. Salop, esq.; James Graham, of Kirkstall, co. York, and of Edmond castle, co. Cumberland, esq.; Sitwell Sitwell, of Renishaw, co. Derby, esq.; Andrew Corbet, of Moreton-Corbet, co. Salop, and of Linslede, co. Buckingham,

ingham, esq.; William-Coles Medlycott, of Ven-house, near Milborne Port, co. Somerset, esq.; Charles-Hoar Harland, of Sutton-hall, co. York, esq.; John Perring, of Membland, co. Devon, esq. and aldn. of London; George Pigott, of Knapton, in the Queen's County, esq.; and George Ouseley, of Claremont, co. Hereford, esq.

Admiralty office, Sept. 30. His majesty has been pleased, by his order in council of the 28th instant, to confer upon the masters of his royal navy the rank of lieutenants, according to the following regulations, *viz.* that they shall take rank in the ships of which they shall be warranted masters immediately after the junior lieutenants of such ships; and that they shall have precedence in rank of surgeons of the navy.

Foreign office, Oct. 8. Right hon. John-Hookham Frere, appointed his majesty's envoy-extraordinary and minister-plenipotentiary to his Catholic majesty Ferdinand the VII; and to reside in that character at the seat of the central or supreme junta in Spain.

Downing-street, Oct. 8. Lieut.-general George Beckwith, appointed governor and commander in chief of the island of Barbadoes; sir Charles Brisbane, knt. captain in the royal navy, to be governor and commander in chief of the island of St. Vincent; Hugh Elliot, esq. appointed captain-general and governor of the Leeward Islands; and William Wooley, esq. to be lieutenant-governor of Berbice.

Whitehall, Oct. 15. Rear-admiral Richard-Goodwin Keats, nominated one of the knights-companions of the most honourable order of the Bath.

Carlton-house, Oct. 21. Lieut.-colonel Bloomfield, of the royal regiment of artillery, appointed (by the prince of Wales) gentleman-attendant to his royal highness, *vice* lord Lake, dec.

Foreign-office, Nov. 2. Anthony Merry, esq. appointed his majesty's envoy-extraordinary and minister-plenipotentiary to the court of Sweden; and Augustus-John Foster, esq. to be his majesty's secretary of legation at that court.

War-office, Nov. 12. General the hon. Chapple Norton, appointed governor of Charlemont; and major-general Francis Hugonin, to be colonel of the 4th regiment of dragoons; both *vice* the earl of Dorchester, dec.

Queen's palace, Nov. 16. Sir Charles Brisbane, knt. captain in the royal navy, sworn captain-general and governor in chief of the islands of St. Vincent, Bequia, and such other of the islands commonly called the Grenadines as lie to the Northward of Cariaccou, in America.

Queen's palace, Nov. 23. Right hon. George Coventry, commonly called lord viscount Deerhurst, sworn lord-lieutenant of the county of Worcester, and of the city of Worcester, and county of the same, *vice* his father, the earl of Coventry, resigned.

Whitehall, Nov. 26. Hon. William Harcourt, appointed gentleman and master of his majesty's robes, *vice* lord Selsey, dec.

Downing-street, Nov. 29. Hon. Francis-Nathaniel Burton, appointed lieutenant-governor of Lower Canada, in America.

Whitehall, Dec. 3. Rev. Walker King, D. D. recommended, by *congé d'elire*, to be elected bishop of Rochester, *vice* Dr. Thomas Dampier, translated to the see of Ely.

Downing

Downing-street, Dec. 13. Henry Bentinck, esq. appointed governor and commander in chief of the settlements of Demarara and Essequibo.—Charles Bentinck, esq. to be governor and commander in chief of the settlement of Surinam, *vice* Hughes, dec.

Foreign-office, Dec. 16. Right Hon. William-Pitt lord Amherst, appointed his majesty's envoy-extraordinary and minister-plenipotentiary at the court of his Sicilian majesty, *vice* Drummond recalled.

Downing-street, Dec. 20. Lieut.-general sir John Stuart, K. B. appointed (by a commission dated Feb. 11) commander of his majesty's forces in the Mediterranean, the garrison of Gibraltar excepted.

SHERIFFS *appointed by his majesty in council for the year* 1808.

Bedfordshire, Richard Orlebar, of Puddington, esq.

Berkshire, Wm. Congreve, of Aldermaston, esq.

Bucks, Rich. Dayrell, of Sillingstone, esq.

Cambridge and Huntingdon, Sir H. Peyton, of Emneth, bart.

Cheshire, C. Trelawney Brereton, of Shotwich-park, esq.

Cumberland, Thomas Irvine, of Justice Town, esq.

Derbyshire, Postponed.

Devonshire, Sir H. Carew, of Haccombe, bart.

Dorsetshire, Nicholas Charles Daniel, of Upway, esq.

Essex, John Coggan, of Wanstead, esq.

Gloucestershire, Sir Thomas Crawley Bowey, of Flaxley-abbey, bart.

Herefordshire, Samuel Peplce, of Garnstone, esq.

Hertfordshire, James Smith, of Ashlyn's-hill, esq.

Kent, Charles Milner, of Preston-park, esq.

Leicestershire, G. Finch Simpson, of Launde Abbey, esq.

Lincolnshire, The hon. W. Beauclerc, of Radbourne.

Monmouthshire, Wm. Morgan, of Mamhilad, esq.

Norfolk, J. Thornton Mott, of Barmingham, esq.

Northamptonshire, G. Fleet Evans, of Saxton, esq.

Northumberland, Cuthbert Ellison, of Broomhouse, esq.

Nottinghamshire, J. Manners Sutton, of Kelham, esq.

Oxfordshire, The hon. T. Parker, of Ensham-hall.

Rutlandshire, Thos. Bryan, of Stoke, esq.

Shropshire, Ralph B. Wyld Browne, of Coyghley, esq.

Somersetshire, C. Hemeys Tynte, of Haleswell, esq.

Staffordshire, Postponed.

Southampton, George Hanbury Michell, of Titchfield-lodge, esq.

Suffolk, J. Vernon, of Nacton, esq.

Surrey, James Mangles, of Woodbridge, esq.

Sussex, W. Stanford, of Reston, esq.

Warwickshire, Post o d.

Wiltshire, J. Holton, of Grittleton, esq.

Worcestershire, Sir J. Packington, of Westwood, bart.

Yorkshire, Wm. Joseph Dennison, of Ayton, esq.

SOUTH WALES.

Brecon, Postponed.

Cardigan, Morgan Jones, of Panthyrlis, esq.

Caermarthen, Morgan Price Lloyd, of Glansevin, esq.

Glamorgan, Hon. Wm. Booth Grey, of Duffryn.

Pembroke, John Henslergh Allen, of Carselty, esq.

Radnor, Thos. Thomas, of Ponkerrig, esq.

NORTH WALES.

Anglesey, Edward Jones, of Cromlech, esq.

Carnarvonshire, Rob. Thos. Carreg, of Carreg, esq.

Denbighshire, R. Henry Kenrick, of Nanlewydd, esq.

Flintshire, T. Lloydd, of Trebierdd, esq.

Merioneth, Lewis Price Edwards, of Tolgarth, esq.

Montgomeryshire, R. Knight, of Gwernygoe, esq.

METEOROLOGICAL TABLE *for the neighbourhood of* LONDON, 1808.

	Barometer.				Thermometer.		
1808.	Greatest height inches.	Lowest inches.	Mean height for the month. inches.	Quantity of rain in depth. inches.	Greatest height.	Lowest.	Mean height for the whole month.
January..	30,45	29,00	29,87	2,768	50	15	39,50
February .	30,64	29,20	29,93	2,768	50	16	39,23
March ...	30,70	29,53	30,20		54	23	39,23
April.....	30,30	29,44	29,96	1,530	66	25	42,00
May	30,24	29,50	29,86	3,114	82	35	64,73
June.....	30,20	29,70	29,88	4,000	81	44	61,00
July	30,35	29,74	29,90		93	53	68,00
August ...	30,18	29,50	29,89	4,670	79	52	64,67
September	30,30	29,30	29,50		72	40	60,00
October..	30,20	29,19	29,10	4,840	63	30	49,00
November	30,04	28,47	29,15	4,520	58	28	43,25
December.	30,00	28,88	29,46	2,340	52	18	36,82
			29,724 Mean height for the year.	30,550 Quantity fallen in the year.			50,6 Mean height for the year.

METEOROLOGICAL TABLE *for the last twelve months at* CARLISLE.

	Thermometer.			Barometer.			Rain.
	High.	Low.	Mean.	High.	Low.	Mean.	Inches.
January	50	17	37,4	30,50	28,74	29,704	2,10
February.	52	24	37,	30,86	29,20	30,07	1,57
March.....	51	27	37,43	30,54	29,55	30,20	,20
April	56	25	41,51	30,28	28,82	20,82	1,20
May.....	72	47	55,4	30,23	29,44	29,86	2,86
June.....	76	48	59,	30,34	29,60	29,96	,82
July.....	84	46	64,	30,23	29,60	29,951	3,90
August.....	71	40	61,2	30,27	29,37	29,838	4,48
September...	67	30	53,92	30,26	29,38	29,842	1,84
October.....	58	31	43,92	30,43	28,77	29,632	3,95
November...	57	25	41,46	30,40	28,76	29,82	3,06
December...	52	17	36,53	30,35	28,93	29,804	1,88
Annual Mean.			47,4	Annual Mean.		29,875	27,86 Total.

In the neighbourhood of London, the greatest cold was on January 22; and the greatest heat July 14; and of the 366 days, 162 were reckoned very brilliant; on 119 there was rain, in less or greater quantities, and on 18 there was snow or hail. The wind has blown from N. NW. and NE. 147; from S. SW. SE. 113, from the W. 52, and from the E. 54.

At Carlisle, there was falling weather, or rain, snow, &c. 202 days, and the wind was W. SW. S. SE. 190, and E. NE. NW. 176.

Average state of the Atmosphere for seven years, near LONDON.

Years.	Average height of the Barometer.	Average height of the Thermometer.	Depth of Rain in Inches.
1802.	29,766	50,38	23,35
1803.	29,778	50,31	26,39
1804.	29,873	50,65	34,00
1805.	29,864	48,00	25,00
1806.	29,815	51,77	42,00
1807.	29,746	51,66	26,00
1808.	29,724	50,60	30,55
Average for seven Years.	29,786	50,48	29,613

The mean state of the Thermometer and Barometer, and the quantity of rain for the last eight years at CARLISLE.

	Thermometer Annual mean.	Barometer Annual mean Inches.	Barometer. Ann range. Inches.	Rain. Annual quan. Inches.
1801	48,3	29,796	1,78	31,466
1802	47,54	29,817	1,89	28,504
1803	47,456	29,895	2,10	27,52
1804	48,656	29,862	2,02	35,845
1805	47,965	29,859	2,20	26,355
1806	48,944	29,770	2,29	31,54
1807	46,464	29,819	2,04	27,75
1808	47,4	29,875	2,12	27,86
Mean for the whole 8 years.	47,8406	29,836	2,055	29,605

PUBLIC PAPERS.

PRUSSIA.

DECLARATION OF PRUSSIA AGAINST ENGLAND.

THE king being obliged, by the 27th article of the treaty of the peace of Tilsit, concluded on the 9th July, 1807, to shut, without exception, the Prussian ports and states against the trade and navigation of England, as long as the war lasted between England and France, his majesty has not hesitated to take progressively the most appropriate measures to fulfil his engagements.—In directing these measures, his majesty did not dissemble the prejudice and loss which would result to the commerce of his dominions in general, and that of his subjects, who, by a long series of misfortunes, have acquired new rights to his paternal solicitude and benevolence; but his majesty yielded to the consolatory hope, that the mediation offered by Russia to England, by accelerating the return of a definitive peace between Great Britain and France, would soon bring about an order of things more congenial to the particular interests of each power.—The king has been deceived in his just expectation; the events that have taken place since, and which are too well known to render it necessary to recapitulate them, far from bringing the so much desired period of general peace nearer, have only placed it at a greater distance.—All communication broken off between Russia an England. The declaration of hi majesty the emperor of all th Russias, published on the 26t October, proves that there is n longer any relation between thos two powers. His Prussian ma jesty, intimately connected by a his relations with the cause an system of the continental neigh bouring and friendly powers, ha no other rules of conduct than hi duties, founded upon the interest of his states, and the obligatio contracted by a solemn treaty.— Conformably to these principles his majesty, setting aside thos considerations which he had hi therto respected, in the vain hop for a speedy general pacification and having refused. since the mis sion of lord Hutchinson, to re ceive at his court any English di plomatic agent, has just ordere his legation at London to qui England as soon as possible, an return to the continent.—His ma jesty the king of Prussia, in mak ing known the resolutions whic his engagement and the interest o his monarchy impose upon him a a duty, declares by these presents that, till the restoration of a def nitive peace between the two bel ligerent powers, there shall be n relation between Prussia and Eng land.

FREDERICK WILLIAM

Memel, Dec. 1, 1807.

IMPERIA

IMPERIAL DECREE

At our Royal Palace at Milan, Dec. 7, 1807.

Napoleon, emperor of the French, king of Italy, and protector of the Rhenish confederation:—Observing the measures adopted by the British government, on the 11th of November last, by which vessels belonging to neutral, friendly, or even powers the allies of England, are made liable, not only to be searched by English cruizers, but to be compulsorily detained in England, and to have a tax laid on them of so much per cent on the cargo, to be regulated by the British legislature:

Observing that by these acts the British government *denationalizes* ships of every nation in Europe, that it is not competent for any government to detract from its own independence and rights, all the sovereigns of Europe having in trust the sovereignties and independence of the flag; that if by an unpardonable weakness, and which in the eyes of posterity, would be an indelible stain, such a tyranny was allowed to be established into principles and consecrated by usage, the English would avail themselves of it to assert it as a right, as they have availed themselves of the tolerance of governments to establish the infamous principle, that the flag of a nation does not cover goods, and to give to their right of blockade an arbitrary extension, and which infringes on the sovereignty of every state; we have decreed, and do decree, as follows:

Art. I. Every ship, to whatever nation it may belong, that shall have submitted to be searched by an English ship, or to a voyage to England, or that shall have paid any tax whatsoever to the English government, is thereby, and for that alone, declared to be *denationalized*, to have forfeited the protection of its king, and to have become English property.

Art. II. Whether the ships *denationalized* by the arbitrary measures of the English government enter into our ports, or those of our allies, or whether they fall into the hands of our ships of war, or of our privateers, they are declared to be good and lawful prizes.

Art. III. The British islands are declared to be in a state of blockade both by sea and land. Every ship, of whatever nation, or whatsoever the nature of its cargo so may be, that sails from the ports of England, or those of the English colonies, or to countries occupied by English troops, is good and lawful prize, as contrary to the present decree; and may be captured by our ships of war or our privateers, and adjudged to the captor.

Art. IV. These measures, which are resorted to only in just retaliation of the barbarous system adopted by England, which assimilates its legislation to that of Algiers, shall cease to have any effect with respect to all nations who shall have the firmness to compel the English government to respect their flag. They shall continue to be rigorously in force as long as that government does not return to the principle of the law of nations, which regulates the relations of civilized states in a state of war. The provisions of the present decree shall be abrogated and null, in fact, as soon as the English abide again by the principles of the law of nations, which are also the principles of justice, and of honour.

All our ministers are charged with

with the execution of the present decree, which shall be inserted in the bulletin of the laws.

NAPOLEON.

SUCCESSION TO THE CROWN OF ITALY.

Milan, Dec. 19.

We, Napoleon, by the grace of God, and the constitution of the empire, emperor of the French, and king of Italy, decree as follows:—

Art. I. We adopt for our son prince Eugene Beauharnois, arch-chancellor of state of our empire of France, and viceroy of our kingdom of Italy.

II. The crown of Italy shall be after us, and in default of our children, and male legitimate descendants, hereditary in the person of prince Eugene, and his direct legitimate descendants from male to male by order of primogeniture, to the perpetual exclusion of women and their descendants.

III. In default of our sons and male descendants, and the sons and male descendants of Prince Eugene, the crown of Italy shall devolve to the son and nearest relative of such of the princes of our blood who shall then reign in France.

IV. Prince Eugene, our son, shall enjoy all the honours attached to our adoption.

V. The right which our adoption gives him shall never, in any case, authorise him or his descendants to urge any pretension to the crown of France, the succession to which is invariably fixed.

NAPOLEON.

Don Joseph Maria de Melo, titular Bishop of Algalva, Inquisitor-General in the kingdom, Member of her Majesty's council, and her confessor,

To all the faithful of the holy church, health, peace, and the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ our Saviour and God.

The place of inquisitor-general of this kingdom, which we occupy, unworthy of it as we are; the holy episcopal character with which we are invested; the exemplary zeal with which the most eminent and venerable cardinal patriarch of Lisbon has just recommended with so touching an unction, in his last pastoral letter, the preservation of tranquillity, peace, and christian union, necessary in all times, and above all in the present; all these considerations imposed upon us the duty of concurring on our side, and as far as we can in a salutary object, and without which we cannot hope for any happiness either upon earth, nor, which ought more to concern us, in the life to come. We address them to all the faithful of the holy church, to the inhabitants of this city and kingdom; we conjure them to be attentive and docile to the wise and pacific instructions of their venerable father and pastor, in a circumstance which concerns their present fate and their eternal happiness. We can do nothing better than to recal to them the paternal advice of that great prelate. Let them consider the situation in which we are, the favours which the divine goodness has heaped upon us, in the midst of our tribulations; let them bless God in all things; let them adore with an humble and contrite heart the immutable decrees of Providence, and let them be grateful for the innumerable benefits we have received from his all-powerful hand.

Let

Let us reckon amongst these signal benefits the peace and good order which have and do reign in this kingdom since a great army has come to our succour.—We are certain of our happiness if we know how to profit by it—we enjoy equal security both in our houses and out.

Let us not forget that we owe these advantages to the zeal and activity of the general in chief who commands us, and whose virtues we have long known; that the army which is in the midst of us is that of his majesty the emperor of the French and king of Italy, Napoleon the Great; *that that monarch has been sent by God to protect religion and render people happy;* that he will pour upon us the blessings of peace, if we love each other with fraternal charity—that by that means religion and its ministers will always be respected, and that, in fine, we shall enjoy all sorts of happiness if we shew ourselves worthy of such great protection. It is thus that we ought to conduct ourselves to accomplish faithfully the precepts of the Lord, who commands us to obey power, not through fear, but through a duty of conscience.

Let us incessantly have before our eyes the touching expectations which the venerable pastor of this city and diocese has addressed to his flock, and unite them in charity, and to obtain peace and repose, of which we have so much need; and because that object is of the greatest importance, even for the preservation of the purity of our faith, we conjure all the deputies of the council general of inquisitions, and other ministers of the holy office, to unite their zeal to ours to maintain and consolidate the public tranquillity.

We recommend it, especially to all the religious in general, and to each in particular, to give in all circumstances the example of perfect submission, as it becomes the ministers of a God of peace, who offer daily the sacrifice of propitiation, and who ought to be models of evangelical perfection to the people. We exhort them to recal without ceasing the faithful to their duties, and above all to impress them with this truth, that there never can be too much peace and union. And in order that our father may recal all the tribunals of inquisition in the kingdom, we have caused it to be stuck up and published in the churches of our district, in the accustomed form.

Given at Lisbon, under the seal of the holy office, 22d December, 1807.

Motives of the Senatus Consultum upon the Conscription of 1809, declared by Regnaud de St. Jean D'Angely, Minister of State.

SENATORS,—When your wisdom called out the conscripts of 1808, your wishes were directed towards the peace which signal victories had prepared—you wished to ensure new means of conquering and pacifying. The success surpassed your hopes—the flames of war are extinguished upon the continent—a durable peace has been sworn between the two greatest sovereigns in the world, and Europe has time to breathe. But there is a government to which the repose of Europe is despair, to which peace is terror, to which discord is necessity, and war hope. England has replied to the offer of a generous mediation offered by the emperor

of

of Russia, by carrying fire and sword into the territories of his most ancient ally, by professing more solemnly contempt of the rights of nations, by proclaiming more inhumanly the principle of eternal war. The indignation of all sovereigns has replied to the injurious manifestoes, to the cunning declarations, to the barbarous acts of the cabinet of St. James. The predictions which the orators of his majesty made to you a year ago in this tribune are realised. It is, we said, from the bosom of the continent, which England would set in a flame, that henceforth a terrible war shall be waged against her. It is by applying to her on all the European shores the principles she has applied in all seas, that we shall bring her back to the ancient principles of the law of nations and of civilized states. It is by exiling her ships from all the coasts where we have soldiers and allies that the English ministry will be punished for the culpable refusal of giving peace to the world. Such, Senators, were the words we addressed to you in speaking of the conscription of 1808, and behold a sacred and powerful league is formed to punish the English oligarchy, defend the rights of nations, and avenge humanity. From the Baltic to the Mediterranean, from the Nile to the Narva, but few points remain to the English ships where they can land, or where they are not forbidden to touch.

But it is not sufficient to have, by a just reciprocity, pronounced against England that dreadful sentence of outlawry; she must not be permitted to be at rest in the seat of her iniquitous domination, upon any of her coasts, in any of her colonies, under any points of the globe, which are not yet interdicted to her. It is necessary that, repelled from one part of the world, menaced in all others, England should know not where to direct the little military force of which she has the disposal; and that our armies, more formidable than ever, should be ready to carry into her possessions our victorious and avenging eagles. Such, gentlemen, are the motives which have determined his majesty to demand a new conscription. The levy of the preceding year has been, as you foresaw, the pledge of continental peace—the levy of this year will be the presage of a maritime peace. The pillage of the arsenal and port of Copenhagen—the emigration of the Portuguese fleet, have not yet left the continent without ships.

Our legions can yet reach the English militia—Ireland may yet hope for succour against oppression—India may yet expect deliverers; and while our ancient phalanxes shall march to hasten the days of justice, new legions of young warriors shall be trained to discipline and to battle, under the paternal eye of those warlike magistrates—of those senators generals, who with so happy a zeal have already formed brave men to replace those whom war has snatched from the country, or who have been restored to their families. His majesty will have a superabundance of means to realise his pacific views, or to execute his warlike projects. To the powerful armies of his faithful allies, his majesty will unite, for common defence and triumph, so formidable a mass, that success will not long be doubtful. So just a cause will not be vainly defended by so much force, and protected by so many powers.

A league

A league so imposing in its elements, so generous in its policy, so just in its objects, so great in its means, will at length bring back our enemies to justice through fear, or to submission through victory.

BY THE KING.

A PROCLAMATION FOR A FAST.

George R.

We, taking into our most serious consideration the just and necessary war in which we are engaged, and putting our trust in Almighty God, that he will graciously bless our arms, both by sea and land, have resolved, and do by and with the advice of our privy council, hereby command that a public day of fasting and humiliation be observed throughout those parts of our united kingdom called England and Ireland, on Wednesday, the 17th day of February next ensuing, that both we and our people may humble ourselves before Almighty God, in order to obtain pardon for our sins, and in the most devout and solemn manner send up our prayers and supplications to the Divine Majesty for averting those heavy judgments which our manifold provocations have most justly deserved, and for imploring his blessing and assistance of our arms for the restoration of peace, and prosperity to us and our dominions. And we do strictly charge and command that the said public fast be reverently and devoutly observed by all our loving subjects in England and Ireland, as they tender the favour of Almighty God, and would avoid his wrath and indignation, and upon pain of such punishment as we may justly inflict on all such as contemn and neglect the performance of so religious and necessary a duty: and for the better and more ordinary solemnising the same, we have given directions to the most reverend the bishops of England and Ireland, to compose a form of prayer suitable to this occasion, to be used in all churches, chapels, and places of public worship, and to take care that the same be timely dispersed throughout their respective dioceses.

Given at our court at the queen's palace, this sixth day of Jan. one thousand eight hundred and eight, in the forty-eighth year of our reign.

God save the King.

Another proclamation directs a similar fast in Scotland, on the following day, Thursday, the 18th of February.

KING'S SPEECH.—HOUSE OF LORDS, JANUARY 21.

This day parliament assembled, pursuant to his majesty's proclamation, when the commissioners, appointed to open the session, read the following speech:

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"We have received his majesty's commands to assure you, that in calling you together at this important conjuncture of affairs, he entertains the most perfect conviction that he shall find in you the same determination with which his majesty himself is animated, to uphold the honour of his crown, and the just rights and interests of his people. We are commanded by his majesty to inform you, that no sooner had the result of the negociations at Tilsit confirmed the influence and controul of France over the powers of the continent,

than

than his majesty was apprised of the intention of the enemy to combine those powers in one general confederacy, to be directed either to the entire subjugation of this kingdom, or to the imposing upon his majesty an insecure and ignominious peace. That for this purpose, it was determined to force into hostility against his majesty, states which had hitherto been allowed by France to maintain or to purchase their neutrality; and to bring to bear against different points of his majesty's dominions the whole of the naval force of Europe, and specifically the fleets of Portugal and Denmark. To place these fleets out of the power of such a confederacy became therefore the indispensable duty of his majesty. In the execution of this duty, so far as related to the Danish fleet, his majesty has commanded us to assure you that it was with the deepest reluctance that his majesty found himself compelled, after his earnest endeavours to open negociation with the Danish government had failed, to authorise his commanders to resort to the extremity of force, but that he has the greatest satisfaction in congratulating you upon the successful execution of this painful, but necessary, service.—We are further commanded to acquaint you, that the course which his majesty had to pursue with respect to Portugal was, happily, of a nature more congenial to his majesty's feelings. The timely and unreserved communication by the court of Lisbon, of the demands and designs of France, while it confirmed to his majesty the authenticity of the advices which he had received from other quarters, entitled that court to his majesty's confidence, in the sincerity of the assurances by which that communication was accompanied. The fleet of Portugal was destined by France to be employed as an instrument of vengeance against Great Britain. That fleet has been secured from the grasp of France, and is now employed in conveying to its American dominions the hopes and fortunes of the Portuguese monarchy. His majesty implores the protection of Divine Providence upon that enterprise, rejoicing in the preservation of a power so long the friend and ally of Great Britain, and in the prospect of its establishment in the new world with augmented strength and splendour.—We have it in command from his majesty to inform you, that the determination of the enemy to excite hostilities between his majesty and his late allies, the emperors of Russia and Austria, and the king of Prussia, has been but too successful; and that the ministers from those powers have demanded and received their passports. This measure, on the part of Russia, has been attempted to be justified by a statement of wrongs and grievances which have no real foundation. The emperor of Russia had indeed proffered his mediation between his majesty and France. His majesty did not refuse that mediation; but he is confident you will feel the propriety of its not having been accepted until his majesty should have been enabled to ascertain that Russia was in a condition to mediate impartially, and until the principles of the basis on which France was ready to negociate, were made known to his majesty. No pretence of justification can be alleged for the hostile conduct of the emperor of Austria, or for that of his Prussian majesty. His majesty has not given the slightest ground

of

of complaint to either of those sovereigns; nor even at the moment when they have respectively withdrawn their ministers, have they assigned to his majesty any distinct cause for that proceeding.—His majesty has directed that copies of the correspondence between his majesty's ambassadors and the minister for foreign affairs of his imperial majesty the emperor of Russia, during the negociations at Tilsit, and the official note of the Russian minister at this court, containing the offer of his imperial majesty's mediation between his majesty and France, together with the answer returned to that note by his majesty's command; and also copies of the official notes presented by the Austrian minister at this court, and of the answers which his majesty commanded to be returned to them, should be laid before you. It is with concern that his majesty commands us to inform you, that notwithstanding his earnest wishes to terminate the war in which he is engaged with the Ottoman Porte, his majesty's endeavours, unhappily for the Turkish empire, have been defeated by the machinations of France, not less the enemy of the Porte than of Great Britain. But while the influence of France has been thus unfortunately successful in preventing the termination of existing hostilities, and in exciting new wars against this country; his majesty commands us to inform you, that the king of Sweden has resisted every attempt to induce him to abandon his alliance with Great Britain; and that his majesty entertains no doubt that you will feel with him the sacredness of the duty which the firmness and fidelity of the king of Sweden impose upon his majesty; and that you will concur in enabling his majesty to discharge it in a manner worthy of this country. —It remains for us, according to his majesty's command, to state to you that the treaty of commerce and amity between his majesty and the United States of America, which was concluded and signed by commissioners duly authorised for that purpose, on the 31st of December, 1806, has not taken effect, in consequence of the refusal of the president of the United States to ratify that instrument. For an unauthorised act of force, committed against an American ship of war, his majesty did not hesitate to offer immediate and spontaneous reparation. But an attempt has been made by the American government to connect with the question which has arisen out of this act, pretensions inconsistent with the maritime rights of Great Britain; such pretensions his majesty is determined never to admit.—His majesty, nevertheless, hopes that the American government will be actuated by the same desire to preserve the relations of peace and friendship between the two countries which has ever influenced his majesty's conduct, and that any difficulties in the discussion now pending may be effectually removed.—His majesty has commanded us to state to you, that, in consequence of the decree by which France declared the whole of his majesty's dominions to be in a state of blockade, and subjected to seizure and confiscation of the produce and manufactures of his kingdom, his majesty resorted, in the first instance, to a measure of mitigated retaliation; and that this measure having proved ineffectual for its object, his majesty has since found it necessary to adopt

others

others of greater rigour, which, he commands us to state to you, will require the aid of parliament to give them complete and effectual operation. His majesty has directed copies of the orders which he has issued with the advice of his privy council upon this subject to be laid before you; and he commands us to recommend them to your early attention.

"Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

"His majesty has directed the estimates for the ensuing year to be laid before you, in the fullest confidence that your loyalty and public spirit will induce you to make such provision for the public service as the urgency of affairs may require. His majesty has great satisfaction in informing you, that, notwithstanding the difficulties which the enemy has endeavoured to impose upon the commerce of his subjects, and upon their intercourse with other nations, the resources of the country have continued in the last year to be so abundant, as to have produced, both from the permanent and temporary revenue, a receipt considerably larger than that of the preceding year. The satisfaction which his majesty feels assured you will derive, in common with his majesty, from this proof of the solidity of these resources, cannot but be greatly increased, if, as his majesty confidently hopes, it shall be found possible to raise the necessary supplies for the present year without any material addition to the public burthens.

"My lords, and gentlemen,

"We are especially commanded to say to you, in the name of his majesty, that, if ever there was a just and national war, it is that which his majesty is now compelled to prosecute. This war is in its principle purely defensive. His majesty looks but to the attainment of a secure and honourable peace: but such a peace can only be negotiated upon a footing of perfect equality. The eyes of Europe and of the world are fixed upon the British parliament. If, as his majesty confidently trusts, you display in this crisis of the fate of the country the characteristic spirit of the British nation, and face unappalled the unnatural combination which is gathered around us, his majesty bids us to assure you of his firm persuasion, that, under the blessing of Divine Providence, the struggle will prove successful and glorious to Great Britain.—We are lastly commanded to assure you, that in this awful and momentous contest, you may rely on the firmness of his majesty, who has no cause but that of his people; and that his majesty reciprocally relies on the wisdom, the constancy, and the affectionate support of his parliament."

PROTEST.

Die Jovis, 21° Januarii, 1808.

A motion was made to omit the fourth paragraph in the motion for an address to the throne (viz. the paragraph respecting the seizure of the Danish fleet); and the question being put, "that the said paragraph do stand part of the motion," the same was carried in the affirmative.

Dissentient,

Because no proof of hostile intention on the part of Denmark has been adduced, nor any case of necessity made out, to justify the attack upon Copenhagen, without which the measure is, in our conception,

ception, discreditable to the character and injurious to the interests of this country.

W. Frederick. Vassall Holland.
Rawdon. Norfolk.
Lauderdale. Sidmouth.
Grey.

Dissentient, for the above reasons, and for those that follow:

Because it has only been through the slow and painful progression of many ages, that civilized nations have emerged from a state of continual insecurity and violence, by the establishment of an universal public law, whose maxims and precedents have been long acknowledged to be of the same force and obligation as the municipal constitutions of particular states; a system which has gradually ripened with the advancement of learning and the extension of commerce, and which ought to be held sacred and inviolate by all governments, as binding the whole civilized world under one politic and moral dominion.

Because alleged departures from the principles and authority of this public law in the earliest stages of the French revolution were held out by the parliament of Great Britain as the origin and justification of the first war with revolutionary France; and because in all its subsequent stages, the continuance of hostilities was uniformly vindicated in various acts of state, as being necessary for the support of the moral and political order of the world, against the avowed disregard and subversion of it by the different governments of France, in their groundless and unprovoked attacks upon the independence of unoffending nations.

Because the people of Great Britain, on being repeatedly called upon by the king and parliament to support the public law, thus alleged to have been violated, and to exhibit an example to the most distant ages of inflexible national virtue, submitted to the heaviest burthens, and sacrificed the most essential advantages, rather than consent to any peace, which was considered by their government as an abandonment of their allies, or as an inadequate security for the rights and privileges of other nations: and because it appears in many state papers during the progress of the wars with the different governments of France, that it was the duty and the interest of Great Britain, and her pledge to the world, to maintain inviolate the acknowledged principles of public law, as the only foundations upon which the relations of peace and amity between nations could be supported.

Because it is the first and most indispensable maxim of public law, founded indeed upon the immutable principles of justice, that no violence should be offered by one state to another, nor any intrusion made upon the rights, property, independence, or security of its inhabitants, except upon an aggression by such state, and the refusal of adequate satisfaction; or in the rare instance of indispensable necessity, involving national destruction, such as in the case of an individual would justify homicide, or destruction of property, for self-preservation; and because the observance of this rule should, if possible, be held more sacred by great and powerful nations, it being the very end and object of universal law to give perfect security to the weakest communities under the shadow of an impartial justice.

Because the late attack upon Copenhagen, in a season of profound

found peace with the crown and people of Denmark, and immediately following the solemn declaration by the crown prince, of his resolution to maintain his neutrality, and to consider any nation as an enemy which should seek to disturb it, would, without some just cause, which in this case is wholly unsupported by proof, be a most manifest and unprincipled departure from the whole system of moral policy and justice, which the British government had, as above, professed to act upon; inasmuch as any contempt or violation of public law by the government of France, though it might release Great Britain from all observance of it, as far as regarded such offending belligerent, could not possibly destroy or affect its protective sanctions in her intercourses with friendly and peaceable states. On the contrary, it ought to have invested the law of nations with a more binding and sacred obligation, since the professed object and justification of our war with France at that very moment was to restore to a suffering world the good faith and security which had been lost by a contempt of its dominion.

Because information of a projected confederacy between France and Denmark, assumed, without evidence, to have been communicated to ministers through channels which called, on their parts, for inviolable secrecy, might be a foundation for acquitting them from blame, if the question before the house had been the propriety of their acquittal or condemnation; yet it cannot possibly justify, in the absence of all proof, an address to his majesty, pronouncing their attack upon Copenhagen to be an act of indispensable duty; because, giving credit to the declarations of ministers, that they had informations of such projected confederacy, it is impossible for this house to know whether they ought to have been acted upon to so dreadful an extent, without having before it, most precisely and distinctly, the specific nature of such communications, so as to be able to estimate the credit due to them, not only from the facts themselves, but from the situations and characters of the persons by whom they were made.

The conduct, besides, of ministers, in the whole transaction, is in manifest opposition to this principle of the attack. They made no such charge upon Denmark when before Copenhagen, nor even pretended to have invaded her with a cause of war. Their language upon the spot, and even in the address proposed to his majesty, is the language of regret; a language utterly inconsistent with the vindication of a proceeding, which would have been as mild and forbearing against an enemy, as it was barbarous and treacherous against a friend. The position also of Denmark, when the assault was made upon her, is the strongest evidence to resist the presumption of an understanding with France. Her army was in Holstein, which France was menacing, whilst Zealand was left defenceless, and the ships dismantled, at a moment when the consciousness of a treaty or confederacy must have suggested to all the contracting or confederating parties the necessity of concentrating the whole force of Denmark to defend her capital, and to secure her fleet.

Because no evidence whatever has been laid before the house to establish

establish any hostile confederacy between Denmark and France, nor any design on the part of the former to depart from the strictest neutrality; on the contrary, the above-mentioned solemn declaration of the crown prince to the British minister ought to have been received by his majesty's servants as the pledge of a firm resolution to maintain neutrality; and because nothing short of a hostile design in the government of Denmark could justify the demand of her fleet, or the bombardment of Copenhagen to enforce the surrender of it.

Because it was completely in the power of Great Britain to have protected the Danish fleet from any hostile attack of France, which destroys the pretence of such an indispensable necessity as could alone justify even the slightest trespass upon a peaceable and unoffending state.

Because, still assuming in the absence of all evidence to the contrary, that the government of Denmark was faithful to her neutrality, no speculation of the probable fall of her fleet into the possession or power of France could possibly justify its hostile seizure by Great Britain. Such a principle would be utterly subversive of the first elements of public law, as being destructive of the independence of weaker states, inasmuch as it would create a jurisdiction in the stronger nations to substitute their own security and convenience for the general rule, and invest them also with the sole privilege of determining the occasions upon which they might consider them to be endangered; and because to justify the attack and plunder of a weak unoffending power, upon the assumption that a stronger belligerent might otherwise attack and plunder her, would be to erect a new public law upon the foundation of dishonour and violence, making the tyranny of one nation a warrant for substituting the dominion of oppression for the sacred obligations of morality, humanity, and justice.

Because, supposing it to have been not only probable, but even certain, that France could have succeeded in carrying away in the winter the ships and stores from Copenhagen, but without the consent of Denmark, faithful to her neutrality, the iniquity of that act, in sound policy, independently of all considerations of justice, ought to have been left to the French government to perpetrate; because the carcases of the ships would have been the only fault of an act of the deepest atrocity, whilst the indignation of a brave and generous people, now too justly directed against Great Britain, would then have been pointed against France; and Denmark, with the protection of our fleets, might have kept open the Baltic to our commerce, and extended our maritime means of restoring the tranquillity of the world.

Because, until this attack upon Copenhagen shall receive vindication by proof of its justice, or condemnation, in the absence of it, from the parliament of Great Britain, she has lost her moral station in the world; since the very system of wrong and violence, which she has so long confederated Europe to destroy, at the expence of her blood and resources, will have been established and confirmed by her own example.

Because a whole nation ought not in the mean time to be dishonoured, nor its immortal characteristic

teristic brought into question, for the acts of ministers; and because it is the duty of those subjects, who, by the constitution of the government, have the high privilege of perpetuating their sentiments upon the public records of their country, to vindicate themselves from the imputation of having acquiesced in acts of the greatest injustice.

ERSKINE.

Feb. 6.—Napoleon, emperor of the French, king of Italy, &c. We have decreed, and do decree as follows:

Art. I. There shall be levied in our kingdom of Portugal, a war contribution of 100 millions of franks (about four millions sterling), to be paid by all kinds of property and domains belonging to individuals.

II. The commander of our army shall apportion the contribution on the respective provinces, according to the means of each.

III. All the property belonging to the queen of Portugal and to the prince regent, and to all the princes who have pensions, shall be sequestrated. All the property of the grandees of the kingdom who have followed the prince regent in his flight, shall also be sequestrated, unless that they return to Portugal before the 15th of January next.

CONVENTION

Between his majesty and the king of Sweden.

The consequences of the treaty of Tilsit, between Russia and France, unfolding themselves more and more in such a manner as to threaten Sweden with a speedy invasion, for the purpose of forcing her to accede to the French system; and his Swedish majesty finding himself therefore under the necessity of bringing forward, to resist its effects, a greater force than he has at his ordinary disposal;—his Britannic majesty, animated with the constant desire of contributing to the defence and security of his ally, and of supporting him by every means in a war undertaken for the mutual interests of both states, has determined to give to his Swedish majesty an immediate aid in money, as being the most prompt and efficacious, to be paid from time to time at fixed periods: and their majesties having judged it expedient that a formal convention, with regard to their reciprocal intentions in this respect, should be concluded, they have for this purpose named and authorised their respective plenipotentiaries, who have agreed upon the following articles:—

I. His majesty the king of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, engages that there shall be paid to his majesty the king of Sweden the sum of 1,200,000*l.* sterling, in equal instalments of 100,000*l.* sterling each per month, beginning with the month of January of the present year inclusively, and to continue successively in the course of each month, the first of which instalments shall be paid on the ratification of the present convention by his Swedish majesty.

II. His majesty the king of Sweden engages, on his part, to employ the said sum in putting into motion, and keeping on a respectable establishment, all his land forces, and such part as shall be necessary of his fleets, and particularly his flotilla, in order to oppose the most effectual

effectual resistance to the common enemies.

III. Their said majesties moreover engage to conclude no peace, no truce, or convention of neutrality with the enemy, but in concert and by mutual agreement.

IV. The present convention shall be ratified by the two high contracting parties, and its ratifications shall be exchanged at London within the space of six weeks, after the signature of the said convention, or sooner if it can be done.

SEPARATE ARTICLE.

The two high contracting parties have agreed to concert, as soon as possible, the measures to be taken, and the auxiliary succours to be stipulated for, in the case of a war actually taking place between Sweden and the powers her neighbours; and the stipulations which may then result shall be considered as separate and additional articles to this convention, and shall have the same force as if they were word for word inserted therein.

In faith of which, we the undersigned plenipotentiaries of their said majesties, have signed the present convention, and this separate article, and have caused the seal of our arms to be affixed thereto.

Done at Stockholm, the 8th of February, in the year of redemption 1808.

EDW. THORNTON (L.S.)
F. EHRENHEIM (L.S.)

RUSSIA.

DECLARATION OF THE EMPEROR OF RUSSIA AGAINST SWEDEN.

Justly indignant at the violence which England has displayed towards the king of Denmark, the emperor of Russia, faithful to his character and to his system of unceasing care for the interests of his empire, notified to the king of Great Britain, that he could not remain insensible of so unjust and unexampled an aggression on a sovereign connected with him by the ties of blood and friendship, and who was the most ancient ally of Russia. His imperial majesty informed the king of Sweden of this determination by a note, dated the 24th of September last, and presented to the Swedish ambassador. An article in the treaty concluded in 1783 between the empress Catharine and Gustavus III. and another in the treaty of 1800 between the late emperor Paul and the present king of Sweden, contain the reciprocal and stipulated agreement to maintain the principle that the Baltic is a close sea, with the guarantee of its coasts against all acts of hostility, violence, or vexations whatsoever; and farther, to employ for this purpose all the means in the power of the respective contracting parties. His imperial majesty, referring to these treaties, considered himself not merely authorised, but bound, to call upon the king of Sweden for his co-operation against England. His Swedish majesty did not disavow the obligations imposed upon him by the treaties referred to, but refused all co-operation until the French troops should be removed from the coast, and the ports of Germany opened to English ships. But the question here was, the checking of those aggressions which England had commenced, and by which all Europe was disturbed. The emperor demanded from the king of Sweden a co-operation founded on treaties; but his Swe-

dish majesty answered by proposing to delay the execution of the treaty to another period, and by troubling himself with the care of opening the Dutch ports for England; in a word, with rendering himself of service to that England, against which measures of defence ought to have been taken. It would be difficult to find a more striking proof of partiality on the part of the king of Sweden towards Great Britain, than this which he has here given. His imperial majesty, on the 16th of November, caused a second note to be delivered, in which his Swedish majesty was informed of the rupture between Russia and England. This note remained two months unanswered; and the answer, which was transmitted on the 9th of January to his imperial majesty's minister, was to the same purport as the former. The emperor is, however, far from regretting his moderation. He is, on the contrary, well pleased to recollect, that he has employed every means that remained to him for bringing back his Swedish majesty to the only system of policy which is consistent with the interests of his states; but his imperial majesty owes it at last to his people, and to the security of his dominions, which is to a sovereign the highest of all laws, no longer to leave the co-operation of Russia with Sweden a matter of doubt. Informed that the cabinet of St. James's, endeavouring to terrify Denmark into a concurrence with the interests of England, threatened that Swedish troops should occupy Zealand, and that the possession of Norway should be guaranteed to the king of Sweden; assured also that his Swedish majesty, while he left the Russian note unanswered, was secretly negotiating a treaty at London; his imperial majesty perceived that the interests of his empire would be very ill secured, were he to permit his neighbour, the king of Sweden, at the commencement of a war between Russia and England, to disguise his well-known sentiments of attachment to the latter power, under the appearance of a pretended neutrality. His imperial majesty therefore cannot allow the relations of Sweden towards Russia to remain longer in a state of uncertainty. He cannot give his consent to such a neutrality. His Swedish majesty's intentions being therefore no longer doubtful, nothing remained for his imperial majesty but to resort to those means which Providence has placed in his hands, for no other purpose except that of giving protection and safety to his dominions: and he has deemed it right to notify this intention to the king of Sweden, and to all Europe. Having thus acquitted himself of that duty which the safety of his dominions requires, his imperial majesty is ready to change the measures he is about to take to measures of precaution only, if the king of Sweden will, without delay, join Russia and Denmark in shutting the Baltic against England until the conclusion of a maritime peace. He himself invites the king, his brother-in law, for the last time, and with all the feelings of real friendship, no longer to hesitate in fulfilling his obligations, and in embracing the only system of policy which is consistent with the interests of the northern powers. What has Sweden gained since her king attached himself to England? Nothing could be more painful to his imperial majesty than to see a rupture take place between Sweden and Russia. But his

his Swedish majesty has it still in his power to prevent this event, by resolving, without delay, to adopt that course, which can alone preserve a strict union and perfect harmony between the two states.

Done at St. Petersburg, Feb. 10, 1808.

DECREES OF THE KING OF SPAIN.

Aranjuez, March 18, 1808.

As I intend to command my army and navy in person, I have thought proper to release Don Manuel Godoy, prince of the peace, from the employs of generalissimo and admiral, and give him leave to withdraw whither he pleases. You are herewith informed of it, and will communicate it to whom it concerns.

To Don Francis Gill.

No. I.

The King of Spain's decree to his excellency Don Pedro Cevallos, first secretary of state.

My beloved subjects! — Your generous agitation in these circumstances is a fresh proof of the sentiments of your heart, and I, who love you as a tender father, take the earliest opportunity to console with you in the distressed situation in which we are placed. Be tranquil; know that the army of my dear ally, the emperor of the French, traverses my kingdom with ideas of friendship and peace. Its object is to march to the points which are threatened with the danger of a descent by the enemy, and the junction of my life guards has no other object than to protect my person, and they are not intended to accompany me on a voyage, which malice endeavoured to represent as necessary. Surrounded by the unshaken loyalty of my armed subjects, of which I have received such unquestionable proofs, what have I to fear? and should any imperious necessity require it, could I doubt of the assistance which their generous bosoms offered me? But no such necessity will ever be witnessed by my people. Spaniards, allay your fears; conduct yourselves as you have hitherto done towards the troops of the ally of your good king. In a few days you will see peace and tranquillity restored; your hearts and minds enjoying the happiness which God bestows on me in the bosom of my family and your love.

Royal palace of Aranjuez, March 10.

By the King,

A. D. PEDRO CEVALLOS.

No. II.—ROYAL DECREE.

My habitual infirmities not permitting me to support any longer the important burden of the government of my kingdom, and it being requisite for the re-establishment of my health, that I should enjoy in a more temperate climate a private life, I have determined, after mature deliberation, to abdicate my crown, in favour of my heir, my dearly beloved son the prince of Asturias.

My royal will therefore is, that he should be duly recognised and obeyed, as king and natural lord of all my kingdoms and sovereignties, and in order that this royal decree of my free and spontaneous abdication may be exactly and duly fulfilled, you will communicate it to the council, and to all others whom it may concern.

I, THE KING.

Done at Aranjuez, March 19.

DON PEDRO CEVALLOS.

No. III.—Edict.

Don Arias Antonio Moret Velarde, dean, governor, par interim, of the council.

The king, our master, Ferdinand VIIth. has communicated to me by divers orders which I have received, that his majesty has come to the determination of immediately confiscating all the goods, effects, actions, and estates of Don Emanuel Godoy, wherever they may be found, and that for this purpose his majesty has taken every suitable measure, the said effects belonging immediately to him; that he has also come to the determination of shortly coming to this city to be proclaimed; but, he wishes that previously the people of Madrid, so devoted and attached to his royal person, will give him proofs of calmness and tranquillity; assuring them that he has given orders against Don Emanuel Godoy, his goods and revenues, which no longer belong to him; that he will think very seriously of repairing the wrongs done to his loving subjects who have suffered in his cause; and lastly, that he will constantly keep in view the adoption of all those measures which are calculated to ensure their happiness.

His majesty also informs me that he has appointed the Duc d'Infantado colonel of his Spanish guards, conferring on him at the same time the presidency of Castile. The king my master wishes that those persons who have been confined in consequence of the events at St. Laurent, will return to his majesty's presence. In order that this may be known to all, and that the loyal people of Madrid may know how much the king, our master, labours for his happiness and their welfare, he has ordered me to communicate it to you, which I do by these presents.

Don Arias Mor.

Madrid, March 20.

No. IV.—The council to the people of Madrid.

Nothing ought to disturb the public tranquillity in the happy moment of the elevation to the throne of Spain of the king Ferdinand VIIth. His faithful subjects have given in that happy hour to his majesty proofs of their devotion and their affection. They ought not to doubt the affection which his majesty has for them, and that he will employ himself in acts for the public happiness and for the accomplishment of the desires of the people of Madrid.

But what is most important to the success of the elevated views of his majesty is public order, and that this should be ensured, the council flatters itself that all the inhabitants of this faithful city will retire to their homes, and that they will remain in the most perfect tranquillity, persuaded that they will then give to his majesty, in the first moments of his reign, the best testimony of the sincerity of their sentiments, and of those acclamations of fidelity which have been recently heard.

B. M. de Torres,
Secretary to his majesty's council, &c.

Proclamation

By Don Bartolome Mugnoz de Torres, secretary to his majesty, council, &c.

I certify that his excellency Don Pedro Cevallos, first secretary of state and of dispatches, has communicated

municated to the dean governor, *ad interim*, of the council, the following royal order:—

Illustrious Signor—one of the first cares of the king, our master, on ascending the throne, was to notify that happy event to the emperor of the French and king of Italy, and at the same time to assure his imperial and royal majesty, that, animated by the same sentiments as his august father, far from changing, in the slightest degree, his political system with respect to France, he will endeavour, by all possible means, to draw closer the bands of friendship and strict alliance which fortunately subsist between Spain and the French empire.

His majesty has commanded me to make this communication to you, in order that, upon its publication in council, the tribunal may act conformably thereto, in all the measures taken for re-establishing public tranquillity in Madrid, as well as for receiving the French troops, about to enter that city, and administering to them every requisite assistance; endeavouring, at the same time, to convince the people that they come as friends, and for purposes advantageous to the king and the nation.

His majesty flatters himself that the council, being informed of his earnest desire for more firmly consolidating the connection that exists between him and the emperor of the French and king of Italy, will study, by all the means in their power, to inspire the inhabitants of Madrid with similar sentiments.

May God preserve your excellency many years.

PEDRO CEVALLOS.

To the governor of the council.

Aranjuez, March 21.

Letter from king Carlos IV. to the emperor Napoleon.

SIR, MY BROTHER,

Your majesty will assuredly hear with pain of the events which have taken place at Aranjuez, and their consequences: you will not without sympathy see a king who has been compelled to resign his throne, throw himself into the arms of a great monarch, his ally, placing every thing in his protection who alone can fix his happiness and that of his whole family, and his trusty and beloved subjects. Under the pressure of the moment, and amid the clashing of weapons and the cries of a rebellious guard, I found that I had to choose between my life and death, and that my death would be followed by that of the queen: I was compelled to abdicate the throne: but to day peace is restored, and full of confidence in the generosity and genius of the great man who has at all times declared himself my friend, I have taken my resolution to resign myself into his hands, and await what he shall resolve on my fate, that of the queen, and of the Prince de la Paz.

I address myself to your majesty, and protest against the events which took place at Aranjuez, and against my dethronement. I rely with confidence, and altogether upon the cordiality and friendship of your majesty, praying that God may have you in his holy keeping.

Sir, my brother, your royal and imperial majesty's affectionate brother and friend,

CARLOS.

Aranjuez, March 25.

I protest and declare, that my decree of the 19th of March, in which I renounce my crown in favour

favour of my son, is a deed to which I was compelled, in order to prevent greater calamity, and spare the blood of my beloved subjects. It is therefore to be considered as of no authority.

(Signed) I, THE KING.

TREATY OF ALLIANCE AND SUBSIDY,

Between his majesty the king of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and his majesty the king of the Two Sicilies.—Signed at Palermo, March 30, 1808.

His majesty the king of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and his majesty the king of the Two Sicilies, being equally animated by a sincere desire of strengthening more and more the ties of friendship and good understanding which so happily subsist between them, have judged that nothing could contribute more efficaciously to that salutary end than the conclusion of a treaty of alliance and subsidy. For this purpose their said majesties have named their respective plenipotentiaries, viz. his Britannic majesty, the right hon. William Drummond, one of his majesty's most hon. privy council, and his envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary at the court of his said Sicilian majesty; and his majesty the king of the Two Sicilies, the right illustrious and right excellent Thomas de Somma, marquis of Circello, his gentleman of the chamber, field-marshal of his armies, knight of his royal order of St. Januarius, his councillor of state, secretary of state for the department of foreign affairs, and superintendant general of the ports; who, after having communicated their respective full powers, have agreed upon the following articles:—

Art. I. There shall be a continuance of the sincere and constant friendship between his Britannic majesty and his majesty the king of the Two Sicilies, their heirs and successors, which has always subsisted up to the present time.

II. The two high contracting parties shall afford to each other, during the present war with France, every succour and assistance, in proportion to their respective forces, and shall prevent by common consent every thing that can cause them trouble or detriment.

III. His majesty the king of the Two Sicilies engages to grant to the troops of his Britannic majesty, stationed in the fortresses of Sicily, and to all British ships of war, an exemption from all duties belonging to him, upon every thing of which the British squadrons in the Mediterranean, and the troops of that nation may stand in need, and which the country can furnish, in provisions, food, and in military and naval stores.

IV. His Sicilian majesty being desirous of giving an additional proof of the sentiments by which he is animated, also engages to exempt from all duties belonging to him upon such provisions as may be requisite for the British ships of war at Malta, as well as all military stores which are to be found in the country, on condition, however, that each vessel or vessels of war be furnished with a requisition from the governor of the said island, which shall specify the articles, and the quantity required.

V. His Sicilian majesty further engages in virtue of the present treaty, never to allow the enemies

of

of Great Britain to bring into any of his ports during the present war, any British ships taken by the enemies of Great Britain.

VI. His Sicilian majesty also engages to open the ports of the Two Sicilies during the present war to British squadrons, as well as to all merchant and other ships belonging to British subjects, without any restriction whatever, referring to the third article, with respect to exemption from duties.

VII. His Britannic majesty engages, in return, to defend during the present war the fortresses of Messina and Augusta, and to maintain there for that purpose, at his charge and expence, a body of troops, which in the present war shall consist of ten thousand men, and to augment their number if the case shall require it. The disposition of which troops in the said fortresses shall be in such manner and proportion as the commanding officer (to whom every requisite facility shall be given) shall judge expedient: and his Britannic majesty stipulates, that the said general officers shall have the power of exercising martial law in the above-mentioned garrisons, with respect to their British troops, in the same manner, and according to the same rule, as are observed in other English garrisons. Quarters for the said troops shall be provided in the above-mentioned fortresses by his Sicilian majesty.

VIII. His Britannic majesty further engages to pay to his Sicilian majesty, during the continuance of the present war, an annual subsidy of 300,000*l.* sterling (to commence from the 10th of September, 1805, when the British and Russian troops landed in the Neapolitan territory), payable at the rate of 25,000*l.* sterling per month; which payment shall always be made one month in advance, computing from the date of the signature of the present treaty. His Sicilian majesty purposing to employ the said subsidies for the use of his marine, and of his land forces, shall regulate the distribution of them in such proportion as these two services may require, for the defence of his states, and for operations against the common enemy; and an account shall be given every three months to the British government, of the manner in which his Sicilian majesty shall have employed the subsidies paid to him by Great Britain.

IX. The two high contracting parties desiring to strengthen more and more the ties which unite the two nations, and to extend their mutual relations, will employ themselves, as soon as possible, in concluding a treaty of commerce, the articles of which shall be equally advantageous to the subjects of both states.

X. His Sicilian majesty engages not to conclude with France a peace separate from England: and his Britannic majesty on his part also engages not to make a peace with France without comprehending and saving in it the interests of his Sicilian majesty.

XI. The present treaty of alliance and subsidy shall be ratified by the two high contracting parties, and the ratification shall be exchanged in due form in London within the space of four months, from the date of its signature, or sooner if possible.

In witness whereof, We, the undersigned, furnished with full powers from our respective sovereigns, have signed the present treaty, and have thereunto

thereunto affixed the seal of our arms.

W. DRUMMOND. (L. S.)
THOMAS DE SOMMO. (L. S.)

Done at Palermo, March 30, 1808.

PROTEST

Against the bill prohibiting the exportation of cotton wool.

Dissentient,

1st, Because, as this bill prohibits the exportation of all cotton wool, and the orders of council of the 11th and 25th of November, 1807, force into British ports the whole of that commodity sent by America for the supply of foreign states, the quantity brought by these and other means into the British market must be so great, in proportion to the demand, as to reduce the value of that commodity to a trifle.

When we consider, therefore, that the usual exportation of cotton wool from America is two hundred and fifty thousand bags, amounting, at twelve pounds per bag, to the value of three millions sterling, we conceive that this is not only a gross violation of the law of nations, but the most substantial injury ever inflicted on a friendly and independent state.

2dly, Because this reduction of the value of cotton wool will discourage the growth of it to a degree that, on the return of peace, when the demand for our cotton goods revives, must deeply injure this extensive branch of our manufactures, by producing a deficiency in the supply, and consequent dearness of the raw material.

3dly, Because, much as we regret the unwarrantable provocation given to the United States of America, and the injury thus inflicted on our manufactures, we feel with still deeper affliction the evil with which this bill threatens the constitution of our country.

Whilst it prohibits the exportation of cotton wool, it permits his majesty, by licence under his sign manual, to authorise any person to export from Great Britain any quantity of cotton wool, under such regulations, restrictions, and securities, as may be specified in the licence; and thus confers on the crown a legal right to arrange and share out the trade in a most valuable commodity; a principle which if extended to other articles, must create a new and alarming source of influence, almost boundless in the extent to which it may be carried.

Even when confined to the present instance of cotton wool, it appears to us a most dangerous extension of the patronage of the crown. We believe there is no intelligent merchant who must not think, that by the prohibition to export cotton wool the value of that article will suffer a diminution to the amount at least of one million sterling. It is plain, therefore, that if his majesty can, by granting licences, supply the markets to which cotton wool went before this unwarrantable interruption of the trade—as the commodity, with the restoration of demand, must resume its value—this immense sum may be corruptly distributed by the executive government, by giving licences to persons whose political conduct it may wish to influence.

4thly, Because we think there is just reason to believe, that this measure is adopted with a view to create the undue influence with which it arms the executive government; for the following clause, which tends to do away the influence the bill confers, without deranging

deranging the system it means to establish, was rejected by the house.

"Provided always, that when his majesty shall determine, by licence, to authorise the exportation of any given quantity of cotton wool, the board of trade shall announce such determination in the gazette, together with the regulations, restrictions, and securities, intended to be specified in the licence; and the name of every person who, within a week, shall state in writing to the secretary of the said board, his desire to export the quantity of cotton meant to be exported under the conditions stipulated, shall be put into a glass jar; and at 12 o'clock on the ninth day after the advertisement shall have been inserted in the gazette, the secretary of the board of trade shall, in the presence of such of the persons desirous of exporting cotton wool as may choose to attend, after mixing the names in a manner to preclude all suspicion of preference, draw out of the said jar one of the names therein contained, and his majesty's licence shall forthwith be granted to the person whose name is so drawn."

5thly, Because, recollecting that within these few days the two houses of parliament have received an unanimous petition of the common council of the city of London, declaring "that the burdens borne by the people of this country have been considerably augmented by gross abuses in the management and expenditure of the public money, and by a profusion of sinecure places and pensions, which have not only greatly added to their sufferings, but created a pernicious and dangerous influence, corrupting and undermining the pure and free principles of the British constitution," we dread that the passing of this bill must give rise to serious and alarming discontent, when it is known that it may eventually arm the crown with the power of distributing a sum equal in amount to the sum allowed for defraying the expenditure of his majesty's civil list, unaccompanied by any check to prevent its being used for the purposes of augmenting to an unparalleled degree that "pernicious and dangerous influence" which has so solemnly been stated to parliament by his majesty's faithful and loyal subjects, the corporation of London, as "corrupting and undermining the pure and free principles of the British constitution."

Lauderdale, Albemarle.
King,

PROTEST

Against the bill prohibiting the exportation of bark to France.

Dissentient,

1st, Because the jesuits' bark, the exportation of which is prohibited by this bill, has been found by long experience to be a specific for many dangerous diseases which war has a tendency to spread and to exasperate; and because to employ as an engine of war the privation of the only remedy for some of the greatest sufferings which war is capable of inflicting, is manifestly repugnant to the principles of the christian religion, contrary to humanity, and not justified by any practice of civilized nations.

2dly, Because the means to which recourse has been hitherto had in war have no analogy to the barbarous enactment of this bill; inasmuch as it is not even contended that the privation to be created by

by it has any tendency whatever to self-defence, or to compel the enemy to the restoration of peace; the only legitimate object by which the infliction of the calamities of war can in any case be justified.

3dly, Because the only possible answer to these objections is, that the bill will not produce the privation which is held forth as its ostensible object, inasmuch as the jesuits' bark may be exported under licences from the crown; but such an answer would only prove the bill to be wholly useless to its purposes, whilst it would still leave in its full operation the odious precedent of having resorted, in cold blood, for the mere speculative sale of our manufactures, even to the possible infliction of miseries not to be vindicated but by the view of self-preservation, or, in the extremities of war, directed to that justifiable object.

4thly, Because, as no scarcity of the jesuits' bark appears to exist in France, and as, in the contrary case, no possible exertion on the part of this country could effectually prevent its importation into the numerous ports under the dominion or controul of the French government, the bill appears to us to be grossly vicious in principle, whilst it is absolutely nugatory in practice, and therefore, in every point of view, disgraceful and absurd.

5thly, Because if it were even just, expedient, or practicable, to force the importation of our manufactures upon our enemies, by withholding the jesuits' bark but upon condition of their permitting such importation, that principle should have been distinctly expressed in the bill, and the conditions specifically declared in it, instead of vesting in the crown an arbitrary discretion to dispense with the prohibition by licences; a power destructive of the equality of British commerce, and dangerous to the freedom of the British constitution.

Erskine,
Cholmondely,
Upper Ossory,
Bedford,
Ponsonby (earl of Besborough),
Albemarle,
Ponsonby (of Immokilly),
Essex,
Carrington,
Grenville,
Rosslyn,
Lauderdale,
Clifton (earl of Darnley).

RENUNCIATION OF THE SPANISH THRONE.

The period when the destiny of the Spanish nation and its sovereign is irrevocably fixed has now arrived. By a treaty concluded between the emperor Napoleon and king Charles, and which has been acceded to by the prince of the Austurias, and the infantes don Carlos, don Francisco, and don Antonio, who compose the whole of the members of the house of Spain, all the existing differences have been adjusted, and the following proclamations were addressed to the supreme councils of Castile, the inquisition, and the junta of the government, by the king.

To the Supreme Council of Castile, the Council of Inquisition, &c.

In the present extraordinary circumstances, we have resolved to give a new proof of our affection towards our beloved subjects, whose

whose happiness during the whole course of our reign has been the constant object of our solicitude. We have therefore abdicated all our claims upon the Spanish kingdoms in favour of our friend and ally the emperor of the French, by a treaty which has been signed and ratified, and which stipulates for the integrity and independence of the Spanish kingdoms, and the preservation of our holy religion, not only as the predominant, but as the sole and exclusive, religion in Spain.

We have therefore thought proper to send you this letter, that you should conform yourselves thereto, publish its contents, and make every exertion in support of the emperor Napoleon. Display the utmost frankness and friendship towards the French, and, above all, direct all your care to preserve the country from insurrections and tumults.

In the new condition upon which we are entering, we shall frequently turn our eyes towards you, and happy shall we be to know that you enjoy peace and contentment.

Given at the imperial palace, May 4. I, THE KING.

To the Supreme Junta of the Government.

Having judged it expedient to give one same direction to all the forces of our kingdom, in order to maintain security of property and public tranquillity against enemies, as well exterior as interior, we have thought it fit to nominate our cousin, the grand duke of Berg, lieutenant-general of the kingdom, who at the same time commands the troops of our ally, the emperor of the French. We command the council of Castile, and the captains-general and governors of our provinces, to obey his orders. In the same quality he shall preside over the junta of the government.

Given at Bayonne, at the imperial palace, styled the palace of the government, May 4.

I, THE KING.

PROCLAMATION.

SPANIARDS!—My beloved subjects, perfidious men seek to mislead you. They would put arms into your hands against the French troops; they seek alike to arm you against the French, and the French against you. The sacking of all Spain, calamities of every kind would be the result. The spirit of faction, the sad effects of which I have already felt, is still in motion. In the midst of these important and critical circumstances, I am occupied in concerting with my ally, the emperor of the French, all that concerns your welfare. Beware of listening to the enemies of it. All those who speak to you against France thirst for your blood; they are either the enemies of your nation, or the agents of England, who are busily availing themselves of circumstances, and whose intrigues would involve the loss of your colonies, the separation of your provinces, or a series of years of trouble and calamity for your country.

Spaniards! trust to my experience, and obey that authority which I hold from God and my fathers; follow my example, and think that in the position in which you stand, there is no prosperity and safety for Spaniards but in the

the friendship of the great emperor, our ally.

Given at Bayonne, from the imperial palace, styled palace of the Government, May 4.

I, THE KING.

The Supreme Junta to the inhabitants of Madrid,

Inhabitants of Madrid.

Your tranquillity will be from henceforth unalterable. You will owe it to the loyalty of your own character; but it will be still more assured to you by the confidence, which is inspired by the laws, and by the prudence of zealous magistrates, to whom their execution is committed. It is in this conviction that the supreme junta of government proclaims, that in obedience to the dictates of humanity, the allied army has suppressed the military commission, established only for one day, as a necessary though severe measure, which would not have been established, but for the perverseness of some individuals; that, from henceforth, every inhabitant, whatsoever may be his rank, who shall have given cause for being seized by the French troops, provided he has not borne arms against them, shall be immediately given over to his proper judges, and tried by them. And even in the only excepted case, viz. that of having borne arms against the French troops, a judge nominated by the competent tribunal of the nation, shall always assist in regulating the whole of the process against the accused till sentence is pronounced. No countrymen domiciliated in the town, nor strangers, shall be molested on account of the peculiarity of their dress; and still less the ecclesiastics. The carriers employed in bringing provisions to the town shall henceforward be subject to no vexation, or detension of their carriages or mules. Every individual who shall have just complaints to make, on addressing himself to the judge of police may rest assured, that he will on the same day obtain full justice and reparation for whatever damage he may have sustained. As to the muleteers, who are likewise employed in bringing provisions to town, and who generally stay there a few days, only one half of their cattle shall in future be put in requisition, even under the most urgent necessity; and in no case shall they be detained longer than three or four days, for which they shall be paid at the prices already given out. Orders shall be given at those gates of the town where carriers have suffered arbitrary detensions, in order to be searched and stripped of their arms, that this abuse be in future prevented. But it is also necessary to repeat the order against introducing fire-arms, or other prohibited weapons into the city: they ought always to be deposited at the gate.

Given at the palace, by order of the supreme junta of government, May 5, 1808.

Compte CASA VALENCIA, Secretary.

DECREE FOR UNITING TUSCANY TO THE FRENCH EMPIRE.

Art. I. The dukedoms of Parma and Placentia are united to the French empire under the name of the department of the Taro; they shall form an inseparable, indivisible portion of the French territory, from the period of the notification

notification of the present senatus consultum.

II. The states of Tuscany are united to the French empire, under the name of the department of the Arno, the department of the Mediterranean, and the department of the Ombrona. They shall form an indivisible portion of the French empire, from the period of the notification of the present decree.

III. The laws which govern the French empire shall, in the departments of the Arno, the Mediterranean, and the Ombrona, be made public before the 1st of January, 1809, the period from which the constitutional government for those departments shall take its commencement.

IV. The department of the Taro, and that of the Arno, shall each have six deputies in the legislative body; the department of the Mediterranean three; and the department of the Ombrona three; which will raise the number of the members of that body to 342.

V. The deputies of the department of the Taro shall be chosen and named without delay, and shall enter the legislative body before the session of 1809.

VI. The deputies of the department of the Arno, of the Mediterranean, and of the Ombrona, shall enter the legislative body before the session of 1809, &c.

THE POPE.

Napoleon, by the grace of God, &c. Whereas the temporal sovereign of Rome has refused to make war against England, and the interest of the two kingdoms, that of Italy and of Naples, demand that their communications should not be intercepted by a hostile power; and whereas the donation of Charlemagne, our illustrious predecessor, of the countries which form the holy see, was for the good of christianity, and not for that of the enemies of our holy religion:—We therefore decree that Urbino, Ancona, Macerata, and Camerino, be for ever united with the kingdom of Italy; to which kingdom all cardinal prelates, &c. natives of those districts, are commanded to return by the 5th of June (past), on pain of confiscation of goods, &c.

His holiness having received the painful notification of the above-mentioned four provinces, has, under the distressing feelings which this rigorous treatment has occasioned, charged cardinal Gabrielli to make the following declaration:—

DECLARATION OF HIS HOLINESS.

Quirinal Palace, May 19, 1808.

His holiness having received the painful notification of the union which is about to take place, of his four duchies of Urbino, Macerata, Ancona, and Camerino, with the kingdom of Italy, amid the cruel uneasiness which this rigorous treatment causes him, has charged the cardinal Gabrielli, pro-secretary of state, to make the following frank declaration to your most illustrious highness.

The holy father has seen, with infinite pain, that the force of the reasons contained in the note of the 19th of April, addressed to M. Le Febvre, the charge d'affaires, has not prevented his imperial and royal majesty from putting his threats in execution. He has seen, with the same feelings, that this powerful monarch, in whose hands he placed, at the altar, the sceptre, and

and the rod of justice, has proceeded, contrary to every species of right, to inflict upon him a new spoliation of the best part of the states which remained to him.

But what has been the astonishment of his holiness in observing a decree, dated one day anterior to the note of M. Champagny; so that even before that minister had renewed his propositions, and received an answer, the fate of the three usurped provinces was already decided!

The astonishment of the holy father was still farther augmented, when he saw it assigned as a legitimate cause of this spoliation, that he had constantly refused to make war upon England, and to confederate with the kings of Naples and of Italy. However, his holiness had never ceased to represent, that his sacred character of minister of peace—the God, whose representative he is upon earth, being the God of peace—that his quality of universal pastor, and of the common father of all the faithful—that the holy laws of justice, of which, as the representative of the God who is their source, he ought to be the guardian and the avenger—could never permit him to enter into a permanent system of war, and much less still to declare war, without any motive, against the British government, from which it had never received the slightest offence. However, the holy father conjured his majesty to reflect, that not having, and not being in the capacity of having enemies, because he is the vicar of Jesus Christ, who came into the world not to foment but to destroy animosities, he could not bind himself and his succesors, in perpetuity, as the emperor wished, to make war for the quarrels of another.

But his holiness had also urged the incalculable evils which would result to religion, should he enter into a system of perpetual confederation, and that, without compromising his honour, without incurring universal hatred, without betraying his duties and his conscience, he could not place himself in the situation, by the league proposed, of becoming the enemy of every state, even a catholic sovereign, and of binding himself to make war upon him. But all the representations, and all the reasons so frequently submitted to his majesty with paternal mildness have not produced the least impression.

It has been sought to justify the spoliation upon another pretext, by assigning as the second motive which produced it, that the interests of the two kingdoms, and of the two armies of Italy and Naples, demanded that their communication should not be interrupted by a hostile power.

If by this power is meant to be understood England, the history of almost two centuries will shew the falsity of this specious pretence. —The catholic princes of Spain, and of the house of Austria, from the emperor Charles V. to Charles II. of Spain, possessed the kingdom of Naples and the duchy of Milan, which forms at present the principal part of the kingdom of Italy; and they never perceived that their interests were compromised; they never experienced this pretended obstacle to the communication of their armies. They were frequently at war with Great Britain, and still oftener with France, but they were never apprehensive of an intermediate debarkation

debarkation upon the territory of the holy see; still less did they pretend to force the pontiffs of that period to unite and confederate with them, or to despoil them of their possessions, should they have refused.

But putting history aside, what risks could the interests of these separated kingdoms even run? The neutrality of the holy fathers, recognized and respected by all other powers, and the measures taken to prevent its violation, are more than sufficient to place these interests in security.

To render this security still greater, and to take away every sort of pretext, his holiness carried his compliance as far as he consistently could; he declared himself disposed to shut his ports against the English during the present war, and to employ his troops to guard the coasts of his states from every hostility whatever.

But what attack could be dreaded upon these two kingdoms, which border upon the states of the holy see, while French troops, for so long a period, without regard to the interests of the public or of individuals, have violated his neutrality, occupied all his ports, and covered all his coasts?

If, however, by a hostile power, it was wished to designate the person of the holy father, his character itself, mild and pacific, puts an end to this injurious imputation; but the better to refute it, his holiness calls to witness the French empire and the kingdom of Italy, in favour of which he signed two concordats, whose violation has been the source of perpetual grief to his heart, in having constantly, but in vain, pressed their faithful execution. He calls Europe itself to witness, which has seen him, in his old age, in the most rigorous season of the year, traverse the Alps, and proceed to Paris, not without exciting the jealousy and disgust of other great powers, in order to consecrate and crown his imperial and royal majesty. He calls to witness the whole French troops, from the commander to the meanest soldier, either those who have traversed the states of the holy see, or those who have resided there, whether they have not experienced in the papal territory a reception the most friendly, and a hospitality the most generous;—a hospitality which cost bitter tears to the holy father, who was indispensably obliged to load his subjects with imposts for the maintenance and payment of the French troops; in short, his holiness calls to witness his majesty himself, for whom he has not ceased on all occasions to testify the most particular regards.

But if his holiness were able to testify the surprise excited by the two first articles, advanced to justify this spoliation, he wants words to express the profound astonishment produced by the expressions contained in the third. It bears upon the donation of Charlemagne, and it is remarked that that was made for the benefit of Christianity, and not for the enemies of our holy religion. It is well known that this celebrated and glorious monarch, whose memory will be eternally blessed by the church, did not give to the holy see the provinces which have been usurped. It is notorious that they were, at an epoch very remote from his age, in the possession of the Roman pontiffs, in consequence of the voluntary submission of the people, who were abandoned by the emperors of the east; that the Lombards,

bards, having afterwards occupied the exarchate of Ravenna and the Pentapolis, which include these provinces, Pepin, the illustrious and religious father of Charlemagne, recovered them, and restored them to pope Stephen; that that great emperor, who was the honour and admiration of the eighth century, far from wishing to revoke the generous and pious donation of his father, approved and confirmed it under pope Adrian; that far from wishing to strip the Roman church of her possessions, he had no other intention than to secure and aggrandise them; that consequently, in his will he laid an express obligation on his three sons, to protect the states of the church, with their arms; that he reserved to his successors no right of revoking that which his father Pepin had done for the advantage of the chair of St. Peter; that his whole design was to protect the Roman pontiffs against their enemies, and not to compel them to excite enemies; that ten centuries which have passed away since the days of Charlemagne, a thousand years of peaceable possession, render useless all more ancient investigations, and all ulterior interpretations; that, even if that pious prince had, instead of a free restitution or gift of these territories, restored or given them for the profit of Christianity, it is exactly for the welfare of Christianity, or, to speak more strictly, of the catholic religion, that the holy father wishes peace with all the world, avoids to provoke the resentment of any power, and refuses to interfere in political quarrels. After so many voices have been raised against different popes, who have, for the best reasons, engaged in wars, the holy father cannot perceive why it can be attributed to him as a crime that he refused to assume a warlike character, and, at the suggestion of a foreign power, commence a war without any provocation, and which must be highly prejudicial to religion and his subjects.

His holiness cannot on any account overlook the injury which is done him in the forementioned decree, wherein it is remarked, *that the gift of Charlemagne was not made for the benefit of the enemies of our holy religion;* thereby accusing his holiness of betraying the interests of the church. This accusation has made a lively impression on the mind of his holiness, who for upwards of three years has been suffering persecution in behalf of religion, and for having acted faithfully in his apostolic capacity. He has suffered it, that he might not implicate himself in a permanent system of warfare, and that he might not, by his conduct, obstruct the free exercise of the catholic worship.

His holiness has submitted to it, because he could not admit the principles which were frequently intimated to him, which were, that if his holiness was bishop of Rome, his majesty was notwithstanding emperor of it, and that the holy father ought to submit to him in temporal matters in the same manner as his majesty submitted to his holiness in religious matters; that the territories of the holy see belonged to the French empire, and that therefore the pope ought always to make common cause with the emperor and his successors; that he ought at all times to consider the enemies of France as his own, and that he ought of consequence to become a part of the federative system of the empire.

The

The solemn oaths which the holy father has made to maintain his liberty and independence, so essential to the catholic religion, and the free exercise of his supreme spiritual power, do not allow him to subscribe to those destructive and fatal maxims. His holiness suffers this persecution, because he would not consent to the pretensions of his majesty to nominate as many French cardinals as should form one-third of the sacred college, which must have sapped the fundamental base of its constitution, attacked the independence of his spiritual power, and again introduced those unhappy disasters which the church still deplores. His holiness suffers, because he would not enter into an offensive and defensive league against any power in Europe, catholic or otherwise, to the manifest injury of religion. If this refusal implies an abandonment of religion, let heaven, the church, the world, and posterity, judge. The holy father has the most conscientious reflection, that he never did any injury to his majesty, or to France; but if his majesty actually had any complaints against his holiness personally, that would not justify him in resenting on the catholic church, by irrevocably and for ever robbing it of that very property which the same decree declares to have been bestowed for the good of Christianity, nor to rob that church, which is not the proprietor, more than the pontiff, who is only the guardian of it. That church having the spiritual superintendance of every other, hath, since the peace of Constantine, been enriched by the piety of monarchs and people, and hath, by an admirable order of Providence, first accumulated considerable property, and afterwards different states, that it might maintain its spiritual government with more decency, liberty, and advantage—this very church, which his majesty would reduce to a state of degradation, and incapacity of exercising its divine supremacy.

His holiness cannot sufficiently regret the error into which his majesty has fallen, since, in his decree, whereby he deprives the holy see of a part of its states, on the ground "*that they were not intended to benefit the enemies of the catholic religion.*" His majesty has published in the same states, that code against which his holiness hath so often, but unsuccessfully, complained, on account of the articles it contains contrary to the gospel and the laws of the church, particularly of marriage and divorce.

His holiness cannot conceal his astonishment at seeing the demand of his excellency cardinal Caprara for his passports made an additional motive to justify this scandalous spoliation. After what the undersigned had the honour of signifying, in answer to the note of his excellency M. Champagny in the month of April, his holiness believes that the grounds of the principal accusations are completely refuted. He hath already sufficiently proved that the application for passports was accompanied with the equitable condition that the French emperor should evacuate Rome, and relinquish those pretensions which his holiness felt inadmissible. His holiness, therefore, cannot abstain from repeating, that it was discretionary with his majesty either to permit the departure of M. Caprara, who was not only the ambassador of the court of Rome, but at

the same time the apostolic legate, or to permit him to continue his residence at Paris. His departure ought not, therefore, to be made any subject of complaint.

If the injustice of this decree hath increased the grief wherewith the mind of his holiness is overwhelmed, he could not but be additionally afflicted on perusing the other decree of the same date, which enjoins all cardinals, prelates, and officers, holding any employment at the court of Rome, who are natives of Italy, to return, under the penalty of their whole property in case of disobedience. It is, therefore, perfectly clear to his holiness, that it is not his temporal authority, but also his spiritual, which is intended to be subverted, although the second decree makes a studied distinction between the temporal sovereign of Rome, and the vicar of Jesus Christ, under the pretext of shewing a seeming respect for the latter.—It must be evident to the universe, that the intentions of his majesty the emperor are to render his holiness incapable of fulfilling his sacred duties, by dispersing his senate, and overturning the church establishment, and removing from him those persons most dear to him, thereby depriving him of the only consolation which remained to him in the exercise of his apostolical functions, already on the decline.

The pope is not only the bishop of Rome, as hath been so improperly asserted, but he is at the same time the head of the catholic church, and in that character, he is entitled to choose his ministers and coadjutors from the different nations of the earth. In fact, since the commencement of Christianity, the clergy of Rome have been always composed, not only of Romans, but of individuals from all nations, as is evident from the number of strangers admitted amongst the clergy of Rome, and who, during the first four centuries, ascended the chair of St. Peter. All these motives justify the grief of his holiness, who protests against a law, which spares not even distinguished ecclesiastics, chosen to assist him in his labours for the church of God. His holiness at the same time strongly protests, in the face of all the earth, against the usurpation of his states. He solemnly declares it to be unjust, vain, void, and of no avail; that it never can truly affect the imprescriptible and legitimate rights of sovereignty and possession of his holiness and successors for ever; and if force shall deprive him of his possessions, he is determined to maintain the integrity of his rights, because the holy see can recover the real possession, when it may please *the true and faithful God, who fights for justice, and who hath inscribed on his garments and forehead,* THE KING OF KINGS, AND LORD OF LORDS.

At the same time his holiness addresses the most ardent vows to the Father of mercy, to inspire his subjects, withdrawn from his power, and who shall always remain dear to his heart, with a spirit of patience and resignation, to the end that they may one day obtain from heaven consolation and peace, and that they may always preserve inviolate in their hearts religion and faith. *The God of Israel will grant his people strength and virtue.*

These are the sentiments and protestations which the undersigned has been required by his holiness

holiness to make to your excellency, as charge d'affairs of the kingdom of Italy, with which these provinces have been incorporated. The undersigned hath made it a sacred duty to obey faithfully the orders which he has received, and at the same time to renew to you the assurance of his sincere consideration.

G. CARDINAL GABRIELLI.

To Signor Cavaliero Aldini, Charge D'Affaires of the kingdom of Italy.

RESIGNATION

Of the Crown of Spain by King Charles IV. and the Prince of Asturias.

Napoleon emperor of the French, king of Italy, and protector of the confederation of the Rhine, and Charles IV. king of Spain and the Indies, animated equally by a desire to put an end to the anarchy to which Spain is a prey, and to save that brave nation from the agitation of faction, and the convulsions of civil and foreign war, and place it in the sole position which in the extraordinary circumstances in which it is now found, can maintain its integrity, guarantee its colonies, and enable it to unite all its means to those of France to obtain a maritime peace; have resolved to combine all their efforts, and to regulate by a particular convention interests so dear to them, to this effect they have appointed,—

His majesty the emperor of the French, king of Italy, and protector of the confederation of the Rhine, the general of division Duroc, grand marshal of the palace;

His majesty the king of Spain and the Indies, his serene highness Manual Godoy, prince of the peace, count of Evora Mont, who after having exchanged their full powers, have agreed as follows:—

Art. I. His majesty king Charles having during his whole life only had in view the happiness of his subjects, and constantly adhering to the principle, that all the acts of the sovereign ought solely to attend to that object; as the present circumstances can only be a source of dissensions the more fatal, because factions have divided his own family, has resolved to cede and does cede by these presents, to his majesty the emperor Napoleon, all his rights to the throne of Spain and the Indies, as the only means in the state at which things have arrived which can re-establish order: it being always understood, that the said cession only takes place in order that his subjects may enjoy the two following conditions:—1. The integrity of the kingdom shall be maintained. 2. The prince whom his majesty the emperor Napoleon shall judge proper to be placed on the throne of Spain shall be independent, and the limits of Spain shall undergo no alteration.

II. The catholic, apostolic and Roman religion shall be the only one in Spain; no reformed religion shall be tolerated there, and still less infidelity, according to the usage now established.

III. All acts contrary to those of our faithful subjects, since the revolution of Aranjuez, are null and of no validity, and their property shall be restored to them.

IV. His majesty king Charles having thus secured the prosperity, the integrity, and the independence of his subjects, his majesty

the emperor engages to give an asylum in his states to king Charles, to the queen, to the prince of peace, as also to those of their servants, who shall wish to follow them; who shall enjoy in France a rank equivalent to that which they possessed in Spain.

V. The imperial palace of Compeigne, and the parks and forests dependent on it, shall be at the disposal of king Charles during his life.

VI. His majesty the emperor gives and guarantees to king Charles a civil list of 80,000,000 of reals, which his majesty the emperor will cause to be paid him without delay every month, from the treasury of the crown.

At the death of king Charles a revenue of 2,000,000 shall form the dowry of the queen.

VII. His majesty the emperor Napoleon engages to grant to all the infantes of Spain an annual rent of four hundred thousand livres, to be enjoyed by them and their descendants in perpetuity, saving the revertibility of the said rent from one branch to the other, in case of the extinction of one of them, according to civil laws. In case of the extinction of all the branches, the said rent shall revert to the crown of France.

VIII. His majesty the emperor Napoleon shall make such arrangements as he shall judge proper with the future king of Spain for the payment of the civil list, and the rents stipulated in the preceding articles; but his majesty king Charles IV. is understood to have no relation with respect to that object, except with the treasury of France.

IX. His majesty the emperor Napoleon gives in exchange to his majesty king Charles the castle of Chambord, with the parks, forests, and farms, dependent on it, to enjoy in full propriety, and to dispose of as shall seem to him good.

X. In consequence his majesty king Charles renounces in favour of the emperor Napoleon, all the allodial and particular property not appertaining to the crown of Spain, but possessed personally.

The infantes of Spain shall continue to enjoy the revenues of the commanderies they possess in Spain.

XI. The present convention shall be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged within eight days, or sooner if possible.

Done at Bayonne, May 5, 1808.

DUROC.

THE PRINCE OF THE PEACE.

His majesty the emperor of the French, king of Italy, and protector of the confederation of the Rhine, and his royal highness prince of Asturias, having differences to regulate, have appointed for their plenipotentiaries —his majesty the emperor of the French and king of Italy, the general of division Duroc, grand marshal of the palace; and his royal highness the prince of Asturias, Don Juan d'Escoquitz, counsellor of state to his catholic majesty and knight grand cross of the order of Charles III.; who, after having exchanged their full powers, have agreed to the following articles:—

Art. I. His royal highness the prince of Asturias accedes to the cession made by the king Charles of his rights to the throne of Spain and the Indies, in favour of his majesty the emperor of the French and king of Italy; and renounces as

as much as may be necessary to the rights accruing to him as prince of Asturias, to the crown of Spain and the Indies.

II. His majesty the emperor of the French and king of Italy grants, in France, to his royal highness the prince of Asturias, the title of royal highness, with all the honours and prerogatives which the princes of his blood enjoyed. The descendants of his royal highness the prince of Asturias shall preserve the title of princes, that of most serene highness, and shall always hold the same rank as the princes dignitaries of the empire.

III. His majesty the emperor of the French and king of Italy cedes and gives, by these presents, in full property, to his royal highness the prince of Asturias, and to his descendants, the palaces, and parks, and farms of Navarre, and the woods dependent on them, to the amount of fifty thousand acres, the whole free from incumbrance, and to enjoy in full property from the day of the date of the present treaty.

IV. The said property shall pass to the children and heirs of his royal highness the prince of Asturias; in default of them, to the children and heirs of the infante don Charles; in default of them, to the descendants and heirs of the infante Don Francisco; and finally, in default of them, to the children and heirs of the infante Don Antonio. Letters patent and particular conferring the title of prince, shall be made out to him of those heirs to whom the said property shall revert.

V. His majesty the emperor of the French and king of Italy grants to his royal highness the prince of Asturias four hundred thousand livres of appanage rent on the treasury of France, and payable one-twelfth part every month, to be enjoyed by himself and his descendants, and the direct descent of his royal highness the prince of Asturias; failing this, the appanage rent shall pass to the infante don Charles, his children and heirs; and they failing, to the infante don Francisco, his descendants and heirs.

VI. Independently of what is stipulated in the preceding articles, his majesty the emperor of the French and king of Italy grants to his royal highness the prince of Asturias a rent of six hundred thousand livres, in like manner on the treasury, to be enjoyed during life. The half of the said rent shall revert to the princess, his consort, if she survive him.

VII. His majesty the emperor of the French and king of Italy grants and guarantees to the infante don Antonio, uncle of his royal highness the prince of Asturias, and to don Charles and don Francisco, the brother of the said prince,

1. The title of royal highness, with all the honours and prerogatives which the princes of his blood enjoy; the descendants of their royal highnesses shall preserve the title of prince, that of most serene highness, and shall always hold the same rank in France as the princes dignitaries of the empire.

2. The enjoyment of the revenues of all their commanderies in Spain during their lives.

3. An appanage rent of four hundred thousand livres, to be enjoyed by them and their heirs in perpetuity, it being always understood that the infantes don Antonio, don Charles, and don Francisco, dying without heirs, or their posterity becoming extinct, the said

said appanage rents shall appertain to his royal highness the prince of Asturias, or to his descendants and heirs, the whole, on condition that their royal highnesses don Charles, don Antonio, and don Francisco, accede to the present treaty.

VIII. The present treaty shall be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged within eight days, or sooner if possible.

Bayonne, May 10, 1808.

DUROC.

JUAN DE ESCOQUITZ.

KING OF SPAIN'S PROCLAMATIONS.

The king, the prince of Austrias, their royal highnesses the infanta Don Carlos, and Don Antonio, abdicated the crown and their right thereto, by the following documents, viz.

I have thought proper to give my beloved subjects this last proof of my paternal love. Their happiness, tranquillity, prosperity, and preservation, and integrity of the dominions that Divine Providence had placed under my sway, have been the sole objects of my constant care during my reign. Every step and measure that have been adopted since my exaltation to the throne of my august ancestors have been directed to those just purposes, and could not be directed to any other. This day, in the extraordinary circumstances in which I am placed, my conscience, my honour, and the good name I ought to leave to posterity, imperiously require of me, that the last act of my sovereignty should be solely pointed to that end, viz. to the tranquillity, prosperity, security, and integrity of the monarchy, whose throne I quit, to the greatest happiness of my subjects of both hemispheres. Therefore, by a treaty, signed and ratified, I have ceded to my ally and dear friend, the emperor of the French, all my rights to Spain and the Indies, having stipulated that the crown of Spain and the Indies is always to remain independent and entire, as it was under my rule; and likewise that our holy religion is not only to be the predominant one in Spain, but the only one to be observed in all the dominions of the monarchy. Of all which you will take due notice, and communicate it to all the councils and tribunals of the kingdom, chiefs of provinces, civil, military, and ecclesiastical, and to all the justices of districts, in order that this last act of my sovereignty may be notorious to all and every one in my dominions of Spain and Indies; and you are all to concur and assist in carrying into effect the dispositions of my dear friend the emperor Napoleon, as they are directed to preserve the peace, friendship, and union between France and Spain, avoiding disorder and popular commotions, the effects of which can only be havock and destruction of families, and the ruin of all.

Given in Bayonne, in the imperial palace of the government, the 8th of May, 1808.

I, THE KING.

To the governor ad interim of my council of Castile.

Don Fernando, prince of Asturias, and the infantas, don Carlos and Antonio, grateful for the love and constant fidelity that all Spaniards have manifested towards them, with the most poignant grief, see them in the present day plunged in the greatest confusion, and threatened with the most direful calamities

calamities resulting therefrom, and knowing that it arises in the major part of them from the ignorance they are in of the causes of the conduct their royal highnesses have hitherto observed, and of the plans now chalked out for the greatest happiness of their country, they can do no less than endeavour to undeceive them, in order that its execution may suffer no impediment; and at the same time to testify to them the sincere affection they profess for them. They cannot consequently avoid manifesting to them, that the circumstances in which the prince, by the abdication of the king his father, took the reins of government, many provinces of the kingdom, and all the frontier garrisons being occupied by a great number of French troops, and more than 60,000 men of the same nation situated in the metropolis and its neighbourhood, and many other data that no other person could possess; all conspired to persuade them, that being surrounded by rocks and quicksands, they had no other remedy but to choose among many evils, the one that would be the least productive of calamity:—as such, they fixed upon a journey to Bayonne.

On their royal highnesses arrival at Bayonne, the prince, then king, unexpectedly found, that the king his father had protested against his abdication, pretending it had not been voluntary; not having accepted the crown, but in the good faith that the abdication was voluntary, he had scarcely ascertained the existence of the protest, when through filial respect he restored the crown, and shortly after the king his father renounced it in his name, and in that of all the dynasty, in favour of the emperor of the French, in order, that looking to the welfare of the nation, he should elect the person and dynasty who are to occupy it hereafter.

In this state of things, their royal highnesses considering the situation they are in, the critical circumstances of Spain, in which all the efforts of its inhabitants in favour of their rights will not only be useless but mournful, as they would only cause rivers of blood to flow, and cause the loss at least of a great part of the provinces, and of all their ultra marine possessions; and reflecting on the other hand that it would be a most efficacious remedy against so many evils for each of their royal highnesses to adhere by himself separately, to the cession of their rights to the throne, already made by the king their father; reflecting also, that the said emperor of the French binds himself in this case, to preserve the absolute independence and integrity of the Spanish monarchy, and of all ultra marine possessions, without reserving to himself, nor dismembering the least part of its dominions, to maintain the unity of the catholic religion, property, laws, and usages, which he secures for the future, and on a sound basis; also the power and prosperity of the Spanish nation:—Their royal highnesses believe they give the greatest proof of their generosity, love, and gratitude for the affection they have experienced, in sacrificing as much as in their power, their personal interest for the benefit of the country, adhering, as they have done, by a particular agreement, to the cession of their rights to the throne, absolving all Spaniards from their duty in this respect, and exhorting them to look to the interest of their country, remaining tranquil, and expecting their happiness from the sage disposition

position and power of the emperor Napoleon, and by showing their readiness to conform thereto, they will give their prince and the two infantas the greatest testimony of their loyalty, as their royal highnesses give them of their fatherly love and affection, by giving up all their rights, and forgetting their own interests to make them happy, which is the sole object of their wishes.

I, THE PRINCE,
CARLOS,
ANTONIO.

Bourdeaux, 12th *May*, 1808.

THE DECREE.

Napoleon, emperor of the French, king of Italy, protector of the confederacy of the Rhine, &c.

The king and the princes of the house of Spain having ceded their rights to the crown, as is known by their treaties of the 5th and 10th of May, and by their proclamations published by the junta and the council of Castile, we have decreed, and do decree, ordered, and do order, as follows:—

Art. I. The assembly of the notables, which has already been convened by the lieutenant-general of the kingdom, shall be held on the 15th of June at Bayonne. The deputies shall be charged with the sentiments, desires, and complaints of those they represent; and also with full power to fix the basis of the new government for the kingdom.

II. Our cousin the grand duke of Berg shall continue to fulfil the functions of lieutenant-general of the kingdom.

III. The ministers, the council of state, the council of Castile, and and all civil, ecclesiastical, and military authorities are, as far as is requisite, confirmed. Justice shall be administered under the same forms, and in the same manner as usual.

The council of Castile is charged with the publication of this decree, and with the affixing it on all places where it may be necessary, that no one may pretend ignorance of the same.

Given in our imperial and royal palace at Bayonne, the 25th of May, 1808.

(Signed) NAPOLEON.

PROCLAMATION.

To the Spaniards.

Spaniards! After a long, lingering disease, your nation sunk into decay. I have seen your sufferings; I will relieve them. Your greatness makes a part of mine. Your princes have ceded to me all their rights to the Spanish crown. I will not reign over your provinces, but I will acquire an eternal right to the love and gratitude of your posterity. Your monarchy is old; it must be renovated, that you may enjoy the blessings of a renovation which shall not be purchased by civil war or desolation.

Spaniards! I have convened a general assembly of the deputies of your provinces and towns, that I may know your desires and wants. I shall lay down my rights, and place your illustrious crown upon the head of one who resembles me; securing you a constitution which will unite the salutary power of the sovereign with the liberties and rights of the Spanish nation.—It is my will that my memory shall be blessed by your latest posterity, and that they shall say—he was the restorer of our country.

NAPOLEON.

Bayonne, May 25.

PRECAUTION:

PRECAUTIONS

Which it will be proper to observe throughout the different provinces of Spain, in the necessity to which they have been driven by the French, of resisting the unjust and violent possession which their armies are endeavouring to take of the kingdom.

We cannot doubt a moment of the exertions which the united provinces of Spain would make to obstruct and defeat the malicious designs of the French, and that they will sacrifice even their lives on this occasion, the most important, and even unparalleled in the history of the nation, both in the thing itself, and in the horrible means of ingratitude and perfidy by which the French have undertaken, pursued, and are still endeavouring to effect our slavery:—

1. Let the first object be to avoid all general actions, and to convince ourselves of the very great hazards, without any advantage, or even the hope of it, to which they would expose us. The reasons of this resolution are many, and such as any one will discover who has the use of his understanding.

2. A war of partizans is the system which suits us; the embarrassing and wasting the enemy's armies by want of provisions, destroying bridges, throwing up entrenchments in proper situations, and other similar means. The situation of Spain, its many mountains, and the passes which they present, its rivers and torrents, and even the collocation of its provinces, invite us to carry on this species of warfare successfully.

3. It is indispensable that each province should have its general, of known talents, and of such experience as our situation permits; that his heroic loyalty should inspire the utmost confidence, and that every general should have under his command officers of merit, particularly of artillery and engineers.

4. As a combined union of plans is the soul of every well-concerted enterprize, and that which alone can promise and faciliate a successful issue, it appears indispensable that there should be three generalissimos, who should act in concert with each other—one who should command in the four kingdoms of Andalusia, in Murcia, and lower Estremadura—another in Valencia, Arragon, and Catalonia; a person of the greatest credit being appointed to Navarre, the Biscayan provinces, Montanus, Austrias, Rioja, and the north of Old Castile, for the purpose which will be mentioned hereafter.

5. Each of these generals and generalissimos will form an army of veterans, troops and peasantry united, and put himself in a situation to undertake enterprizes, and to succour the most exposed points, keeping up always a frequent communication with the other generalissimos, in order that all may act by common accord, and assist one another.

6. Madrid and la Mancha require an especial general, to concert and execute the enterprizes which their particular local situation demand.—His only object must be to embarrass the enemy's armies, to take away or cut off their provisions, to attack them in flank and rear, and not to leave them a moment of repose. The courage of these inhabitants is well-known, and they will eagerly embrace such enterprizes if they are led as they should be. In the succession war

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the enemy entered twice into the interior of the kingdom, and even as far as its capital, and this was the cause of their defeat, their entire ruin, and their utter failure of success.

7. The generalissimos of the north and east will block up the entrances to the provinces under their command, and come to the assistance of any one that may be attacked by the enemy, to prevent as much as possible all pillage, and preserve its inhabitants from the desolation of war; the many mountains and defiles which are on the confines of these provinces being favourable to such projects.

8. The destination of the general of Navarre, Biscay, and the rest of this department, is the most important of all, in which he will be assisted by the generals of the north and east, with the troops and other succours which he stands in need of. His whole business must be to shut the entrance of Spain against fresh French troops, and to harass and destroy those that return from Spain to France by this point. The very rugged local situation of these provinces will be of singular advantage in such a design, and these enterprizes, if well concerted, and carried into execution, will no doubt be successful; and the same may be understood of the different points by which the French troops which are in Portugal may come into Spain, or by which French troops may enter through Rousillon into Catalonia, for there is not much to be apprehended for Arragon. And even from Portugal it is not thought that they will escape, on account of the proclamations which have been circulated in that kingdom, and the hatred that they before bore to the French being increased without measure by the innumerable evils which they have been made to suffer, and the cruel oppression in which they are held by them.

9. At the same time it would be very proper that the generalissimos should publish and circulate frequent proclamations amongst the people, and rouse their courage and loyalty, shewing them that they have every thing to fear from the horrible perfidy with which the French have dealt with Spain, and even with their king Ferdinand VII.; and that if they rule over us all is lost, kings, monarchy, property, liberty, independence, and religion; and that therefore it is necessary to sacrifice our lives and property in defence of the king and of the country, and though our lot (which we hope will never come to pass) should destine us to become slaves, let us become so fighting and dying like gallant men, not giving up ourselves basely to the yoke like sheep, as the late infamous government would have done, and fixing upon Spain and her, slavery, eternal ignominy, and disgrace. France has never domineered over us, nor set her foot in our territory. We have many times mastered her, not by deceit, but by force of arms; we have made her kings prisoners, and we have made the nation tremble—we are the same Spaniards, and France, and Europe, and the world shall see, that we are not less gallant, nor less brave than the most glorious of our ancestors.

10. All persons of education in the provinces should be stimulated to frame, print, and publish frequent, short discourses, in order to preserve the public opinion, and the ardour of the nation, confuting at the same time the infamous diaries of Madrid, which the baseness of the late government has permitted

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and still permits to be published in Madrid itself, and has caused to be circulated abroad, detecting their falsehoods and continual contradictions; let them cover with shame the miserable authors of those diaries, and sometimes extend their remarks to those Charlatans, the French gazetteers, and even to their Moniteur; and let them display and publish to Spain, and to all Europe, their horrible falsehoods and venal praises, for they afford abundant matter for such a work. Let all such perverted minds tremble at Spain, and let France know that the Spaniards have thoroughly penetrated their designs, and therefore it is that they justly detest and abominate them, and that they will sooner lay down their lives than submit to their iniquitous and barbarous yoke.

11. Care shall be taken to explain to the nation, and to convince them that when freed, as we trust to be, from this civil war, to which the French have forced us, and when placed in a state of tranquillity, our lord and king Ferdinand VII. being restored to the throne, under him and by him, the Cortes will be assembled, abuses reformed, and such laws shall be enacted as the circumstances of the time and experience may dictate for the public good and happiness. Things which we Spaniards know how to do, which we have done as well as other nations, without any necessity that the vile French come to instruct us, and, according to their custom, under the mask of friendship, and wishes for our happiness, should contrive, for this alone they are contriving, to plunder us, to violate our women, to assassinate us, to deprive us of our liberty, our laws, and our king, to scoff at and destroy our holy religion, as they have hitherto done, and will always continue to do so, as long as that spirit of perfidy and ambition which oppresses and tyrannizes over them shall endure.

JUAN BAPTISTA PARDO,
Secretary.

By order of the Supreme Junta.

ADDRESS OF THE SPANIARDS TO THE FRENCH SOLDIERS.

Frenchmen!——You possess no longer either laws or liberty, nor any good whatever; with streams of blood shed by yourselves and your children, you have been compelled to enslave Europe. A family not French reigns over you, and several European nations, without the least benefit to France, or any other people. Spain, your constant ally, has contributed, you know, by a variety of means, to your triumphs; and yet she has been despoiled of her laws, her monarch, and greatness; her very religion is threatened; and all this has hitherto been achieved, not by gallantry and valour, but by treachery and fraud, in which you are forced to co-operate; your valiant arms are defiled; you are made to assist in deeds of infamy, inconsistent with your generous character, and with the name of the great nation, which you have acquired.

Frenchmen, the Spanish nation, your ally and generous friend, invites you to withdraw from banners, which are destined to enslave all nations, and to enlist under our's, which are raised for the best of causes, to defend our laws and our king, whereof we have been robbed, not by force of arms, but by fraud, treachery, and ingratitude of the deepest dye. We all

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will die, and you shall die with us to wipe off the stain which will otherwise indelibly disgrace your nation. The Spaniards tender you the just reward for such an action; with open arms will they receive you, and fight by your side; and when the war shall be terminated with that success which they have every reason to expect, land shall be given you, which you may cultivate unmolested, and pass your remaining days amidst a nation which loves and respects you, and where impartial justice shall incorruptibly protect all your fair enjoyments.

Italians, Germans of all the provinces of that great nation, Polanders, Swiss, and ye all who compose the armies called French, will you fight for him, who oppressed and despoiled you of what you held most sacred; for him, who has dragged you from your families and hopes, robbed you of your property, your wives, your children, your native country, which he has enslaved? And will you fight against a nation, generous like the Spanish, from whom you experienced the kindest reception, which loves you with the tenderest attachment, and which at the zeinth of its glory and dominion respected your rights, because it looks upon all men as brethren? Will you fight against a nation, which it is intended to subdue and enslave, not by dint of arms, as brave men would do, but under the cloak of alliance and friendship, by fraudulent treachery, detestable and horrid beyond any precedent in history, even among barbarous nations? We hope you will not. Come to us, and you shall meet with valour, generosity, and true honour. We tender the same rewards to you as to the French; and we trust, you and your posterity will enjoy them in happiness and peace.

Don J. B. ESTELLER, 1st Sec.
Don J. B. De PEDRO, 2d Sec.

Seville, May 29.

PROCLAMATION

Of peace with England, and Sweden her ally.

Ferdinand VII. king of Spain, and in his royal name:

The supreme junta of this principality declares a general peace with England, and at the same time the closest alliance with that nation, which has with the greatest generosity offered all the succours and assistance that have been asked of her. They also declare peace with Sweden, and order that all our ports should be open to the vessels of both nations, and that this royal resolution be communicated to all the justices of the principality.

PROCLAMATION

Of the Supreme Junta at Seville.

Seville could not resist the impulse of her heroic loyalty, of which she has set the example in all ages. The king, to whom we all swore allegiance with emotions of joy, unprecedented in history, has been decoyed from us. The fundamental laws of our monarchy are trampled under foot; our property, our customs, our wives—all which the nation holds most dear, is threatened with imminent danger. Our holy religion, our only hope, is doomed to perdition, or will be reduced to mere external appearances, without support and without protection. And all this is done by a foreign power, not by dint

dint of arms, but by deceit and treachery, by taking advantage of our good nature, and by converting the very persons who call themselves the heads of our government into instruments of those atrocious acts; persons, who either from the baseness of their sentiments, from shameful fear, or perhaps from other motives, which time or justice will unfold, hesitate not to sacrifice their country. It therefore became necessary to break the shackles which prevented the Spanish from displaying that generous ardour which in all ages has covered them with glory; that noble courage, with which they have always defended the honour of the nation, their laws, their monarchs, and their religion.

The people of Seville joined accordingly the 27th May; and, through the medium of all their magistrates, of all their constituted authorities, perfectly united, and of the most respectable individuals of every rank and description, this supreme council of government was formed, invested with all necessary powers, and charged to defend the country, the religion, the laws, and the king. We accept the heroic trust; we swear to discharge it, and reckon on the strength and energy of the whole nation. We have again proclaimed don Ferdinand VII. our king, again we swore allegiance to him, swore to die in his defence,—and this was the signal of happiness and union, and will prove so to all Spain.

A council of government had scarce been formed, when it violated the most sacred laws of the realm. A president appointed without any authority whatever, and who, had he possessed any lawful title, hastened to forfeit it. In addition to his being a foreigner, which was a legal objection to his promotion, he acted with the utmost duplicity, and co-operated for the destruction of the very monarchy, from whom he received his appointment, and of the laws, which alone could sanction his authority. Under these circumstances we could not restrain our loyalty, and much less could we violate the sacred engagements, which we had before contracted, as Spaniards, as subjects, as Christians, as freemen, independent of all foreign authority and power.

Nor could the authority of the first tribunal of the nation, the council of Castile, check or controul our exertions. The weakness of that council became obvious from the wavering and contradictory proceedings it adopted. The most momentous and most critical situation in which the nation ever hath been placed, and in which the council should have displayed that heroic firmness, with which numberless motives and its own honour compelled it to act. The order tamely to submit to, and circulate and obey the act of abdication in favour of a foreign prince, was the consummation of its weakness, perhaps of its infamy, for that act was evidently void and illegal from want of authority in him who made it, because the monarchy was not his own, nor was Spain composed of animals subject to the absolute controul of their rulers; his accession to the throne was founded on his royal descent, according to his own confession, and on the fundamental laws of the realm, which invariably regulate the hereditary succession, and with regard to which the council is not invested with any other power than the sacred duty to enforce their observance.

observance. It is void on account of the state of violence and oppression in which it was made, and which is far more evident than the abdication itself; it is void, because the published act of abdication of king Ferdinand VII. and of his uncle and brother was made in the same state of violence and compulsion, as is expressly declared in the very act of abdication; it is void, because many royal personages, possessed of the right to claim the crown, have not relinquished that claim, but preserve it entire. Add to this the horrid treachery which has been employed to sacrifice and degrade the Spanish nation. It is to our alliance and our sacrifice that the French are indebted for what they call their triumphs: France withdrew our gallant troops from their native land, and sent them to the most distant countries; she made them fight for her interests, without having any occasion for them, for the obvious purpose of weakening us, and despoiling us of our strength. Her armies afterwards entered Spain, under continual professions and of an anxious desire to promote our prosperity, and under the pretext of co-operating in expeditions against an enemy, of whom no farther mention is made. The people, by a generous effort, prevented the departure of their king, a measure which the French should have hailed with shouts of joy; but far from so doing, they kept a profound silence with regard to that departure, and what is still more, converted it into a motive to oppress us.—France affected to perceive divisions in the nation which did not exist; the Spanish nation having never been more united in the love and defence of its king. The latter was decoyed into the French territory by deceitful insinuations and professions; with a degree of generosity, of which perhaps there does not exist a precedent, the king, with implicit reliance on those vain professions, threw himself into the arms of the French, who with the basest treachery, unprecedented in the annals of civilized nations, made him their prisoner, treated him in a manner the most disrespectful, and forced him to the deeds of horror, which all Europe has witnessed with astonishment, and every Spaniard with indignation and the most poignant grief. In a manner equally deceitful they invited the royal parents to their country, and compelled them to unjust and illegal acts; acts which must hand down their memory to the latest posterity branded with disgrace: they also dragged away the rest of the royal personages, to whom their tender age would have proved an inviolable shield, even among the most barbarous nations.

The French ruler summoned the Spanish nation before him; he chose such deputies as best suited his purpose; in a despotic manner of election of other deputies, appointed to deliberate in a foreign country on the most sacred interest of the nation, while he publicly declared a private and respectful letter, written to him by Ferdinand the Seventh, at the time when he was prince of Asturias, a criminal performance, injurious to the rights of sovereignty, although the same foreigner, who now affects to consider it as an offence, perhaps induced him to write it. It is indeed a heinous offence, it is rebellion, when an independent nation submits to the controul of a foreign prince, and discusses in his presence and under his decision its most

most sacred rights and public welfare; and neither Seville, nor any Spaniard, will lower himself to a degree of disloyalty and meanness, which could induce him to a rebellion so atrocious, that even slaves would scorn to disgrace themselves by deeds of infamy like this.

He has resorted to many other indecorous means to deceive us. He has distributed seditious libels to corrupt the public opinion, in which under the strongest professions of respect for the laws, and for religion, he insults both, leaves no means untried, however infamous they may be, to bend our necks under an iron yoke, and make us his slaves. He carries his audacity and deceit the length of assuring the public, in one of his libellous publications, that the supreme pontiff and vicar of Jesus Christ approves and sanctions his proceedings, while it is notorious, that in sight of all Europe he has despoiled him of his dominions, and forced him to dismiss his cardinals, in order to prevent him from directing and governing the whole church, in the manner sanctioned by our Saviour Jesus Christ.

Spaniards, every consideration calls on us to unite and frustrate views so atrocious. No revolution exists in Spain; nor did we declare war against any power; our sole object is to defend what we hold most sacred, against him, who, under the cloak of alliance and friendship, intended to wrest it from us, and who, we have reason to fear, will despoil us, without fighting, of our laws, our monarchs, and our religion. Let us, therefore, sacrifice every thing to a cause so just, and if we are to lose our all, let us lose it fighting, and as brave men.

Join us, therefore, all; the people are ready to take up arms; let us commit to the wisest among us in all the provinces of Spain the important trust to preserve the public opinion, and refute those insolent libels replete with the most atrocious falsehoods. Let every one combat in his way; and let even the church of Spain incessantly implore the assistance of the God of hosts, whose protection is secured to us by the evident justice of our cause.

And what do you fear? There is not in Spain the number of the enemy's troops which they proclaim in order to intimidate us. Those who occupy part of our country are composed of different nations, dragged into service, and who anxiously desire to break their chains. The positions they have taken are exactly those in which they can be conquered and defeated in the easiest manner. They are besides weak and dismayed, because the consciousness of guilt makes a coward of the bravest man.

All Europe will applaud our efforts, and hasten to our assistance. Italy, Germany, and the whole North, which suffer under the despotism of the French nation, will eagerly avail themselves of the favourable opportunity held out to them by Spain, to shake off their yoke and recover their liberty, their laws, their monarchs, and all they have been robbed of by that nation. France herself will hasten to erase the stain of infamy which must cover the tools and instruments of deeds most treacherous and heinous. She will not shed her blood in so vile a cause. She has already suffered too much under the idle pretext of a peace and happiness, which never came,

and

and can never be attained but under the empire of reason, peace, religion and laws, and in a state where the rights of other nations are respected and observed.

Spaniards, your native country, your property, your laws, your liberty, your kings, your religion, nay your hopes in a better world, which that religion alone can devise to you and your descendants, are at stake, exposed to great and imminent danger.

By command of the supreme council of government,

J. B. ESTELLER, Sec.
J. PARDO, Sec.

Seville, June 2, 1808.

DECLARATION

Of war against the emperor of France, Napoleon the First.

Ferdinand the Seventh, king of Spain and the Indies, and in his name, to the Supreme Junta of both.

France, under the government of the emperor Napoleon the First, has violated towards Spain the most sacred compacts—has arrested her monarch—obliged him to a forced and manifestly void abdication and renunciation; has behaved with the same violence towards the Spanish nobles whom he keeps in his power—has declared that he will elect a king of Spain, the most horrible attempt that is recorded in history—has sent his troops into Spain, seized her fortresses and her capital, and scattered her troops throughout the country—has committed against Spain all sorts of assassinations, robberies, and unheard-of cruelties; and this he has done with the most enormous ingratitude to the services which the Spanish nation has rendered France, to the friendship it has shewn her, thus treating it with the most dreadful perfidy, fraud, and treachery, such as was never committed against any nation or monarch, by the most barbarous or ambitious king or people. He has, in fine, declared, that he will trample down our monarchy, our fundamental laws, and bring about the ruin of our holy catholic religion. —The only remedy, therefore, for such grievous ills, which are so manifest to all Europe, is in war, which we declare against him.

In the name therefore of our king, Ferdinand the Seventh, and of all the Spanish nation, we declare war, by land and sea, against the emperor Napoleon the First, and against France; we are determined to throw off her domination and tyranny, and command all Spaniards to act hostilely against him, to do him all possible damage according to the laws of war, to place an embargo upon all French ships in our ports, and all property and effects, in whatever part of Spain they may be, whether belonging to the government or to the individuals of that nation. In the same manner we command, that no embarrassment nor molestation be done to the English nation, nor its government, nor its ships, property, or effects, nor any individual of that nation; we declare that there shall be open and free communication with England; that we have contracted, and will keep, an armistice with her; and that we hope to conclude a durable and lasting peace.

Moreover, we protest we will not lay down our arms till the emperor Napoleon the First has restored to Spain our king, Ferdinand the Seventh, and the rest of the royal family, and has respected the rights of the nation which he has violated

violated, as well as her liberty, integrity, and independence. And this we declare with the understanding and accordance of the Spanish nation.

We command that the present solemn declaration be printed, posted, and circulated, among all the people and provinces of Spain and America, that it may be known in Europe, Africa, and Asia.

Given in the royal palace of Alcozar, at Seville, this 6th of June, 1808.

By order of the Supreme Junta of government,

MANUEL MARIA AGULIAR, Sec.
JUAN BAPTISTA PARDO, Sec.

Napoleon, by the grace of God, emperor of the French, king of Italy, protector of the confederacy of the Rhine, to all men to whom these presents shall come, sends greeting:

The Junta of the state, the council of Castile, the city of Madrid, &c. &c. having notified to us by their addresses, that the well-being of Spain requires a speedy stop to be put to the provisional government; we have resolved to proclaim, and we do by these presents proclaim our well-beloved brother Joseph Napoleon, the present king of Naples and Sicily, to be king of Spain and India.—We guarantee to the king of Spain the independence and integrity of his states in Europe as well as in Africa, Asia, and America; charging the lieutenant-general of the kingdom, the ministers, and the council of Castile, to cause this proclamation to be expedited, and publicly announced, according to the usual custom, that none may plead ignorance hereof.—Given at our imperial palace at Bayonne, June 6, 1808.

(Signed) NAPOLEON.
H. B. MURAT, minister of state.

PROCLAMATION.

Bayonne, June 23.

Joseph, king of Naples and Sicily, to the people of the kingdom of Naples:

Providence, whose designs are inscrutable, having called us to the throne of Spain and the Indies, we have found ourselves in the cruel predicament of withdrawing ourselves from a people who had so many claims to our attachment, and whose happiness was our most gratifying hope, and the only object of our ambition. He who alone can read the hearts of men can judge of the sincerity of our sentiments, in opposition to which we have yielded to other impressions, and accepted a kingdom, the government of which has been put into our hands, in virtue of the renunciation of the rights to the crown of Spain, which our illustrious brother his majesty the emperor of the French and king of Italy had acquired.

In this important situation, considering that institutions are alone capable of duration, we reflected, with regret, that your social constitution was still imperfect, and thought that the further we had removed from you, so much the more incumbent upon us was it to secure your present and future welfare by all the means in our power. For these reasons we have put the last hand to our labours, and fixed the constitutional statute upon principles already partially

adopted, and which are more conformable to the age in which we live, the mutual relations of the neighbouring states, and the disposition of the nation, which we have employed ourselves to ascertain ever since we were called to rule over it.

The principal objects which guided us in our labours, were:—

1. The preservation of our holy religion.

2. The establishment of a public treasury, separate and distinct from the hereditary property of the crown.

3. The establishment of an intermediate administration, and a national parliament; capable of enlightening the prince, and of performing important services both to him and the nation.

4. A judicial organization, which shall render the decisions of the court of justice independent on the will of the prince, and make all the citizens equal in the eye of the law.

5 A municipal administration, which shall be the property of no man, but to which all, without distinction, shall be admissible.

6. The maintenance of the regulations which we have made for securing the payments to the creditors of the state.

His majesty the emperor of the French, and king of Italy, our illustrious brother, having been pleased to confer upon this act his powerful guarantee, we are assured that our hopes with regard to the prosperity of our beloved people of the kingdom of Naples, thus reposing upon his wide-spread glory, shall not experience disappointment.

Constitutional statute of the kingdom of Naples and Sicily.

Bayonne, June 20.

Joseph Napoleon, king of Naples and Sicily, French prince, grand elector of the empire, willing to confirm, by a constitutional statute, those fundamental principles, by which the monarchy is to be governed, has decreed, and does decree the following:—

I. OF RELIGION.

The catholic, apostolic, and Romish religion, is the religion of the state.

II. OF THE CROWN.

The crown of Naples shall be hereditary, in the right of the male issue, according to the primogeniture of birth.

III. OF THE REGENCY.

1. The king is a minor till he attains the age of 18 years.

2. In case of the prince's minority, the regency will, by right, devolve upon the queen; and in her absence, to a prince of the blood royal who shall be chesen by the emperor of the French in his capacity as head of the imperial family; and in failure thereof of a prince of the blood, the choice will devolve upon the nation.

3. The yearly salary of the regency is confined to a fourth of the grant to the crown.

4. The education of the minor king is entrusted to his mother, and in her absence, to the prince nominated by the predecessor of the minor.

The remaining articles relate to the officers of the crown, the ministers, the council of state, &c. The article respecting the parliament confines the number of members to one hundred, who are to be divided into five classes, viz. the ecclesiastics, the nobles, the holders of landed property, the learned, and the merchants.

PORTUGAL.

The following proclamation was addressed by sir Charles Cotton to the Portuguese nation:

Inhabitants of Portugal!—Deputations having reached me from all parts of the kingdom, soliciting succour, aid, and assistance, and stating to me the loyal, brave, and manly determination of the people of Portugal to establish the government of their lawful prince, and emancipate their country from French oppression; I send, agreeably to your requests, ships, troops, arms, ammunition, and have directed the standard of his royal highness the prince regent of Portugal to be reared, round which every loyal Portuguese is hereby invited immediately to rally, and to take up arms in so just and so glorious a cause.—To be successful, Portuguese, you must be unanimous: and joined by your brave neighbours and friends, the Spaniards, you must not be intimidated by menaces, nor seduced by promises. —Some months experience must have convinced you of the effect of French friendship; it is now to British faith and assistance, aided by your own energy and efforts, that you will, I trust, be indebted for the restoration of your prince, and the independence of your country.

(Signed) C. COTTON.

Hibernia, off the Tagus, July 1, 1808.

KING'S SPEECH BY COMMISSION, JULY 4.

My Lords and Gentlemen, We have it in command from his majesty to express to you the great satisfaction which he derives from being enabled, by putting an end to the present sessions of parliament, to terminate the laborious attendance which the public business has required of you The measures which you have adopted for the improvement of the military force of the country promise to lay the foundation of a system of internal defence, eminently useful, and peculiarly adapted to the exigence of these times. The sanction which you have given to those measures of defensive retaliation, to which the violent attacks of the enemy upon the commerce and resources of this kingdom compelled his majesty to resort, has been highly satisfactory to his majesty. His majesty doubts not that in the result the enemy will be convinced of the impolicy of persevering in a system which retorts upon himself in so much greater proportion those evils which he endeavours to inflict upon this country.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons, We are commanded by his majesty to return his most hearty acknowledgments for the cheerfulness and liberality with which the necessary supplies for the current year have been provided. His majesty directs us to assure you, that he participates in the satisfaction with which you must have contemplated the flourishing situation of the revenue and credit of the country, notwithstanding the continued pressure of the war: and he congratulates you upon having been enabled to provide for the exigencies of the public service, with so small an addition to the public burthens. His majesty commands us to thank you for having enabled him to make good his engagement with his allies; and to express to you the particular gratification which he has derived from the man-

ner in which you have provided for the establishment of his sister, her royal highness the duchess of Brunswick.

My Lords and Gentlemen,—His majesty has great satisfaction in informing you, that, notwithstanding the formidable confederacy united against his ally the king of Sweden, that sovereign perseveres, with unabated vigour and constancy, to maintain the honour and independence of his crown; and that no effort has been wanting on the part of his majesty, to support him in the arduous contest in which he is engaged. The recent transactions in Spain and Italy have exhibited new and striking proofs of the unbounded and unprincipled ambition which actuates the common enemy of every established government and independent nation in the world. His majesty views with the liveliest interest the loyal and determined spirit manifested by the Spanish nation in resisting the violence and perfidy with which their dearest rights have been assailed. The Spanish nation, thus nobly struggling against the tyranny and usurpation of France, can no longer be considered as the enemy of Great Britain; but is recognized by his majesty as a natural friend and ally. We are commanded to inform you that communications have been made to his majesty from several of the provinces of Spain, soliciting the aid of his majesty. The answer of his majesty to these communications has been received in Spain with every demonstration of those sentiments of confidence and affection which are congenial to the feelings and true interests of both nations; and his majesty commands us to assure you, that he will continue to make every exertion in his power for the support of the Spanish cause; guided in the choice and in the direction of his exertions by the wishes of those in whose behalf they are employed. In contributing to the success of this just and glorious cause, his majesty has no other object than that of preserving unimpaired the integrity and independence of the Spanish monarchy. But he trusts that the same efforts which are directed to that great object may, under the blessing of Divine Providence, lead in their effects, and by their example, to the restoration of the liberties and the peace of Europe.

PROCLAMATION OF PEACE OF HIS BRITANNIC MAJESTY WITH THE SPANISH NATION.

At the court at the queen's palace, July 4, 1808; present, the king's most excellent majesty in council.

His majesty having taken into his consideration the glorious exertions of the Spanish nation for the deliverance of their country from the tyranny and usurpation of France, and the assurances which his majesty has received from several of the provinces of Spain, of their friendly disposition towards this kingdom; his majesty is pleased, by and with the advice of his privy council, to order, and it is hereby ordered:

1. That all hostilities against Spain on the part of his majesty shall immediately cease.—2. That the blockade of all the ports of Spain, except such as may be still in the possession or under control of France, shall be forthwith raised.—3. That all ships and vessels belonging

longing to Spain shall have free admission into the ports of his majesty's dominions, as before the present hostilities.—4. That all ships and vessels belonging to Spain, which shall be met at sea by his majesty's ships and cruizers, shall be treated in the same manner as the ships of states in amity with his majesty, and shall be suffered to carry on any trade now considered by his majesty to be lawfully carried on by neutral ships. —5. That all vessels and goods belonging to persons residing in the Spanish colonies, which shall be detained by any of his majesty's cruizers after the date hereof, shall be brought into port, and shall be carefully preserved in safe custody, to await his majesty's farther pleasure, until it shall be known whether the said colonies, or any of them, in which the owners of such ships and goods reside, shall have made common cause with Spain against the power of France.

And the right hon. the lords commissioners of his majesty's treasury, his majesty's principal secretaries of state, the lords commissioners of the admiralty, the judge of the high court of admiralty, and the judges of the courts of vice-admiralty, are to take such measures herein as to them may respectively appertain.

STEPH. COTTRELL.

JOSEPH BUONAPARTE'S PROCLAMATION ISSUED AT VITTORIA.

Don Joseph Napoleon, by the grace of God, and the constitution of the state, king of Spain and the Indies.

Spaniards!—On entering the territory of a people, the government of whom Providence has confided to me, I feel it my duty to explain the sentiments which I entertain. In ascending the throne, I rely upon finding among you some generous souls, who will second my efforts to restore this people to the possession of their ancient splendour. The constitution, to the observance of which you are about to pledge yourselves by your oaths, secures the exercise of our holy religion, and of civil and political freedom. It establishes a national representation, and restores your ancient cortes in a meliorated form. It appoints a senate, forming the guarantee of individual liberty, and the support of the throne in critical circumstances, and constituting also an asylum and reward to those who shall have performed signal services to the state. The courts of justice, the interpreters of the laws, divested of passion and favour, shall, in pronouncing judgment, be impartial, free, and independent. Merit and virtue shall be the only claims to the holding of public offices. Unless I am disappointed in my wishes, your agriculture and commerce shall flourish, free from those restraints which have hitherto retarded their prosperity. Desirous of ruling according to the laws, I will be the first to give an example of the honour which should be paid to them. I enter among you with the greatest confidence, surrounded by those meritorious individuals, who have concealed from me nothing which they have thought necessary for your interests. Blind passion, false rumours, the intrigues of the common enemy of the continent, anxious only to separate the Indies from Spain, have plunged some of you into the most dreadful state of anarchy.

anarchy. My heart bleeds at the view of it; but this evil, however considerable it may be, may instantaneously cease. Spaniards, only unite round my throne. Conduct yourselves so as that internal disturbances shall not deprive me of that time which I wish to employ in labouring for your happiness, nor deprive me of the means of accomplishing that object. I esteem you enough to persuade myself, that you will make every exertion to obtain and merit that happiness, which is the dearest object of my wishes.

I, THE KING.

Vittoria, 12th July, 1808.

By order of his majesty,
The minister secretary of state,
MARIANO LUIS DE URQUJO.

ADDRESS TO THE ANDALUSIANS UNDER GENERAL CASTANOS,

After the Surrender of the French Army in the defiles of Sierra Morena, July 12.

Brave Andalusians!—The spark of patriotism, which was kindled in your breasts, has in a few days been fanned to a flame which has consumed the oppressors of your country. You wished to be free; and in an instant you possessed a tutelary government, and an army eager for conflict and triumph. Those legions of Vandals, who for a moment seized by surprize some of your cities, and delivered them over to pillage, who, intoxicated with victories gained over divided nations, marched, loaded with the spoils of Europe, to scatter over the fair fields of Betis the flame of desolation, have experienced the force of loyalty, and the love of country and religion.—Brave Andalusians! Yours is the glory of Marengo, of Austerlitz, and of Jena. The laurels which encircled the brows of those conquerors lie at your feet. Immortal glory to the hero who has renewed in the Sierra Morena the achievements of Fabius Maximus! Our sons will say, "Castanos triumphed over the French, and his glory did not fill with mourning the houses of our fathers!" The unfading laurel of victory to the brave combatants who have laid prostrate the oppressors of humanity! Hymns of benediction to the wise government which has defended your rights, and prepared the way for new triumphs! I invoke you, not as Andalusians, but as Spaniards! Fly, sons of Betis! Fly to unite yourselves with your brethren of the Ebro, the Duero, and the Xucar; fly to break the chains of those who lie captive by the Tagus, the Manzanares, and the Llobregat. Go and purify the soil of Spain from the footsteps of those traitors. Go, and avenge in their blood the insults they offered you under the shelter of a feeble and cowardly government. Do you not hear the cries of those who were murdered on the 2d of May? Do you not hearken to the groans of the oppressed? Are you not touched by the secret sighs of our Ferdinand, who deplores his separation from his Spaniards!—War and revenge!! Let the tyrant of Europe tremble upon the throne whence he has given authority to every crime.—Brave Andalusians! you will deem no sacrifice costly with which you can purchase your king and your independence. Already you have a country, already you are a great nation; follow the paths of glory and virtue which the God of armies

mies has pointed out to you in your first victory.

(*Seville Gazette, July* 23.)

PROCLAMATION

Of our Holy Father Pope Pius VII. to the Catholic Spaniards.

Beloved children! — You who deplore at the foot of the altar the wounds given to religion—You who are still mindful that we form one people of brethren, join we, the vicar of Christ; approach ye families, the remnant of vast destruction, to the throne of my predecessors, to see me, like Daniel, surrounded by lions. Preserved hitherto by the inscrutable designs of Providence, I see the vessel of St. Peter entrusted to my care combated by the fierce apostate, whom I myself have placed on the throne, and who, like a degenerate son, pants for the destruction of his mother, the church, to whom he had sworn fidelity at her altar. But let us draw off the veil that covers so great iniquity. The first victim that was sacrificed to his ambition has been your shepherd. Rome, the centre of faith and the shield of religion, has been prostituted. The idol Dagon has been united to the cruel Antioch of our days to accomplish the destruction of religion, which is the great bar to his perfidious designs; however, do not despond The successor of St. Peter is still extant, though overwhelmed with affliction; groaning under his chains, he lifts his eyes and tremulous hands to heaven, imploring incessantly the protection of the God of hosts over his flock. Oh! the happy effects of religion! In this fatal situation, my soul, penetrated with Christian feelings, learns with transport and surprise, that Spain, happy Spain, has remained true to her religion and king. I hasten, my beloved children, to surmount the shackles by which I am depressed, to transmit to your kingdoms the circular that will testify to you of my gratitude. Arouse, and combat like David, the imperious Goliath of our times.

Valorous Spaniards, sons of the church, come and break the chains of your shepherd. Already my heart assures me of your sensibility; do not tarry; raise the standard of faith; victory invites you; come then to your brothers in bondage. Raise your tents, and pursue the usurper of nations. Enter into the heart of his dominions, and follow him to the remotest limits of the earth. Shew to the nations of the north that oppression is in its agony, and let the Spanish sword strike the decisive blow on the guilty head. Compassionate the ill-fated kingdom of France, condole with its people, and they will assist you to overwhelm her traitorous tyrant. Oh, with what transport will the catholic Ferdinand learn the intrepidity and heroic loyalty of his subjects; the strait situation to which he is, like myself, doomed, precludes the means to him of manifesting the sentiments of his magnanimous heart. I feel not the strength of saying more. If I survive the calamity, and you spill your blood for religion, your country and monarch, to whom I supplicate from heaven all happiness, the world shall be witness to my gratitude.

The President Jefferson's Answer to the Dissent of the Republicans from the Proceedings of the Town

Town of Boston relative to the Embargo.

I have duly received the address of that portion of the citizens of Boston who have declared their approbation of the present suspension of our commerce, and their dissent from the representation of those of the same place who wished its removal. A division of sentiment was not unexpected; on no question can a perfect unanimity be hoped, or certainly it would have been on that between war and embargo, the only alternatives presented to our choice; for the general capture of our vessels would have been war upon one side, which reason and interest would repel by war and reprisal on our part.

Of the several interests comprising those of the United States, that of manufactures would of course prefer to war a state of non-intercourse, so favourable to their rapid growth and prosperity.

Agriculture, although sensibly feeling the loss of market for its produce, would find many aggravations in a state of war.

Commerce and navigation, or that portion which is foreign, in the inactivity to which they are reduced by the present state of things, certainly experience their full share in the general inconvenience; but whether war would be to them a preferable alternative, is a question their patriotism would never hastily propose. It is to be regretted, however, that overlooking the real sources of sufferings, the British and French edicts, which constitute the actual blockade of our foreign commerce and navigation, they have with too little reflection imputed them to laws which have preserved them from greater, and have saved for our own use, our vessels, property, and seamen, instead of adding them to the strength of those with whom we might eventually have to contend.

The embargo, giving time to the belligerent powers to revise their unjust proceedings, and listen to the dictates of justice, or interest and reputation, which equally urge the correction of their wrongs, has availed our country of this only honourable expedient of avoiding war; and should a repeal of these edicts supersede the cause for it, our commercial brethren will become sensible, that it has consulted their interest, however against their own will. It will be unfortunate for their country, if in the mean time these their expressions of impatience should have the effect of prolonging the very sufferings which have produced them, by exciting a fallacious hope that we may, under any pressure, relinquish our equal rights of navigating the ocean, go to such ports as others may prescribe, and there pay the tributary exactions they may impose; an abandonment of national independence and essential rights revolting to every manly sentiment. While these edicts are in force, no American can ever consent to a return of peaceable intercourse with those who maintain them.

I am happy in the approach of the period when the feelings and the wisdom of the nation will be collected in their representatives assembled together. To them are committed our rights, to them our wrongs are known, and they will pronounce the remedy they call for; and I hear with pleasure from all,

all, as well those who approve as who disapprove of the present measures, assurances of an implicit acquiescence in the annunciation of the general will. I beg leave, through you, to communicate this answer to the address, on which your signatures had the first place, and to add assurances of my respect.

T. JEFFERSON.

To Colonel Edward Procter.

To T. Jefferson, esq. President of the United States of America.

The Petition of the Subscribers, Officers of Merchant Ships belonging to the Port of Philadelphia,

Respectfully sheweth,

That in consequence of the present embargo laws, the situation of your petitioners is grievous and afflicting; that they have been engaged in the mercantile service since their infancy, with few exceptions, and accustomed only to conduct ships or vessels across the ocean; that from the operation of the present restrictive laws, they find themselves cut off from their usual employment, and of course the means of subsistence are gone.

Your petitioners are well acquainted with the duties of conducting ships from port to port—well versed in naval tactics, but unable to handle the harrow or plough.

Your petitioners have for a long time borne with patience the privations incident to those restrictive laws, without murmur or complaint; but, when imperious necessity compels them to disclose the cause of their grievances, they humbly suppose they have a right so to do in a decent and respectful manner.

Your petitioners therefore pray that your excellency will take their case into consideration, and adopt such measures as will relieve the wants of your petitioners; or, if there are vacancies in the navy, to give your petitioners, or some of them, an opportunity of serving therein, as they think themselves capable of performing services of that nature. They, however, submit their whole cause to your consideration, hoping your excellency will adopt such measures as wisdom and justice may point out, and as in duty bound will pray, &c.

Philadelphia, Aug. 10, 1808.

President's answer to the bearer of the foregoing petition.

Sir,—In answer to the petition which you delivered me from the officers of merchant vessels belonging to Philadelphia, I must premise my sincere regret at the sacrifices which our fellow citizens in general, and the petitioners in particular, have been obliged to meet, by the circumstances of the times. We live in an age of affliction, to which the history of nations presents no parallel: we have for years been looking on Europe covered with blood and violence, and seen rapine spreading itself over the ocean. On this element it has reached us, and at length in so serious a degree, that the legislature of the nation has thought it necessary to withdraw our citizens and property from it, either to avoid or prepare for engaging in the general contest. But for this timely precaution, the petitioners and their property might now have been in the hands of spoilers,

spoilers, who have laid aside all regard to moral right! Withdrawing from the greater evil, a lesser one has been necessarily encountered; and certainly, could the legislature have made provision against this also, I should have had great pleasure as the instrument of its execution: but it was impracticable by any general and just rules to prescribe, in every case, the best resource against the inconveniences of this new situation. The difficulties of the crisis will certainly fall with greater pressure on some descriptions of citizens than others, and on none perhaps with greater than on our seafaring brethren. Should any means of alleviation occur within the range of my duties, I shall with certainty advert to the situation of the petitioners, and in availing the nation of their services, aid them with a substitute for their former occupation. I salute them and yourself with sentiments of sincere regard.

T. JEFFERSON.

SPANISH PATRIOTS.

Manifesto of the Junta of Seville.

The defence of our country and of our king, that of our laws, our religion, and of all the rights of man, trodden down and violated in a manner which is without example, by the emperor of the French, Napoleon I. and by his troops in Spain, compelled the whole nation to take up arms, and to choose itself a form of government; and in the difficulties and dangers into which the French had plunged all, or nearly all the provinces, they, as it were, by the inspiration of heaven, and in a manner little short of miraculous, created supreme juntas, delivered themselves up to their guidance, and placed in their hands the rights and the ultimate fate of Spain.

The effects have hitherto most happily corresponded with the designs of those who formed them. The provinces have armed themselves; some have formed large armies of veteran troops, and have united to them the enlisted peasants; all, or nearly all, have fought and are fighting against the French, in behalf of their king, Ferdinand VII. with a valour and a constancy of which neither Greece nor Rome, nor any other nation of the world, had any idea. The French are really amazed and terrified, and the hopes of conquering them are as sure as human certainty can reach.

The only thing which can impair or frustrate them is discord, and the want of union among the provinces themselves. Hence the supreme junta paid its first attention to remove that danger, with which view it printed and published the official paper, entitled Precautions, which it communicated in every possible manner to all the provinces of Spain. The bringing this plan to perfection, and carrying it into complete execution, is now more than ever necessary. Our enemies are anxious to foment our divisions. Human passions, personal interests ill understood, the ignorance, the weakness, the blindness of men, may, perhaps, without their knowing it, assist the evil designs of our enemies, and thus destroy a beginning so glorious, and facilitate and consummate the entire ruin of Spain. This it is that we are endeavouring to guard against, urged only by the most sacred motives, by our honour,

nour, by our loyalty as affectionate subjects, by our duty as Spaniards, by our faith as Christians; and here we protest before God and man, whose aid we invoke with all fervency, that we will write nothing but what is dictated to us by the love of our country, the preservation of our king and of our rights, not mingling with it any thing that appears to partake of passion, of interest, or of any other personal motive, but being always ready to hear the opinions of the other provinces, and to amend our own errors, wherever it shall be shewn that we have committed any.

Be it the chief care to avoid every thing which is not absolutely necessary, and which may serve to sow the seeds of disunion in the provinces, and to excite divisions among them; and of this nature we esteem all conversations about the royal house, and of the order of succession in different families who derive a right from it. There is no person so ignorant of the history of Spain, and of the manner in which the throne has been occupied, as not to know the changes which have taken place in the succession. It is also known what are the legislative proceedings upon this point; what the manner in which endeavours were used to introduce an alteration into them; the different pretexts for this alteration; and, lastly, the final settlement which was made by the cortes of 1789, and which ought in future to be the rule.

But are we in a situation to talk of these matters? Long live our king and indisputable sovereign, Ferdinand VII. and long live his august brothers, heirs of the crown after his attested decease. Why then anticipate those enquiries which can only be necessary in default of these? The anticipation may produce, by the diversity of opinions which it creates, a cruel disunion, which, of itself alone, will utterly ruin the only aim and object which Spain at present has in view, and that is, its own entire and independent preservation for its sovereign lord and king, Ferdinand VII. and his undisputed successors; and, with its king, the preservation of its own rights and laws, and the unity of the holy Roman catholic apostolical religion, which it has gloriously professed and defended for so many ages. It is therefore both absurd and dangerous to dispute about the succession in cases evidently remote; all the provinces of Spain ought to confine themselves in this respect to this general expression—"Hereditary succession according to the fundamental laws of the monarchy."

Not so is it with the second question moved by the various juntas of the kingdom, which certainly keeps the people in a state of disquietude and agitation, is the continual object of public conversation, and may produce divisions fatal to the generous design and the virtuous obligation into which we have entered, of defending ourselves against our enemies, and of preserving our country, our king, our monarchy, our laws, and our religion. This second question is—is there a necessity for creating a supreme government, which may unite the sovereign authority of all the provinces, till the restitution of king Ferdinand to his throne?

This supreme junta declares openly, that from the beginning to the present time it has been persuaded that such a supreme government is altogether necessary, and

and that without it the country is in danger, and its enemies will find means of completing its ruin: and the reasons of this determination and declaration are so evident, and present themselves with such clearness to the eyes of all, that they cannot fail of convincing all who have the least notion of public affairs, or a correct insight into the nature of man, the passions which move him, and the order of human affairs in all ages. Various supreme juntas and military chiefs have expressed their conviction of this truth.

A conviction of the same springs from the indispensable necessity of a civil government in every nation whose duty it is to attend to the happiness of the kingdom, and to which the military may be subordinate. The confidence of the nation, and, consequently, the public funds and the capitals of individuals, must, necessarily, have a civil government for their support. Without it, the military power would, indispensably, be under the necessity of employing violence, with the view of acquiring that confidence which it never could attain, and getting a command of those capitals, which it would be equally impossible for it to bring within its grasp; and thus it would ultimately destroy that public prosperity and happiness, which ought to be the sole object of every government. Let us not vainly flatter ourselves with notions of Roman dictators, and the other military chiefs of the ancient republics: they were placed under very prudent restraints, and the duration of their authority was limited to a very short period. The dangers of complete despotism and usurpation kept them in continual alarm, and compelled them to take very rigorous precautions, which are very incompatible with the habits of modern times. Spain has derived a lesson of wisdom from the history of past ages: she has never thought of appointing a military dictator. Her military chiefs (and it is a fact most honourable to the Spanish name) have been the first to embrace, with the utmost cordiality, a system of things as ancient in Spain as the monarchy itself. The experience of our times—the confidence of the people in the supreme juntas—the facility and abundance with which pecuniary resources have been placed at their disposal—the heroic loyalty with which the military chiefs and the army have acknowledged and obeyed them, and the happy issue hitherto of their civil administration, and the military enterprises which they have directed, have placed in the most conspicuous light, and established beyond all doubt, this fundamental truth, and most essential political principle.

But who is to create this supreme civil government? Who are to compose it? Where shall be its place of residence? What the extent of its authority? How shall it be established without interrupting the public tranquillity, and producing disunion among the different provinces? How is the public opinion to be so regulated as that, without opposing it, this tranquillity shall be attained, and all risk of disturbance obviated? These are the important and serious questions which we shall now proceed to examine; and upon which, influenced solely by the love of our country, and our anxiety to promote its welfare, we will enter into a frank explanation of our sentiments.

In

In the various papers that have been published upon this subject, we are told that the cortes should assemble; that they should elect representatives; and farther that the old council of Castile should convoke them, and the whole of the proceedings should be executed under its authority.

Most assuredly we do not understand the grounds upon which the decision rests. The council of Castile, though a lawful assembly, never convoked the cortes. Why then should we give it an authority which it does not possess? Is it because it lent the whole weight of its influence to such important changes, with regard to which it had no powers, nor any authority whatsoever? Is it because it has acted in opposition to those fundamental laws, which it was established to preserve and defend? Is it because it afforded every facility to the enemy to usurp the sovereignty of Spain, to destroy the hereditary succession to the crown and the dynasty legally in possession, and recognized and seated on the throne a foreigner, destitute even of the shadow of a title to it; for it is incontrovertibly manifest, that the renunciation of Charles IV. in his favour gave him no such claim? What confidence could the Spanish nation place in a government created by an authority invalid and illegal, and which had also rendered itself suspected by the previous commission of acts of so horrible a description, that they may be justly ranked with the most atrocious crimes against the country?

The council of Castile being thus excluded from all consideration—who should convoke the cortes? The authority to convoke them is a part of the peculiar and exclusive prerogative of the king. The provinces would not submit to any other authority; they would not unite: there would be no cortes, and should a few delegates assemble, that very circumstance would exasperate the kingdom to division—the evil all wish to avoid.

Besides, the cities who have votes in the cortes have not undertaken the defence of the kingdom, nor of themselves, nor in their corporate capacity have they made any effort to defend it. We entertain the most profound respect both for them and their rights; but truth compels us to speak out.

Most undoubtedly, however, the cities who have votes in the cortes, thus conducting themselves, acted with consummate prudence, and with a due observance of law. The kingdom found itself suddenly without a government—a situation indeed unknown in our history and to our laws. The people legally resumed the power of appointing a government: and this truth has been openly avowed by various supreme juntas.

The people created these juntas without paying any regard to the cities who have votes in the cortes. The legitimate power is therefore deposited with the supreme juntas, and in virtue of that power they have governed and do govern with real authority, and have been and still are acknowledged and obeyed by all ranks of subjects, and by all cities in their respective districts having votes in the cortes. Their situation has not changed; the danger still exists; no new authority was supervened; the lawful authority therefore resides entire in the juntas which the people created, and to which they confide it.

It is, therefore, incontestible that the supreme junta have the sole and exclusive right of electing those who are to compose the supreme government, as the only means of protecting and preserving the kingdom, whose defence the people have entrusted to them, and which cannot be accomplished but by the establishment of a supreme government. Nothing is more evident than this truth.

And whom shall the supreme junta elect? Most certainly individuals of their own body; for they alone derive their power from the people, and it is in their constituent members that the people have reposed their entire confidence. Should any other person be chosen, they would possess neither the confidence nor the consent of the people, and all their acts would be null and void; and from this want of confidence, the nation would be exposed to intestine divisions, the last and greatest of all our calamities.

Hence, if there be any province in which the military power has alone been retained, results the absolute necessity of constituting supreme juntas in which the power of the people shall reside, and by which they may act.—Whether they shall be constituted by the petty cortes or any other bodies, their appointment in some form or other is indispensable, in order that the concentration of the legitimate power of the people, and the establishment of a civil government, which shall inspire confidence into the people, and proceed to the choice of persons who shall compose the supreme government, which, under the present circumstances, cannot be legitimate, unless it has its origin in the free consent of the people!

It seems then to be indispensably necessary, that all the supreme juntas, meeting on the same day, should each elect from among their own members two deputies to form the supreme government, and the persons so elected should, from that moment, be reputed, and actually be the governors-general of the kingdom; and that as such they should be universally acknowledged and obeyed.

Their authority is well known, and cannot be subject to any doubt. The supreme junta of Valencia has most judiciously marked its extent and limit, in the paper which they published on this question on the 16th of July. We shall, therefore, be excused from going at large into the consideration of it.

We will only add, that the supreme juntas ought to be continued with all their appointments and insignia, and be invested with the internal government of their respective provinces, until the conclusion of the present state of things, but at the same time under the subordination of the supreme government. In those supreme juntas resides the legitimate power of those portions of the people who have respectively created them. It is their duty to take measures for insuring the happiness of their constituents, through the medium of a just government, and vigilantly to protect and defend the rights of every individual among them. For this purpose they ought to give their instructions to their respective deputies, constituting the supreme government: and it will be the duty of the latter to observe them, and to represent and support the claims of their provinces, as far as may be consistent with the general prosperity. If there existed

isted among us a royal personage, capable of residing in this supreme government, reason and justice prescribe that he, and no other, should be appointed to that office. But if there be no such royal personage, the supreme government must elect a president from its own body. To obviate every danger, however, the presidency should be temporary, and continue only for a fortnight, a month, or any other term agreeable to the supreme government, upon the lapse of which period it should be incumbent on them to choose a different person. We have already remarked, and it is unnecessary to repeat it, that the supreme juntas should elect as deputies to the supreme goverment such of their members as are most distinguished for their talents, their general knowledge of legislation, and all the branches of public welfare and government, recollecting that they are to be the depositaries of the hopes of the kingdom. This supreme junta, in full reliance upon the generous character of Spaniards, and their ardent attachment to the good of their country, assures itself that intrigue, party, or personal interest or predelictions, will have no influence upon this occasion.

The supreme junta will, in the first instance, appoint the place which shall be the seat of the supreme government, who shall afterwards adhere to or alter that appointment, as they think fit, according to a plurality of votes. The seat of government, as has been most wisely observed by the supreme junta of Valencia, ought to be at a distance from all dangers of war, and should, as a claim to preference, possess other advantages of a local nature. Seville conceives herself to possess all these advantages, but has no anxiety to be selected; for she will most cordially sacrifice all her claims to what the other supreme juntas shall decide to be for the general prosperity of the kingdom. The supreme juntas will, therefore, make known their pleasure as to this point, when they notify the election of their deputies. In the mean time we will frankly state that La Mancha appears to us the most convenient for the seat of government, and there we would particularly name its large cities of Cuidad Real or Almagro. But on this subject we are nowise anxious; we leave it entirely to the free choice of the supreme juntas.

It remains only that we speak of this supreme junta of Seville, upon which point we shall not say much. Certain persons, either ignorant or malevolent, have endeavoured to spread the persuasion that we affected a superiority over the other provinces. Any such thought has been far from us, although the general good of the nation has been our guide, and as it were the soul of all our determinations. We possessed the only foundery for cannon in the kingdom, and arms and ammunition in a certain degree of abundance. Various captains-general acknowledged us from the commencement, and veteran troops were more numerous in our province than in other parts; and thus we formed an army in a shorter time, and have harassed the enemy, who have surrendered prisoners of war, with their general Dupont, and have capitulated for the divisions of generals Vedel and Gobert, who are to be conducted to France, amounting altogether to 17,000 men, so that there does not remain a single French soldier in arms in the Andalusias;

a victory

a victory most glorious and singular, which has been effected without the effusion of much Spanish blood, in which it appears we stand alone.

The local situation of the Andalusias presents also a more probable mode of defence against the arms of Napoleon, if he means to attack us; and, with this view, we have united with us the Portuguese provinces of Algarve and Alentexo, who have placed themselves under our protection: and the Canary Isles have sent us a deputy for the same purpose.

The great opulence and other peculiar circumstances of these provinces offer resources which the rest want; and we have thus been enabled to make provision at immense expence, without having received any money from any other part, or imposing any contributions.

The marine arsenal of the Isle of Leon, perhaps the most considerable of all, obeyed us from the beginning, and with it the Spanish squadron of Cadiz, whose force is the greatest, and has been since augmented by that of the French, moored in that harbour, and surrendered to us at discretion.

Gibraltar, the famous English fortress, is in our territory, and one of the most numerous squadrons of that nation kept our coast in a state of blockade. We immediately, therefore, opened a communication with Gibraltar, and with the English squadron, which has given us all the assistance that was in its power, sent us a resident minister at the very first, and conveyed our deputies to London, to request subsidies, and settle a peace advantageous to the whole nation.

Amidst so many serious cares, we have transmitted all the arms which it was possible to transmit to Granada. Estramadura has received a still greater number, and has experienced our protection, and so has Cordova and Jean. We have offered arms to La Mancha, to Murcia, to Tarragon, to Gerona, who requested them of us, and we exerted ourselves to the utmost to fulfil the promises which we had made.

We have not forgotten the rest of the European provinces and kingdoms, and we hope in time that the effects of our zeal and vigilance will be made clear and public.

The Americas claimed at the first a great share of our attention, in order to preserve that so principal a part of the Spanish monarchy. We have sent envoys and commissaries thither and to Asia, in order that they may unite themselves to us, which we could not do without qualifying ourselves as the supreme junta for the government of Spain and the Indies, and we trust that this title and our cares will not be found useless. So many labours, surrounded by so many dangers, we trust, deserve some consideration of our country, for the love and defence of which only we have done and suffered so much.

With all this, we repeat that we neither affect nor desire any superiority. Whatever we have done, we owe to our country: it was an indispensable obligation upon us. Our only object is, that Spain may preserve its integrity and independence, for our lord and king, Ferdinand VII. and for that object we joyfully sacrifice our lives. May God, who has so clearly and marvellously shewn his protection of Spain, grant a safe return to its king

king Ferdinand VII. and then, with the supreme government, he will determine what may be his royal will, either commanding an union of the cortes, or by such other means as his prudence may suggest, and will facilitate the reform of abuses, and the general happiness of the kingdom, securing it upon such foundations as are firm, and subject to no change. If these hopes are vain, in which the clemency of God leads us to indulge, then the existing supreme government will itself determine which is most conducive to the interest of the kingdom, conforming itself to the fundamental laws thereof, defending it against the fury and malice of our enemies, and preserving this monarchy, in which itself, the liberty of nations, and the catholic church, the beloved spouse of our Lord Jesus Christ, is so deeply interested.

Given at the royal palace of Seville, the 3d day of August, 1808.

IMPERIAL DECREE.

Napoleon, emperor of the French, king of Italy, and protector of the confederation of the Rhine, wishing to afford spiritual help to our subjects of the Greek persuasion, we have decreed, and do decree, as follows:

Art. I.—There shall be in Dalmatia a bishop of the Greek ritual.

II.—There shall also be a chapter and a seminary for the instruction of clergymen of the same worship.

III.—We grant to the bishop an endowment of 15,000 livres per annum, from our royal treasury.

IV.—The same sum is granted from the treasury, to the chapter and seminary, for their annual support.

V.—In the course of the approaching month of November, a synod shall be convoked, over which the providetor-general shall preside, composed of forty persons of the Greek ritual, to be selected by the providetor-general, from double the number, who shall be communicated by the archimandrite, &c.

Given at the Palace of St. Cloud, Sept. 17, 1808.

(Signed) BONAPARTE.
(Counter-signed) A. ALDINI, Italian Secretary of State.

On the 26th Oct. Bonaparte went in great state to the palace of the legislative body, in order to open the sitting; when he addressed the assembly as follows:—

Messrs. Deputies, Members of the Legislative Body,

The code of laws, laying down the principles of property and of civil freedom, which forms the subject of your labours, will be adopted as the sentiment of Europe. My people already experience the most salutary effects from them. The latest laws have laid the foundation of our system of finance. That is a monument of the might and greatness of France. We shall henceforward be able to meet the expenditure which might be rendered necessary, even by a general coalition of Europe, from our yearly income alone. Never shall we be reduced to have recourse to the fatal expedients of paper money, of loans, or of anticipations of revenue. I have, in the present year, laid out

more than a thousand miles of road. The system of works which I have established for the improvement of our territory, will be carried forward with zeal.—The prospect of the great French family, lately torn to pieces by opinions and intestine rancour, but now prosperous, tranquil, and united, has affected my soul in a remarkable manner. I have felt that in order to be happy, I should in the first place be assured that France was happy. The peace of Presburg, that of Tilsit, the assault of Copenhagen, the plans of England against all nations on the ocean, the different revolutions at Constantinople, the affairs of Spain and Portugal, have, in various ways, exercised an influence on the affairs of the world.—Russia and Denmark have united with me against England. The united states of America have rather chosen to abandon commerce and the sea, than to acknowledge their slavery. A part of my army has marched against that which England has formed in Spain, or has disembarked. It is a distinguished favour of that Providence which has constantly protected our arms, that passion has so far blinded the English councils, that they abandon the defence of the seas, and at last produce their army on the Continent. I depart in a few days to put myself in person at the head of my army, and, with God's help, to crown the king of Spain in Madrid, and to plant my eagles on the forts of Spain. I have only to praise the sentiments of the princes of the confederation of the Rhine. Switzerland experiences more and more the benefits of the act of mediation. The people of Italy give me grounds for nothing but expressions of satisfaction.—The emperor of Russia and myself have had an interview at Erfurth. Our first thought was a thought of peace. We have even resolved to make some sacrifices, in order to enable the hundred millions of men whom we represent, if possible, the sooner to enjoy the benefits of the commerce of the seas. We are agreed, and unchangeably united, as well for peace as for war.—Messieurs deputies, I have ordered my ministers of finance, and of the general treasury, to lay before you an account of the receipt and expenditure of the year. You will therein see with satisfaction that I have not felt it necessary to increase the tarif with any impost. My people shall experience no new burthen. The speakers of my council of state will submit to you many plans of laws, and among others, all those which have relation to the criminal code. I rely constantly on your co-operation.

PROCLAMATION

Issued by the Supreme Junta of Spain, to the Spanish nation.

Spaniards! The supreme junta of government, the depositary of the supreme authority, has devoted the first moments which succeeded its formation to the urgent measures which its situation, and the circumstances of the time, prescribe. But from the first instant of its installation, it has believed that one of its obligations is to address itself to you, with the dignity which becomes a great and generous nation, in order to inform you of your situation, and establish in a frank and noble manner those relations of reciprocal confidence which are the bases of every just and

and prudent administration. Without these, neither the government can fulfil the high duty imposed upon it, nor the governed attain the objects desired.

A tyranny of 20 years, exercised by the unfittest hands ever known, had placed our country on the brink of perdition. The oppressor of Europe saw that the time was arrived for carrying into execution the plot he had long been forming, and adding the richest and most brilliant wreath to the bloody crown. Every thing appeared to flatter his hopes. The nation was alienated from its government by hatred or contempt—the royal family was divided—the beloved heir to the crown accused, caluminated, and, if possible, degraded; the public force dispersed and disorganized; the resources exhausted; the French troops were introduced into the kingdom, and had already seized the strong places of the frontier; finally, 60,000 men were ready to enter the capital, in order from thence to give law to the kingdom.

It was at this critical moment that, suddenly awaking from the slumber in which you lay, you precipitated the favourite from the height of power he had usurped, and placed on the throne the prince you idolised. An act of fraud the most abominable which the records of human perversity bear, deprived you of your most innocent king; and the aggression of Bonaparte and tyranny of the French were announced to Spain by the cannonade of the 2d of May on Madrid, and by the blood slaughter of its innocent and brave inhabitants—a horrible but fit presage of the fate Napoleon was preparing for you.

From that memorable day, when the supreme authority was sold to the enemy which our deceived monarch had left at the head of the government—when the other authorities were oppressed, and the seat of the empire occupied by the foe, the French believed that no further resistance would be made, and spread themselves from east to south, to extend their dominion, and enjoy the fruits of their perfidy. Fools! they were not aware that they were insulting and outraging a people most jealous of their honour, and that they rushed on inevitable perdition.

The irritated provinces of Spain rose against the oppressors suddenly, but with solemnity, and swore to perish rather than sustain so ignominious a tyranny. Europe, in astonishment, was informed at the same instant of the offence and the chastisement; and a nation which but a short time before had scarcely the semblance of power, became at once the object of the interest and admiration of the universe.

Our situation was unexampled in our history, unforeseen by our laws, and, as it were, opposed to our habits. It was necessary to give a direction to the public force, corresponding with the will and the sacrifices of the people; and this necessity created the juntas in the provinces, which collected in themselves the whole authority of the nation, in order to expel the public enemy and maintain the peace of the interior. What their energy has been—how they have discharged the trust imposed upon them by the people—and what gratitude the nation owes them, let the fields declare which have been covered with the bodies of Frenchmen, the military spoils of the invader, which serve to deck our

temples as trophies; the lives and independence of the greater part of the national magistrates which have been preserved, and the applauses of so many thousands of individuals who owe to them their liberty and their vengeance.

But as soon as the capital was delivered from the enemy, and the communication between the provinces was re-established, it was necessary to unite the public authority into one centre, which had been divided into as many parts as there were provincial juntas, whence the strength and activity of the nation could be called into exercise. This was the decision of the public voice, and this was the measure adopted by the provinces. Their respective juntas nominated deputies, who concurred in forming the centre of authority; and in less time than had been in French Machiavelism to destroy our ancient government, a new and much more formidable administration was seen in the central junta which is now addressing you.

The concurrence in the national will, which wrought this good—the universal freedom from selfish motives which induced the provinces to entrust their authority and power to other hands; this has been, Spaniards, your greatest action, this your best victory. The present age which beholds you, and posterity, to whom you will serve for study and admiration, will find in this act the most convincing proof of your virtue and prudence. The enemies of Spain had already designed the moment of your ruin; they already saw the divisions which would be formed by the convulsions of civil discord—they already triumphed, believing the provinces would be disunited by ambition, and that some pretending to superiority over the rest, would apply to them for protection and aid: But, lo! a central power has been formed before their eyes, and peacefully acknowledged by all; the car of the state runs upon one axle-tree, and vehemently and powerfully forces its way, crushing all the pretensions and all the hopes of their iniquity.

The junta being established, its attention was at once turned to the discharge of its duties. To drive the enemy beyond the Pyrennees, and compel him to deliver up the august person of our august king, and those of his brother and uncle, recognizing at the same time our liberty and independence, was the first duty which the junta conceived the nation had imposed upon it. Much of this it found already effected, at the period of its establishment; the public enthusiasm was kindled; armies were formed, composed almost wholly of fresh troops; important victories were gained; the enemy was driven to the frontiers; the opinion in favour of his military skill destroyed, and the laurels which adorned those conquerors of Europe transferred to the brows of our warriors.

This had already been done, and was what might be expected from the impulse of the first moment; but having effected all that could be produced by impetuosity and valour, it is necessary to avail ourselves of the means prescribed by prudence and constancy; for what we have yet to attain, Spaniards, we must repeat it again and again, is an arduous undertaking, and ought to call into exercise all your enthusiasm and all your virtue.

You will be convinced of this when you turn your attention to the internal and external situation of public affairs, at the time when

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the junta began to exercise its functions. Our armies full of ardour, and eager to march to victory, but naked and unprovided with every thing: beyond, the remains of the French armies awaiting reinforcements on the banks of the Ebro, ravaging Upper Castile, the Rioja, and the provinces of Biscay: occupying Pampeluna and Barcelona with their fortresses; masters of the castle of St. Ferdinand, ruling over almost the whole of Navarre and Catalonia; the despot of France, restless on his throne, deceiving the slaves who obey him by the grossest impostures, and striving to lull to inactivity all the other states, in order to discharge on us alone the enormous weight of his military force; the powers of the continent, in fine, oppressed or insulted by France, expecting with anxiety the issue of this first struggle, desiring to declare against the common enemy of all, but proceeding with the timid circumspection which their past misfortunes counsel.

It is evident that the sole asylum which remains for the preservation of their independence, is a general confederacy—a confederacy which will assuredly take place at last, for interest persuades and necessity prescribes it. Which is the state which can hold relations of amity with Bonaparte? Who can give credit to his words and promises, or trust to his loyalty and good faith? The fate of Spain will serve as a lesson and a warning, her resolution as an example, her victories as an incentive; and the reprobate who has trampled under foot the principles of equity, and the sanctity of good faith, is placed himself in the hard necessity of having more power than all of them, or of being buried under the mountains raised by his frenzy.

The security and certainty of a league, so necessary and just, are to be determined by our previous exertions, and the prudence of our conduct. When we shall have raised a mass of military force as terrible for its quantity as for its preparation—when we shall hold in our hands all the means of profiting by success, or remedying a reverse—when the sound judgment and integrity which distinguish the Spanish people, among all others, will manifest themselves in the regulation of all our proceedings and pretensions: then all Europe, secure of triumphing, will unite itself to us, and avenge at once its injuries and ours. Then Spain will enjoy the glory of having saved the powers of the continent, and reposing in the moderation and rectitude of her desires, and in the strength of her situation, she will be, and she will be recognized as the loyal confederate of all, but neither the slave nor the tyrant of any.

Let us then now employ all the means we possess, as if we had to sustain alone the whole force of France. For this purpose, the junta has believed that it is necessary to maintain under arms 550,000 effective men; the 50,000 to be cavalry; an enormous mass of strength, and disproportionate it may be confessed to our present situation and our ancient wants, but by no means unsuited to the present occasion. The three armies which are to occupy the frontier, and the bodies of reserve which are to support their operations, and supply their wants, will easily absorb the designated number. And what are they or the sacrifices which

which necessity requires, compared with the enterprize we have proposed to ourselves, and the enthusiasm which animates us? Spaniards, the power of our adversary is colossal, his ambition is still greater than his power, and his existence is incompatible with our liberty. Judge of his exertions by the barbarity of his character, and the extremity of his danger; but these are the exertions of a tyrant, and will be confounded, opposed to the valour of a great and free people, who have resolved upon no other termination to their conflict than to conquer or die.

Considering the magnitude and importance of this first object, the junta turned its attention to the vast means necessary to attain it. The neglect of the last government, if that may be called government which was one continued and monstrous dilapidation, had exhausted all the sources of prosperity, had obstructed the canals which brought life and food to all the members of the state, dissipating the treasures, disorganizing the public force, and consuming the resources.

The junta has already announced to the public the great savings which result from the suppression of the expences of the royal household, the enormous sums which had been devoured by the greedy and insatiable avarice of the favourite, the product of his great possessions, and that of the estates of those unworthy Spaniards who fled with the tyrant. We may add to these the profit which will accrue to the state from a free navigation and commerce, and from the communication already opened with America. Principally we rely on a well-arranged administration of the public revenue, and regularly distributed contributions, to the reform and management of which the junta will directly apply its attention. We may add to these means, the succours which are now given with so generous a hand, and will be hereafter granted us by the English nation. But it is incumbent on us that these succours which have been so opportunely given, and so gratefully received, and the effects of which have been so beneficial, should be hereafter recognised and recompensed with the reciprocity and decorum which become a great and powerful nation. The Spanish monarchy ought not, in this respect, to be placed in a state of inequality and dependence upon its allies.

The produce of these means will certainly be great, but at the same time it will be slow, and for that reason insufficient for the urgent necessities of the state. Are they sufficient to furnish for a time the ordinary supplies, discharge the immense debt which will be incurred, and maintain the formidable army which is to be kept on foot? But the junta will, in case the manifold events and force of circumstances should exhaust the treasury, have recourse at once to the nation with the confidence which its ardent patriotism ought to inspire, and the necessity and notoriety of the sacrifice. For evils so extraordinary as the present, remedies as extraordinary must be applied; and as the government judges it to be one of its obligations to give an exact account to the nation of the application of the resources and funds which it is about to administer, it has no fear that its demands will be disregarded through distrust, or be detested as arbitrary.

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Thus much with respect to the defence of the kingdom, and the means of effecting it, the most urgent concerns and the first in the order of time which the junta has under its care. But, Spaniards, there are others as necessary and primary as that, without attending to which the junta would fulfil but half its duties, and which is the great reward of your enthusiasm and sacrifices. Political independence is nothing without felicity and interior security. Turn your eyes to the time when oppressed and degraded, ignorant of your own strength, and finding no asylum against your evils, either in the institutions or in the laws, you held foreign dominion less odious than the wasting tyranny which internally consumed you. The dominion of a will always capricious, and for the greater part unjust, has, for your calamity, lasted long enough in Spain: your patience, your love of order, and your generous loyalty, have been long enough abused; it is time that the voice of the law only should begin to command, founded on general utility. This was the desire of our good and unfortunate monarch; this was the path he pointed out, even during an unjust captivity to which a perfidious traitor reduced him. Country, Spaniards! ought not to be a vague and a vain name to you: it ought to import in your ears and in your heart the sanctuary of the laws and customs, the theatre for talents, and the reward of virtue.

Yes, Spaniards, the great day is drawing near, when, according to the uniform desires of our beloved king and of his loyal people, the monarchy will be established on solid and durable bases. You will then possess fundamental laws, which will be beneficial, friends of order, restrictive of arbitrary power; and these being re-established, and your genuine rights being assured, you will rejoice to behold a monument worthy of you, and of the monarch who is to watch over the preservation of it, blessing, amid so many calamities, the share which the people will have had in its erection. The junta, which holds in its hand the supreme direction of the national forces, in order, by all means, to assure its defence, felicity, and glory; the junta, which has already publicly acknowledged the great influence which a nation ought to have in the government, which alone, and without any assistance, has done every thing in the name of the king and for his cause; the junta solemnly promise to you, that you shall possess that country which you have invoked with so much enthusiasm, and defended, or rather conquered, with so much valour.

Until the military operations, slow at first, in order better to secure a happy result, shall furnish the opportunity and repose necessary for the grand and solemn reunion which it announces to you, the government will take care privately to discuss and to examine the projects of reform, and the institutions which ought to be presented for the national sanction. Without instruction, or knowledge, or data, the majestic work of legislation is the result of a blind and unstable will, and as such, exposed to error, inconsistency, and contempt. Wise Spaniards! you who devoted to the investigation of the social principles, unite the love of humanity to the love of country, and instruction of zeal: this concern is yours, the happy execution

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of which is so necessary. The junta, instead of rejecting your council, desires and seeks it. The knowledge and illustration of our ancient constitutional law; changes, which, in their re-establishment, they ought to undergo from the difference of circumstances; reforms which are to be made in the civil, criminal, and commercial codes; projects to meliorate public education, which, among us, is so greatly in decline; a system of regulated economy for the better distribution and collection of the national revenue; all these claim your attention, and form a vast series of problems and objects of meditation, in which you may manifest your talents and your acquirements. The junta will form from among you different committees, each entrusted with a particular department, to whom are to be freely addressed all writings on matters of government and administration, in which may be discussed the different objects which claim the general attention; so that each contributing by his exertions to give a just and enlightened direction to the public opinion, they may enable the nation to establish solidly, and tranquilly its internal felicity.

The Spanish revolution will thus be distinguished by characteristic features, altogether the reverse of those which were seen in the French revolution. That began in the wretched internal intrigues of courtiers; ours, in the necessity of repelling an unjust and powerful aggressor: in that there were as many opinions concerning the forms of government as there were factions, or rather persons: in ours, there is but one opinion, one general desire; an hereditary monarchy, and Ferdinand VII. on the throne. The French, shedding torrents of blood during their anarchy, proclaimed no one principle which they did not afterwards reject; they made no law which they did not violate, and at last they submitted to a barbarous despotism. The Spaniards, who, on account of the perfidious invasion of the French, found themselves without a government, and without communication with each other, have not shewn themselves terrible or bloody, except towards their enemies, and well know how to meliorate their institutions, and consolidate their liberty, without overthrowing the state.

O Spaniards! How beautiful a perspective of glory and felicity we behold before us, if we know how to profit by the singular epoch; if we fulfil the high purposes which Providence points out to us! Instead of being objects of compassion and contempt, as we have hitherto been, we are about to become the envy and admiration of the world. The delicious climate we enjoy, the fertile soil whence we draw our subsistence, our geographical position, the riches which nature has lavished upon us, and the noble and generous character with which she has endowed us, will not be wasted gifts in the hands of a vile and enslaved people.

Already the Spanish name is pronounced with respect in Europe, whose nations, which lie trampled upon by the French, hang all their hopes upon our fortune; even the very slaves of the tyrant, groaning under his intolerable yoke, form vows for us. Let us be constant, and we shall gather the fruit which victory will produce: the laws of religion satisfied; our monarch either restored to the throne, or avenged;

avenged; the fundamental laws of the monarchy restored and consecrated, in a manner solemn, and consonant with civil liberty; the fountains of public prosperity pouring benefits spontaneously, and without impediment; our relations with our colonies drawn more closely and become more fraternal, and consequently more useful; in fine, activity, industry, talents and virtues stimulated and rewarded: to such a degree of splendour and fortune we shall raise our country, if we ourselves correspond with the magnificent circumstances which surround us.

These are the views, and this is the plan which the junta proposed to itself from the moment of its installation, in order to fulfil the two primary and essential objects of its institution. Its members charged with an authority so great, and making themselves responsible by entertaining hopes so flattering, do not fail to see the difficulties they have to conquer, in order to realize them, the enormity of the weight which hangs over them, nor the dangers to which they are exposed; but they will think the fatigues, and the devotion of their persons to the service of the country well paid, if they succeed in inspiring Spaniards with that confidence, without which the public good cannot be secured, and which the junta dares to affirm it merits, from the rectitude of its principles and the purity of its intentions.

Aranjuez, Oct. 26, 1808.

November 20.

A PROCLAMATION

By the Intendant-general of Police of the Court of Justices District.

Portuguese!—Where does your fury transport you? Do you suppose that the English are become French? No, my dear countrymen. The English are not come here in the character of conquerors as the Frenchmen did; they came to free us from the slavery that oppressed us. If we deny this truth, we must be reproached as an ungrateful people. The English did not enter Portugal from any motives of ambition; their motives are more generous, wise, and politic; they know very well that views of aggrandizement always tend to destroy the equilibrium that forms the fundamental law of nations. What Great Britain aims at, is only the restitution of all countries to their lawful sovereigns. Ah, incomparable George! How great will be thy glory in future times! Where is the sovereign in Europe that does not, at present, owe his crown to thee? Thy name shall for ever shine in the Portuguese annals. Excuse then, O mighty king! the indiscreet zeal of a people, who love their sovereign, and whose feelings are partly analogous to thy views. Remain quiet, then, O ye inhabitants of the most faithful and loyal city in Portugal; it is to you, ye inhabitants of Porto, that I speak, for those honourable epithets are indisputably your right. Consider that the glorious cause which you have undertaken can only be obstructed and retarded by vain and tumultuous mobs. This is what the common enemy wishes for; and a civil war would only retard their total destruction. Let us then unite ourselves to our faithful allies, the English, and the Spaniards, in order to overthrow that hellish monster. The union of these three nations will scorn all Frenchmen's threats, their intrigues and perfidy. We shall then have the glory of being instrumental in

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the speedy overthrow of the tyrant, in bringing about a general peace, and in restoring our august prince to his lawful throne. This is the just cause that calls aloud for your vengeance, and in which you ought to display all your courage, your love, and your fidelity. Long live Portugal! Long live Great Britain! Long live Spain!

J. F. R. G.

IMPERIAL DECREES.

Napoleon, Emperor of the French, King of Italy, Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine, &c. &c.

Taking into our consideration, that one of the greatest abuses which have been introduced into the finances of Spain arises from the alienation of the different branches of the imposts, and that, nevertheless, imposts are from their nature inalienable, we have decreed, and do decree as follows:

From the publication of the present decree, every individual who shall be in possession, either by grant from the king, or by sale, or by any other means, of any portion whatever of the civil or ecclesiastical imposts, shall cease to receive them; and those from whom they may be leviable shall be answerable for the payment of their respective imposts to the agents of the king, or of the treasury.

The present decree shall be published and registered in all the councils, courts, and tribunals, in order to its being carried into execution as a law of the state.

(Signed) NAPOLEON.

By the emperor, minister secretary of state, H. B. MARET.

Dated from the Imperial Camp at Burgos, the 12th of November, 1808.

Napoleon, Emperor of the French, King of Italy, and Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine.

Considering that the troubles in Spain have been principally the effect of plots, carried on by several individuals, and that the greater part of those who joined in them have been either misled or deceived, wishing to pardon these, and to grant an amnesty for the crimes which they have committed against us, our nation and the king our brother, wishing also to mark those who, after having sworn fidelity to the king, have violated that oath; who, after having accepted places, have only used the authority which was confided to them to betray their sovereign, and who, instead of employing their influence to enlighten the citizens, have only used it to mislead them; and wishing, lastly, that the punishment of great offenders may serve as an example in future times to all those, who, placed at the head of nations, instead of directing the people with wisdom and prudence, mislead them, and lead them into disorders and popular agitations, and precipitate them into misfortunes and war:

We have decreed as follows:—

1st. The dukes of Infantado, of Higar, of Medina Cœli, and of Ossuna, the marquis of Santa Cruz, the counts of Fernan, Nunez, and of Allamera, the prince of Castel Franco, the sieur Pierre Cevallos, ex-minister of state, and the bishop of Santander, are declared traitors to France and Spain, and traitors to the two crowns. As such, their persons shall be seized, and brought before a military commission and shot. Their property, moveable and immoveable,

immoveable, shall be confiscated in Spain, in France, in the kingdom of Italy, in the kingdom of Naples, in the Papal States, in the kingdom of Holland, and in all the countries occupied by the French arms, to defray the expences of the war.

[The second article renders null and void all sales, or other dispositions of their property.]

The third grants, in the name of Joseph Bonaparte, a pardon to all Spaniards, who within one month after the arrival of Bonaparte, at Madrid, shall lay down their arms, and renounce all adhesion to and connexion with England.

Neither the members of the juntas, nor general officers, who have carried arms, are excepted from this pardon, provided they surrender as before mentioned.

From our Camp at Madrid, Dec. 4.

Napoleon, emperor, &c.

Considering that the council of Castile has shown in the exercise of its functions as much falsehood as weakness, and that after having published throughout the kingdom the renunciation of Charles IV. and of the princes don Fernando, don Carlos, don Francisco, and don Antonia of the crown of Spain, and after having acknowledged and proclaimed our legitimate right to the throne, it had the baseness to declare in the eyes of Europe and posterity, that it had signed these documents with secret and perfidious reservations:—We decree as follows:

1. That the members of the council of Castile are displaced as being cowards, and unworthy of being the magistrates of a brave and generous nation.

By the second article, however, such members of the council as did not sign the deliberation of the 11th August are excepted from this decree.

From our Camp before Madrid, December 4.

Napoleon, emperor, &c.

We decree as follows:—

1. The tribunal of the inquisition is abolished, as incompatible with the sovereign power, and with the civil authority.

2. The property belonging to the inquisition shall be sequestrated and re-united to the domains of Spain, to serve as a guarantee for the vales and other effects of the public debt.

In our Imperial Camp of Madrid, December 4.

Napoleon, emperor, &c.

Considering that the religious of the different monastic orders in Spain are too multiplied:—

That if a certain number be useful to assist the ministers of the altar in the administration of the sacraments, the existence of too considerable a number is injurious to the prosperity of the state:—

We decree as follows:

Art. 1. The number of convents at present existing in Spain shall be reduced to a third.

This reduction shall be produced by uniting the religious of several convents in one single house.

2. Dating from the publication of the present decree, no admission to the noviciate, no religious profession shall be permitted until the number of the religious of each sex shall have been reduced to the third of the number of the said religious now existing.

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In consequence, and in the space of a fortnight, all the novices shall quit the convents into which they have been admitted.

3. All the regular ecclesiastics who wish to renounce their usual living, and to live as secular ecclesiastics, shall be free to quit their houses.

4. The religious who shall so renounce, conformably to the preceding article, shall be admitted to the enjoyment of a pension, whose amount shall be regulated by their age, but which shall not be less than 3000 reals, nor exceed the maximum of 4000.

5. Upon the amount of the property of the convents which shall be suppressed in execution of the first article of the present decree, shall be raised the sum necessary to increase the proportion of the cures, so that the minimum of the salary of the curates shall be raised to 2400 reals.

6. The property of the suppressed convents, which shall be disposable after the raising of the sum ordered by the foregoing article, shall be united to the domain of Spain, and to be employed as follows:—

1. The half of the said property to guarantee the vales and other parts of the public debt.

2. The other half to reimburse the provinces and cities the expences occasioned by the supplying the French armies, and the insurrectional armies, and to indemnify the cities and country for the damages, losses of houses, and other losses occasioned by the war.

(Signed) NAPOLEON.

Extract from the Minutes of the Office of Secretary of State.

Imperial Camp at Madrid, Dec. 12.

We, Napoleon, emperor of the French, king of Italy, and protector of the confederation of the Rhine, have decreed, and do decree as follows:

Art. 1. All seignorial courts of justice are abolished in Spain.

2. There shall exist no other jurisdiction than the royal courts of justice.

3. The present decree shall be published and registered in all the councils, courts, and tribunals, in order that it may be executed as the law of the state.

(Signed) NAPOLEON.

By the emperor, minister secretary of state, H. B. MARET.

PROCLAMATION BY BONAPARTE.

Spaniards!—You have been misled by perfidious men. They have engaged you in a senseless struggle, and you have had recourse to arms. Is there one amongst you, who after a moment's reflection upon all that has passed, would not be convinced that you have been the sport of the eternal enemies of the continent, who take delight in witnessing the effusion of Spanish and French blood? What possible result would attend even the success of some campaigns? An endless war upon your soil, and a tedious uncertainty respecting the fate of your properties and lives. Within the space of a few months, you have been delivered up to all the afflictions of popular factions. The defeat of your armies has been the work of some marches; I have entered Madrid; the rights of war would justify me in making a signal example, by washing away in blood the outrage, offered to me and to my nation: but I have listened

listened to the dictates of clemency only. Some men, the authors of all your calamities, shall alone be punished. I shall speedily drive from the peninsula that English army which has been sent to Spain, not for the purpose of assistance to you, but to inspire you with a false confidence and to mislead you.

I had declared to you in my proclamation of the 2d of June, that I wished to be your regenerator. To the rights which had been ceded to me by the princes of the last dynasty, you wished that I should add the right of conquest. That shall not make any alteration in my intentions. I am even disposed to praise all that may be generous in your efforts; I am willing to admit, that your real interests have been concealed from you, that the real state of things had been disguised from you. Spaniards, your destiny is in your own hands. Reject the poisons which the English have spread amongst you:—let your king be assured of your affection and your confidence, and you will be more powerful and more happy than ever you have been. All that obstructed your prosperity and your grandeur I have destroyed: the chains, which have borne down the people, I have broken; a free constitution gives you a limited and constitutional instead of an absolute monarchy. It depends upon yourselves whether this constitution shall still continue in your land.

But should all my efforts prove fruitless, and should you not merit my confidence, nothing will remain for me but to treat you as conquered provinces, and to place my brother upon another throne. I shall then place the crown of Spain upon my own head, and cause it to be respected by the guilty; for God has given me power and inclination to surmount all obstacles!

Given at our imperial camp at Madrid, Dec. 7, 1808.

(Signed) NAPOLEON.
H. B. MARET.

PRESIDENT JEFFERSON'S MESSAGE

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States. Nov. 8.

It would have been a source, fellow citizens, of much gratification, if our last communications from Europe had enabled me to inform you, that the belligerent nations, whose disregard of neutral rights has been so destructive to our commerce, had become awakened to the duty and the policy of revoking their unrighteous edicts! That no means might be omitted to produce this salutary effect, I lost no time in availing myself of the act authorising a suspension, in whole, or in part, of the several embargo laws. Our ministers at London and Paris were instructed to explain to the respective governments there, our disposition to exercise the authority in such manner as would withdraw the pretext on which the aggressions were originally founded, and open the way for a renewal of that commercial intercourse, which it was alleged, on all sides, had been reluctantly obstructed. As each of these governments had pledged its readiness to concur in renouncing a measure, which reached its adversary through the incontestible rights of neutrals only, and as the measure had been assumed by each as a retaliation for an asserted acquiescence in the aggressions of the other

other, it was reasonably expected that the occasion would have been seized by both, for evincing the sincerity of their professions, and for restoring to the United States its legitimate freedom. The instructions to our ministers, with respect to the different belligerents, were necessarily modified with a reference to their different circumstances, and to the condition annexed by law to the executive power of suspension, requiring a degree of security to our commerce, which would not result from a repeal of the decrees of France. Instead of a pledge, therefore, for a suspension of the embargo as to her, in case of such a repeal, it was presumed that a sufficient inducement might be found in other considerations, and particularly in the change produced by a compliance with our just demands, by one belligerent, and a refusal by the other, in the relations between this other and the United States. To Great Britain, whose power on the ocean is so ascendant, it was deemed not inconsistent with that condition, to state, explicitly, that on her rescinding her orders in relation to the commerce of the United States, their trade would be opened with her, and remain shut to her enemy, in case of his failure to rescind his decrees also. From France no answer has been received, nor any indication that the requisite change in her decrees is contemplated. The favourable reception of the proposition to Great Britain was the less to be doubted, as her orders of council had not only been referred for their vindication to an acquiescence on the part of the United States, no longer to be pretended; but as the arrangement proposed, whilst it resisted the illegal decrees of France, involved, moreover, substantially the precise advantages professedly aimed at by the British orders. The arrangement has, nevertheless, been rejected.

This candid and liberal experiment having thus failed, and no other event having occurred on which a suspension of the embargo by the executive was authorised, it necessarily remains in the extent originally given to it. We have the satisfaction, however, to reflect, that in return for the privations imposed by the measure, and which our fellow-citizens in general have borne with patriotism, it has had the important effect of saving our mariners, and our vast mercantile property, as well as of affording time for prosecuting the defensive and provisional measures called for by the occasion. It has demonstrated to foreign nations the moderation and firmness which govern our councils, and to our citizens the necessity of uniting in support of the laws and the rights of their country; and has thus long frustrated those usurpations and spoliations which, if resisted, involved war; if submitted to, sacrificed a vital principle of our national independence.

Under a continuance of the belligerent measures, which, in defiance of laws which consecrate the rights of neutrals, overspread the ocean with danger, it will rest with the wisdom of congress to decide on the course best adapted to such a state of things; and bringing with them, as they do, from every part of the union, the sentiments of our constituents, my confidence is strengthened that in forming this decision, they will, with an unerring regard to the essential rights and interests of the nation, weigh and compare the painful alternatives

ternatives out of which a choice is to be made. Nor should I do justice to the virtues which on other occasions have marked the character of our fellow citizens, if I did not cherish an equal confidence that the alternative chosen, whatever it may be, will be maintained with all the fortitude and patriotism which the crisis ought to inspire.

The documents containing the correspondence on the subject of the foreign edicts against our commerce, with the instructions given to our ministers at London and Paris, are now laid before you.

The communication made to congress at their last session explained the posture in which the close of the discussions relating to the attack by a British ship of war on the frigate Chesapeake, left a subject on which the nation had manifested so honourable a sensibility. Every view of what had passed authorised a belief that immediate steps would be taken by the British government for redressing a wrong, which, the more it was investigated, appeared the more clearly to require what had not been provided for in the special mission. It is found that no steps have been taken for the purpose. On the contrary, it will be seen in the documents laid before you, that the inadmissible preliminary which obstructs the adjustment is still adhered to; and, moreover, that it is now brought into connexion with the distinct and irrelative case of the orders of council. The instructions which had been given to our ministers at London, with a view to facilitate, if necessary, the reparation claimed by the United States, are included in the documents communicated.

Our relations with the other powers of Europe have undergone no material changes since your last session. The important negociations with Spain, which had been alternately suspended and resumed, necessarily experience a pause, under the extraordinary and interesting crisis which distinguishes her internal situation.

With the Barbary powers we continue in harmony, with the exception of an unjustifiable proceeding of the dey of Algiers towards our consul to that regency. Its character and circumstances are now laid before you, and will enable you to decide how far it may, either now or hereafter, call for any measures not within the limits of the executive authority.

With our Indian neighbours the public peace has been steadily maintained. Some instances of individual wrong have, as at other times, taken place, but in no wise implicating the will of the nation. Beyond the Mississippi, the Ioways, the Sacs, and the Alibamas, have delivered up, for trial and punishment, individuals from among themselves accused of murdering citizens of the United States, on this side the Mississippi; the Creeks are exerting themselves to arrest offenders of the same kind; and the Choctaws have manifested their readiness and desire for amicable and just arrangements, respecting depredations committed by disorderly persons of their tribe. And generally from a conviction that we consider them as a part of ourselves, and cherish with sincerity their rights and interests, the attachment of the Indian tribes is gaining strength daily, is extending from the nearer to the more remote, and will amply requite us for the justice and friendship practised towards them; husbandry and

and household manufacture are advancing among them more rapidly with the southern than the northern tribes, from circumstances of soil and climate: and one of the two great divisions of the Cherokee nation have now under consideration to solicit the citizenship of the United States, and to be identified with us in laws and government, in such progressive manner as we shall think best.

In consequence of the appropriations of the last session of congress for the security of our sea-port towns and harbours, such works of defence have been erected as seemed to be called for by the situation of the several places, their relative importance, and the scale of expence indicated by the amount of the appropriation. These works will chiefly be finished in the course of the present season, except at New York and New Orleans, where most was to be done; and although a great proportion of the last appropriation has been expended on the former place, yet some further views will be submitted to congress for rendering its security entirely adequate against naval enterprize. A view of what has been done at several places, and of what is proposed to be done, shall be communicated as soon as the several reports are received.

Of the gun-boats authorized by the act of December last, it has been thought necessary to build only 103 in the present year; these, with those before possessed, are sufficient for the harbours and waters most exposed, and the residue will require little time for their construction, when it shall be deemed necessary.

Under the act of the last session, for raising an additional military force, so many officers were immediately appointed as were necessary for carrying on the business of recruiting; and in proportion as it advanced, others have been added. We have reason to believe their success has been satisfactory, although such returns have not been received, as enable me to present you a statement of the numbers engaged.

I have not thought it necessary, in the course of the last season, to call for any general detachments of militia, or of volunteers, under the laws passed for that purpose; for the ensuing season, however, they will be required to be in readiness, should their service be wanted. Some small and special detachments have been necessary to maintain the laws of embargo, on that portion of our northern frontier which offered peculiar facilities for invasion; but these were replaced as soon as it could be done, by bodies of new recruits. By the aid of these, and of the armed vessels called into service in other quarters, the spirit of disobedience and abuse, which manifested itself early, and with sensible effect, while we were unprepared to meet it, has been considerably repressed.

Considering the extraordinary character of the times in which we live, our attention should unremittingly be fixed on the safety of our country. For a people who are free, and who mean to remain so, a well-organized and armed militia is their best security. It is therefore incumbent on us, at every meeting, to revise the condition of the militia, and to ask ourselves if it is prepared to repel a powerful enemy at every point of our territories exposed to invasion. Some of the states have paid a laudable attention to this object, but every degree of neglect is to be found among

among others. Congress alone having the power to produce an uniform state of preparation in this great organ of defence, the interest which they so deeply feel in their own and their country's security will present this as among the most important objects of their deliberation.

Under the acts of March 11, and April 23, respecting arms, the difficulty of procuring them from abroad, during the present situation and dispositions of Europe, induced us to direct our whole efforts to the means of internal supply; the public factories have, therefore, been enlarged, additional machineries erected, and, in proportion as artificers can be found or formed, their effect, already more than doubled, may be increased so as to keep pace with the yearly increase of the militia. The annual sums appropriated by the latter act have been directed to the encouragement of private factories of arms; and contracts have been entered into with individual undertakers, to nearly the amount of the first year's appropriation.

The suspension of our foreign commerce, produced by the injustice of the belligerent powers, and the consequent losses and sacrifices of our citizens, are subjects of just concern. The situation into which we have thus been forced, has impelled us to apply a portion of our industry and capital to internal manufactures and improvements. The extent of this conversion is daily increasing, and little doubt remains that the establishments formed and forming, will, under the auspices of cheaper materials and subsistence, the freedom of labour from taxation with us, and of protecting duties and prohibitions, become permanent. The commerce with the Indians too, within our own boundaries, is likely to receive abundant aliment from the same internal source, and will secure to them peace and the progress of civilization, undisturbed by practices hostile to both.

The accounts of the receipts and expenditures during the year ending on the 30th day of September last, being not yet made up, a correct statement will hereafter be transmitted from the treasury. In the mean time, it is ascertained, that the receipts have amounted to near eighteen millions of dollars, which, with the eight millions and a half in the treasury at the beginning of the year, have enabled us, after meeting the current demands and interests incurred, to pay two millions three hundred thousand dollars of the principal of our funded debt, and left us in the treasury on that day nearly fourteen millions of dollars; of these, five millions three hundred and fifty thousand dollars will be necessary to pay what will be due on the first day of January next, which will complete the reimbursement of the eight per cent. stock. These payments, with those made in the six years and a half preceding, will have extinguished thirty-three millions five hundred and eighty thousand dollars of the principal of the funded debt, being the whole which could be paid or purchased within the limits of the law, and of our contracts; and the amount of principal thus discharged will have liberated the revenue from about two millions of dollars of interest, and added that sum annually to the disposable surplus. The probable accumulation of the surplusses of revenue, beyond what can be applied to the payment of the public debt, whenever the freedom and

safety of our commerce shall be restored, merits the consideration of congress. Shall it be unproductive in the public vaults? Shall the revenue be reduced? or shall it not rather be appropriated to the improvement of roads, canals, rivers, education, and other great foundations of prosperity and union, under the powers which congress may already possess, or such amendment of the constitution as may be approved by the states: while, uncertain of the course of things, the time may be advantageously employed in obtaining the powers necessary for a system of improvement, should that be thought best.

Availing myself of this, the last occasion which will occur, of addressing the two houses of legislature at their meeting, I cannot omit the expression of my sincere gratitude, for the repeated proofs of confidence manifested to me by themselves and their predecessors, since my call to the administration, and the many indulgencies experienced at their hands; the same grateful acknowledgments are due to my fellow-citizens generally, whose support has been my great encouragement under all embarrassments. In the transaction of their business, I cannot have escaped error—it is incident to our imperfect nature; but I may say, with truth, my errors have been of the understanding, not of intention; and that the advancement of their rights and interests has been the constant motive for every measure. On these considerations, I solicit their indulgence. Looking forward with anxiety to their future destinies, I trust, that in their steady character, unshaken by difficulties in their love of liberty, obedience to law, and support of the public authorities, I see a sure guarantee of the permanence of our republic; and, retiring from the charge of their affairs, I carry with me the consolation of a firm persuasion, that Heaven has in store for our beloved country long ages to come of prosperity and happiness.

Nov. 8. TH. JEFFERSON.

COURT OF INQUIRY.

Report of the Board to his Majesty.

May it please your Majesty,

We, the underwritten general officers of the army, in obedience to your majesty's warrant, which bears date the first day of November, 1808, commanding us strictly to inquire into the conditions of a suspension of arms, concluded on the 22d of August, 1808, between your majesty's army in Portugal, and the French force in that country—and also into a definitive convention *, concluded with the French general commanding on the 31st of August following: also into all the causes and circumstances (whether arising from the previous operations of the British army, or otherwise, which led to them)—and into the conduct, behaviour, and proceedings of lieutenant-general sir Hew Dalrymple, and such other commander or commanders of your majesty's forces in Portugal—and of any other person or persons, as far as the same were connected with the said armistice, suspension of arms, and convention—and to report to your majesty a state thereof, as it shall appear, together with our opinion

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* The terms of the convention will be found, p. (120) Public Occurrences.

thereon,

thereon, and also our opinion, whether any, or what further proceeding should be had thereupon.

We have, at several meetings, perused and considered your majesty's orders and instructions, as transmitted to us by the right honourable lord Castlereagh, your majesty's principal secretary of state, together with sundry letters, and other papers, therewith transmitted:—And have heard and examined lieutenant-general sir Hew Dalrymple, sir Harry Burrard, and sir Arthur Wellesley, and other principal officers employed on the said expedition, with such witnesses as any of them desired:—And also such other persons as seemed to us most likely to give any material information:—And in order that your majesty may be fully possessed of every circumstance which has appeared in the course of this inquiry,—

We beg leave to lay before your majesty the whole of our examinations and proceedings, to this our report annexed.—And upon the most diligent and careful review of the whole matter, we do, in further obedience to your royal command, most humbly report to your majesty:—[Here follows an abstract of the evidence.]

The report then proceeds as follows:—

It appears that some of the principal advantages to arise from the convention were in contemplation of the generals.

That it immediately liberated the kingdom of Portugal from the dominion of the French, thereby restoring to the inhabitants their capital and fortresses, their principal sea-ports, their personal liberty, property, religion, and established government.

That it relieved a great extent of Spanish frontier from all apprehensions of an enemy, and the whole of Spain from that of having an enemy behind them, and allowed all parts of Spain to take more effective measures for its general defence; as well as permitted Portugal immediately to contribute for their mutual support.

That it enabled the British army immediately to enter Spain, if required, by central routes, while it transported the French force to a very distant part of their own coast, far removed from the Spanish frontier.

That it immediately released 4000 Spanish soldiers, and sent them to the defence of Catalonia; it also released from the Portuguese frontier another body of 2000 Spanish troops. The Portuguese army also became disposable for the common cause.

To the men of war and transports, which, at this season of the year, with great difficulty could keep their station near the coast, and on whose presence the supplies and operations of the army depended, the opening of the Tagus afforded immediate shelter.

It is further urged by the generals, as much more than probable, that if the enemy had been required to lay down their arms, and surrender prisoners of war, they would not have complied: but if driven to extremity that they would have retired upon Lisbon, reinforced by 6000 Russians, who must have been thus compelled to share their fate; and in the temporary attack of this city much calamity and destruction must have ensued.

Also that masters of the Russian fleet, and of the boats and shipping in the Tagus, the passage of the river was ensured to them: that

they could have defended for a considerable time its east bank, and prevented the occupation of the Tagus by our fleet: that, with the strong fortresses of Alantejo in their possession, they could have protracted a destructive war, to the great detriment of Portugal and the Spanish cause, by finding employment for the greater part of the British army, for the remainder of the year, and whose difficulties in such operation must have been very considerable.

It appears that the forts on the Tagus were taken possession of on the 2d of September by the British troops, and the port was then opened to our shipping: that on the 5th the army had its right at St. Juliens, and its left on the heights of Bellas: that on the 8th or 9th a British corps marched into Lisbon to ensure the tranquillity of that city, during the embarkation of the enemy, who were all sent off (except the last division, purposely detained) before the end of the month, and part of the British army was then actually on its route towards the Spanish frontiers.

It appears, that during the discussion, and afterwards during the execution of the convention, much firmness was shewn in resisting the pretensions and interpretations of the enemy; every stipulation being restricted to its fair, honourable, and grammatical meaning, and the French not allowed to carry off, but obliged to disgorge plunder, which they affected to consider as private property.

It appears that pains were taken to misrepresent and raise a clamour in Portugal against the convention; but when it was generally known, and its effects felt, the people of Lisbon, and of the country, seem to have expressed their gratitude and thanks for the benefits attending it.

It has been urged by sir Hew Dalrymple, and allowed by major-general Spencer, that in Egypt, in 1801 (after the victory of the 21st of March, the French having thrown their whole force into Alexandria and Grand Cairo, about 10,000 men in each place), that at the siege of Alexandria, in August, the country was in full possession of the British and Turks. The garrison cut off from every possibility of relief, and could only have held out some days, when a capitulation was granted to it, September the 2d, as favourable as the convention of Cintra to the army of Junot (of 24,000 French, and 6000 Russians), and perfectly similar to all the chief articles of men, baggage, artillery, conveyance, &c. also that the same terms had been previously granted to the garrison of Cairo, under much the same circumstances. By these two conventions, or capitulations, above 20,000 French evacuated Egypt, and the British army were left disposable for other purposes.

On the whole, it appears that the operations of the army under sir Arthur Wellesley, from his landing in Mondego bay the 1st of August, until the conclusion of the action at Vimiera, the 21st of August, were highly honourable and successful, and such as might be expected from a distinguished general, at the head of a British army of 13,000 men, augmented on the 20th and 21st to 17,000, deriving only some small aid from a Portuguese corps (1600 men), and against whom an enemy, not exceeding 14,000 men in the field, was opposed; and this before the arrival of a very considerable reinforcement from England, under lieutenant-

lieutenant-general sir John Moore, which, however, did arrive and join the army, from the 25th to the 30th of August.

It appears a point on which no evidence adduced can enable the board to pronounce, with confidence, whether or not a pursuit after the battle of the 21st could have been efficacious; nor can the board feel confident to determine on the expedience of a forward movement to Torres Vedras, when sir Harry Burrard has stated weighty considerations against such a measure. Further, it is to be observed, that so many collateral circumstances could not be known in the moment of the enemy's repulse, as afterwards became clear to the army, and have been represented to the board. And considering the extraordinary circumstances under which two new commanding generals arrived from the ocean, and joined the army (the one during, and the other immediately after, the battle, and those successively superseding each other, and both the original commander within the space of 24 hours), it is not surprising that the army was not started forward, until the second day after the action, from the necessity of the generals being acquainted with the actual state of things, and of their army, and proceeding accordingly.

It appears that the convention of Cintra in all its progress and conclusion, or at least all the principal articles of it, were not objected to by the five distinguished lieutenant-generals of that army; and other general officers who were of that service, whom we have had an opportunity to examine, have also concurred in the great advantages that were immediately gained to the country of Portugal, to the army and navy, and to the general service, by the conclusion of the convention at that time.

On a consideration of all circumstances, as set forth in this report, we most humbly submit our opinion, that no further military proceeding is necessary on this subject. Because, however some of us may differ in our sentiments respecting the fitness of the convention in the relative situation of the two armies, it is our unanimous declaration, that unquestionable zeal and firmness appear throughout to have been exhibited by lieutenant-generals sir Hew Dalrymple, sir Harry Burrard, and sir Arthur Wellesley, as well as that the ardour and gallantry of the rest of the officers and soldiers, on every occasion during this expedition, have done honour to the troops, and reflected lustre on your majesty's arms.—All which is most dutifully submitted.

(Signed) D. Dundas, gen.
Moira, gen.
P. Craig, gen.
Heathfield, gen.
Pembroke, L. G.
G. Nugent, L. G.
and
O. Nicholls, L. G.

Dec. 22, 1808.

Judge-Advocate-General's Office, Dec. 27, 1808.

In consequence of the following letter from his royal highness the commander in chief, to gen. sir David Dundas, as president, viz.

Horse Guards, Dec. 25.

Sir.—The judge-advocate-general having delivered to me, to be laid before his majesty, the several papers

papers and documents, containing all the examinations and proceedings taken before the board of enquiry, of which you are the president, together with your report and opinion upon the whole of the late operations of his majesty's forces in Portugal, as connected with the armistice and subsequent convention of Cintra; I think it incumbent on me to state to you, that although the report is fully detailed, and perfectly explanatory of all the transactions as they appeared in evidence before you; yet, upon a due consideration of the whole matter, it certainly appears that your opinion upon the condition of the armistice and convention, which the words of his majesty's warrant expressly enjoin should be strictly examined, enquired into, and reported upon, has been altogether omitted.

I feel it my duty, therefore, to call your attention to these two principal features of this important case, the armistice and convention, and to desire that you may be pleased to take the same again into your most serious consideration, and subjoin to the opinion which you have already given upon the other points submitted to your examination and inquiry, whether, under all the circumstances which appear in evidence before you, on the relative situation of the two armies, on the 22d of August, 1808, it is your opinion that an armistice was advisable, and if so, whether the terms of that armistice were such as ought to have been agreed upon; and whether upon a like consideration of the relative situation of the two armies subsequent to the armistice, and when all the British forces were landed, it is your opinion that a convention was advisable, and if so, whether the terms of that convention were such as ought to have been agreed upon.

I am the more desirous that you should resume the consideration of these two points, the armistice and convention, as it appears upon the face of your report that a difference of opinion exists among the members of the board, which may probably produce a dissent from the majority upon these very questions. You will be pleased, therefore, to desire such of the members as may be of a different opinion from the majority upon these two questions, to record upon the face of the proceeding their reasons for such dissent.

I am, Sir, yours,
(Signed) FREDERICK,
Commander in Chief.
Gen. sir D. Dundas, K. B.

The board met this day at the judge-advocate-general's office, when the said letter having been read, they agreed that the following questions should be put to each of the members of the board:

Do you or do you not approve of the armistice as concluded on the 22d of August, 1808, in the relative situation of the two armies?

Approve.

Lieutenant-General Nicholls.
Lieutenant-General Nugent.
Earl Pembroke.
Lord Heathfield.
General Craig.
General Dundas.

Disapprove.

Earl of Moira.

Do you or do you not approve of the convention as concluded upon the 31st of Aug. 1808, in the relative

relative situation of the two armies?

Approve.

Lieutenant-General Nugent.
Lord Heathfield.
General Craig.
General Dundas.

Disapprove.

Lieutenant-General Nicholls.
Earl Pembroke.
Earl of Moira.

(Signed)
D. DUNDAS, President.

My reason for considering the armistice as advisable on the 22d of August was, because the enemy had been able to retire after the battle of the 21st, and take a strong defensive position.

OL. NICHOLLS, L. G.

I think, considering the great increase of our force from the first suspension of hostility to the definitive signing of the convention, added to the defeat the enemy had suffered, sir Hew Dalrymple was fully entitled to have insisted upon more favourable terms.

OL. NICHOLLS, L. G.

I approve of the armistice, after a due consideration of the relative situations of the two armies on the evening of the 22d of August, but I cannot fully approve of the whole of the convention, after a due consideration of the relative situation of the two armies at that time; because it does not appear to me that, in the progress of the negociation, sufficient stress was laid upon the great advantages which had resulted, or were likely to result, from the former successful operations of the British army in the field, from the considerable reinforcements which had joined it, subsequent to the commencement of the negociation, from the cause in which the British army was engaged being the cause of Portugal, which had good reason to reckon upon the good will, if not upon the active assistance, of the majority of the inhabitants; and also, from the unusual readiness which, as it appears to me, was manifested by general Junot to enter into negociation, and by the French negociator to accede to terms as they were proposed, and to such construction as lieut.-gen. sir Hew Dalrymple put upon them in some instances, where they might have borne a difference of interpetration. I therefore think it probable, for the above reasons, that if less favourable terms to the French army had been insisted upon, they would have been acceded to.

PEMBROKE, Lieut. Gen.

I feel less awkwardness in obeying the order to detail my sentiments on the nature of the convention, because that I have already joined in the tribute of applause due in other respects to the officers concerned. My opinion, therefore, is only opposite to theirs on a question of judgment, where their talents are likely to have so much more weight, as to render the profession of my difference, even on that point, somewhat painful. The duty is, however, imperious on me not to disguise or qualify the deductions which I have made during this investigation.

An armistice simply might not have been objectionable, because sir Hew Dalrymple, expecting hourly the arrival of sir John Moore's division, might see more advantage for himself in a short suspension of hostilities than what the French could draw from it. But as the armistice involved, and

in fact established the whole principle of the convention, I cannot separate it from the latter.

Sir A. Wellesley has stated, that he considered his force, at the commencement of the march from Mondego river, as sufficient to drive the French from their positions on the Tagus. That force is subsequently joined by above 4000 British troops, under generals Anstruther and Ackland. The French make an attack with their whole disposable strength, and are repulsed with heavy loss, though but a part of the British army is brought into action. It is difficult to conceive that the prospects which sir A. Wellesley entertained could be unfavourably altered by these events, even had not the certainty of speedy reinforcements to the British army existed.

It is urged, that had the French been pushed to extremity they would have crossed the Tagus, and have protracted the campaign in such a manner as to have frustrated the more important view of the British generals—namely, sending succours into Spain.

This measure must have been equally feasible for the French if no victory had been obtained over them; but I confess that the chance of such an attempt seems to me assumed against probability. Sir Hew Dalrymple notices what he calls "the critical and embarrassed state of Junot," before that general has been pressed by the British army; and, in explanation of that expression, observes, that the surrender of Dupont, the existence of the victorious Spanish army in Andalusia, which cut off the retreat of the French in that direction, and the universal hostility of the Portuguese, made the situation of Junot one of great distress. No temptation for the translation of the war into Alentejo presents itself from this picture; nor does any representation give ground to suppose that Junot could have contemplated the measure as holding forth any prospect but ultimate ruin, after much preliminary distress and disgrace. The strongest of all proofs as to Junot's opinion arises from his sending the very morning after the battle of Vimiera, to propose the evacuation of Portugal; a step which sufficiently indicated that he was satisfied he could not only make no effectual defence, but could not even prolong the contest to take the chance of accidents. He seems, indeed, to have been without any real resource.

It appears in evidence, that of the troops left by him in Lisbon and the forts, a considerable proportion were of very doubtful quality. Those troops on whose fidelity he could confide had been dismayed by a signal defeat, and they were sensible that they had no succour to look to from abroad. To the British generals it was known, when the armistice was granted, that 10,000 men under sir J. Moore, as well as the 3d and 42d regiments of foot, with the 18th dragoons, might be immediately reckoned upon; and although much advantage had not been drawn from the Portuguese troops, their support, and the general violence of the country against the French, cannot be laid out of this calculation.

The disparity of force and of circumstances was then such as could leave no doubt that the issue must be favourable to us. I do not omit advertence to the difficulties

ties urged as possible to occur in furnishing the British army with bread. But, putting aside the obvious solution, that such a temporary privation is not ruinous to an army where cattle can be procured in the country, this difficulty cannot be well pleaded, if admission is to be given to the speculation, that the heavy cannon necessary for battering forts St. Julien and Cascacs were to be got ashore in the bays of the rock of Lisbon. The question then comes to this: whether the convention did (as has been asserted) secure all the objects which were proposed in the expedition? If it did not, it was not what his majesty was entitled to expect from the relative situation of the two armies.

I humbly conceive it to have been erroneous to regard the emancipation of Portugal from the French as the sole or the principal object of the expedition. Upon whatever territory we contend with the French, it must be a prominent object in the struggle to destroy their resources, and to narrow their means of injuring us, or those whose cause we are supporting. This seems to have been so little considered in the convention, that the terms appear to have extricated Junot's army from a situation of infinite distress, in which it was wholly out of play, and to have brought it in a state of entire equipment, into immediate currency, in a quarter too, where it must interfere with our most urgent and interesting concerns.

Had it been impracticable to reduce the French army to lay down its arms unconditionally, still an obligation not to serve for a specified time might have been insisted upon, or Belleisle might have been prescribed as the place at which they should be landed, in order to prevent the possibility of their reinforcing (at least for a long time) the armies employed for the subjugation of Spain. Perhaps a stronger consideration than the merit of those terms presents itself. Opinion relative to the British arms was of the highest importance, as it might influence the confidence of the Spaniards, or invite the nations groaning under the yoke of France to appeal to this country, and co-operate with it for their deliverance. The advantages ought, therefore, to have been more than usually great, which should be deemed sufficient to balance the objection of granting to a very inferior army, hopeless in circumstances, and broken in spirit, such terms as might argue, that notwithstanding its disparity in numbers, it was still formidable to its victors. No advantages seem to have been gained that would not have equally followed from forcing the enemy to a more marked submission. The gain of time as to sending succours into Spain cannot be admitted as a plea; because it appears that no arrangements for the reception of our troops in Spain had been undertaken previous to the convention; and this is without reasoning on subsequent facts.

The convention in Egypt, which has been advanced as a parallel case, appears to me inapplicable. No object beyond the dislodgement of the French from Egypt was there in question. In the present instance, the operation of the convention upon the affairs of Spain was a consideration of primary interest; and in that view, the inevitable effect of some of the articles offers itself to my mind as liable to material objection.

I trust

I trust that these reasons will vindicate me from the charge of presumption, in maintaining an opinion contradictory to that professed by so many most respectable officers: for, even if the reasons be essentially erroneous, if they are conclusive to my mind (as I conscientiously affirm them to be), it is a necessary consequence that I must disapprove the convention.

Dec. 27. MOIRA, General.

His Majesty's Opinion on the Convention of Cintra.

The following are the terms in which his majesty has expressed his disapprobation to sir H. Dalrymple, of certain parts of the convention of Cintra.

The king has taken into his consideration the report of the board of inquiry, together with the documents and opinions thereunto annexed.

While his majesty adopts the unanimous opinion of the board, that no farther military proceeding is necessary to be had upon the transactions referred to their investigation, his majesty does not intend thereby to convey an expression of his majesty's satisfaction at the terms and conditions of the armistice and convention.

When those instruments were first laid before his majesty, the king, reserving for investigation those parts of the definitive convention in which his majesty's immediate interests were concerned, caused it to be signified to sir Hew Dalrymple, by his majesty's secretary of state, that his majesty, nevertheless, felt himself compelled at once to express his disapprobation of those articles, in which stipulations were made, directly affecting the interests or feelings of the Spanish and Portuguese nations.

At the close of the inquiry, the king, abstaining from any observations upon other parts of the convention, repeats his disapprobation of those articles; his majesty deeming it necessary that his sentiments should be clearly understood, as to the impropriety and danger of the unauthorised admission, into military conventions, of articles of such a description, which, especially when incautiously framed, may lead to the most injurious consequences.

His majesty cannot forbear further to observe, that lieutenant-general sir Hew Dalrymple's delaying to transmit for his information the armistice concluded on the 22d August, until the 4th of September, when he, at the same time, transmitted the ratified convention, was calculated to produce great public inconvenience, and that such inconvenience did in fact result therefrom.

Admiralty-office, Dec. 13.

A dispatch has been received from general Stuart, at Messina, containing an inclosure from lieutenant Bryce, which details the particulars of a successful attack made on Diamante harbour, by a small expedition supported by the Halcyon and Weazel sloops, &c.

Off Diamante, Sept. 8.

Sir, I do myself the honour to acquaint you, that the detachment you were pleased to put under my orders has successfully executed the service in view, by capturing, in conjunction with captain Pearce, of the royal navy, a flotilla of 38 sail of the enemy's vessels, of which four

four are large gun-boats, under the town of Diamante, where they had been blockaded with much perseverance by captain Prescott, of the Weazel. On our arrival, I found the position of the enemy very respectable, as the town of Diamante, which covered the vessels, ranged on the right and left of it, stands on a peninsula nearly inaccessible on three sides; the fourth is protected by different inclosures; and there is, besides, a building of considerable strength commanding the whole. After the building had been cannonaded for some time by captains Pearce and Rescold, of the royal navy, and the chevalier de Balsamo, commander of a Sicilian galliot, who were indefatigable in their exertions, 250 men of the regiment of Malta, under major Hammill, and 100 of the 58th regiment under captain O'Brien, were landed at day-break this morning, about half a mile to the northward of the town, accompanied by a howitzer and two three-pounders, commanded by captain Campbell of the royal artillery. The enemy, who consisted of about 400 men of the civic guard, with a proportion of French troops, were gradually forced back through the underwood upon the town; which, however, they did not attempt to defend, but took to the mountains: and we were enabled to turn their batteries, of four heavy guns, on the beach to the southward of the town, without sustaining any loss, when the whole of their vessels fell into our hands. I beg leave to express great satisfaction with the judicious conduct of major Hammill; and thanks are due to captain Campbell, commanding the artillery, captain O'Brien, commanding the 58th, and lieut. Lawson of the engineers, who did me the favour to attend me on shore.

ALEX. BRYCE, Lt.-col. R. E.

LIST OF THE PRINCIPAL PUBLIC ACTS

Passed in the second Session of the fourth Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.—48th of George III.

An act for regulating the issuing and paying off of exchequer bills.

An act for continuing to his majesty certain duties on malt, sugar, tobacco, and snuff, in Great Britain; and on pensions and offices in England; and for repealing so much of certain acts as relate to certain duties of sixpence and one shilling respectively on offices and pensions, and for regranting the said duties of sixpence and one shilling respectively, and the said other duties, for the service of the year 1808.

An act for empowering the governor and company of the bank of England to advance the sum of three millions, towards the supply for the service of the year 1808.

An act to authorise the advancing, for the public service, upon certain conditions, a proportion of the balance remaining in the bank of England for payment of unclaimed dividends, annuities, and lottery prizes; and for regulating the allowances to be paid for the management of the national debt.

An act for repealing an act made in the 47th year of his present majesty, intituled, "An act for suspending the operation of an act of the 36th year of his present majesty, for the further support and maintenance of curates within the church of England, and for other purposes in the said act mentioned,

so

so far as relates to the avoidance of benefices by the incumbents thereof having accepted augmented curacies.

An act for raising the sum of 10,500,000*l.* by exchequer bills, for the service of Great Britain for the year 1808.

An act for permitting the importation of goods from the Portuguese territories on the continent of South America in Portuguese ships.

An act to amend and continue, until the 25th of March, 1809, so much of an act of the 47th year of his present majesty as allows certain bounties on British plantation raw sugar exported.

An act for settling and securing a certain annuity on viscount Lake, and the two next persons to whom the title of viscount Lake shall descend, in consideration of the eminent services of the late general viscount Lake.

An act for making perpetual several laws relating to permitting the exportation of tobacco pipe clay from Great Britain to the British sugar colonies in the West Indies; the importation of salt from Europe into Quebec in America; and the prohibiting of foreign-wrought silks and velvets.

An act to continue several laws relating to the granting a bounty on the importation into Great Britain of hemp, and rough and undressed flax, from his majesty's colonies in America; and to the more effectually encouraging the manufacture of flax and cotton in Great Britain until the 25th of March, 1810; and for granting a bounty upon certain species of British and Irish linens exported from Great Britain, and taking off the duties on importation into Great Britain of foreign raw linen yarns made of flax, until the 25th of March, 1811.

An act for further continuing, until three months after the ratification of a definitive treaty of peace, an act made in the 44th year of his present majesty, for permitting the importation into Great Britain of hides and other articles in foreign ships.

An act to prohibit, until the end of the next session of parliament, the exportation of Jesuits' bark and cotton wool from Ireland.

An act to extend the provisions of an act, made in the 45th year of his present majesty's reign, for preventing the counterfeiting of certain silver tokens to certain other tokens which may be issued by the governor and company of the bank of Ireland, and to promote the circulation of the said last-mentioned tokens.

An act to prohibit, until the end of the next session of parliament, the exportation of Jesuits' bark from Great Britain.

An act to prohibit, until the end of the next session of parliament, the exportation of cotton wool from Great Britain.

An act for imposing, until the end of the next session of parliament, a duty on cotton wool, the growth of the British colonies, exported from Great Britain.

An act for making valid certain orders in council, and warrants of the commissioners of the treasury, for the entry and warehousing of certain goods imported in neutral vessels, and for indemnifying all persons concerned therein; for the remitting of forfeitures in certain cases; and for enabling his majesty to allow, during the continuance of hostilities, and until two months after the commencement of the next session of parliament,

ment, the importation of goods from countries from which the British flag is excluded, in any vessels whatever.

An act to grant to his majesty certain duties and taxes in Ireland, in respect of carriages, dogs, fire hearths, horses, male servants, and windows, in lieu of former duties and taxes, in respect of the like articles.

An act to prevent the exportation of wood to Ireland, before bond given for the due landing thereof.

An act for quitting possessions and confirming defective titles in Ireland, and limiting the right of the crown to sue in manner therein mentioned; and for the relief of incumbents in respect of arrears due to the crown during the incumbency of their predecessors.

An act for accelerating the making up, examination, and audit, of the accounts of the paymaster general of his majesty's forces.

An act to suspend the granting of offices in reversion, or for joint lives with benefit of survivorship, for one year after the passing of this act, and from thence until six weeks after the commencement of the then next session of parliament.

An act for raising the sum of three millions by exchequer bills, for the service of Great Britain for the year 1808.

An act for raising the sum of 1,500,000*l.* by exchequer bills, for the service of Great Britain for the year 1808.

An act for repealing the duties of assessed taxes, and granting new duties in lieu thereof, and also for repealing the stamp duties on game certificates, and granting new duties in lieu thereof.

An act for amending the law with regard to the course of proceeding on indictments and informations in the court of king's bench in certain cases: for authorising the execution in Scotland of certain warrants issued for offences committed in England; and for requiring officers taking bail in the king's suit to assign the bail bonds to the king.

An act for enabling his majesty to settle an annuity on her royal highness the duchess of Brunswick Wolfenbuttel.

An act for repealing an act passed in the 1st year of king James the 1st, intituled, "An act concerning tanners, curriers, shoemakers, and other artificers occupying the cutting of leather;" and also for repealing and amending certain parts of several other acts of parliament relating thereto.

An act to continue, until the end of the next session of parliament, an act of the 45th year of his present majesty, for appointing commissioners to inquire into the public expenditure, and the conduct of the public business in the military departments therein mentioned.

An act to amend an act made in the 46th year of his present majesty, for enabling his majesty to accept the services of volunteers from the militia of Ireland.

An act for enforcing the residence of spiritual persons on their benefices in Ireland.

An act for granting an additional duty on copper imported into Great Britain, until the 5th of April, 1811, and from thence to the end of the then next session of parliament.

An act to provide that the British ships which shall be captured by the enemy, and shall afterwards become the property of British subjects, shall not be intituled to the privilege of British ships.

An

An act to amend so much of two acts of this session of parliament, for carrying into execution certain orders in council, as relates to the duties on goods exported from the warehouses in which they have been secured on importation, and on certain prize goods imported into Great Britain or Ireland.

An act for providing suitable interment in church yards or parochial burying grounds in England for such dead human bodies as may be cast on shore from the sea, in cases of wreck or otherwise.

An act for raising the sum of 10,500,000*l.* by way of annuities.

An act to enable his majesty to vest the right of appointment of master of the free school of Londonderry, in the city and county of Londonderry, in the bishop of Derry for the time being.

An act to regulate the trade between Great Britain and the United States of America, until the end of the next session of parliament.

An act for repealing the rates and taxes taken by licensed hackney coachmen, and for establishing others in lieu thereof; and for amending several laws relating to hackney coaches.

An act to restrain the negociation of promissory notes and inland bills of exchange, under a limited sum, in England.

An act for enabling the commissioners appointed to examine accounts of public expenditure in the barrack office more speedily and effectually to investigate the said accounts.

An act to enable the commissioners for auditing public accounts, and the commissioners for the affairs of barracks respectively, to send and receive letters and packets on the business of their offices free of postage.

An act to repeal so much of an act, made in the 47th year of his present majesty, for charging the sum of 12,200,000*l.* raised for the service of Great Britain for the year 1807, upon the duties of customs and excise granted to his majesty, during the continuance of the present war, as relates to money issued for charges of management of stock redeemed.

An act to repeal so much of an act of the 1st year of king James I. as relates to the penalties on shooting at hares; and also to repeal an act of the 3d year of king George I. relating to game-keepers.

An act for repealing so much of an act made in the parliament of Scotland, in the fourth session of the first parliament of queen Anne, intituled, "Act for preserving the game," as relates to the shooting of hares.

An act for the better care and maintenance of lunatics, being paupers or criminals in England.

An act for further extending the provisions of several acts, for establishing the bank of Ireland; and for empowering the governor and company of the said bank to advance the sum of 1,250,000*l.* Irish currency, towards the service of the year 1808.

An act to remedy the inconvenience which has arisen, and may arise, from the expiration of acts, before the passing of acts to continue the same.

An act for enabling his majesty to establish a permanent local militia force, under certain restrictions, for the defence of the realm.

An act for raising the sum of 500,000*l.* by treasury bills for the service of Ireland for the year 1808.

An

An act for raising the sum of six millions, by exchequer bills, for the service of Great Britain for the year 1808.

An act to prohibit the distillation of spirits from corn or grain, for a limited time.

An act for regulating the charging of the duty on spirits imported into Great Britain, according to the strength thereof.

An act for reducing the duty of customs on coffee imported into Great Britain when taken out of warehouse for home consumption.

An act for the discharge of debtors in execution for small debts from imprisonment, in certain cases.

An act to render valid certain marriages solemnized in certain churches and public chapels in which the banns had not usually been published before or at the time of passing an act made in the 26th year of the reign of his late majesty king George II. intituled, "An act for the better preventing of clandestine marriages."

An act to repeal so much of an act passed in the 8th year of the reign of queen Elisabeth, entitled "An act to take away the benefit of clergy from certain offenders for felony," as takes away the benefit of clergy from persons stealing privily from the person of another; and for more effectually preventing the crime of larceny from the person.

An act to extend the provisions of an act, passed in the 45th year of his present majesty, for the encouragement of seamen and better manning his majesty's navy, to cases arising in consequence of hostilities commenced since the passing of the said act.

An act for enlarging the times appointed for the first meetings of commissioners and other persons for putting in execution certain acts of this session of parliament.

An act to amend the laws relating to the marking of bags and packets of hops.

An act to amend and enlarge the powers of an act of the 46th year of his present majesty, for consolidating and rendering more effectual the several acts for the purchase of buildings and further improvement of the streets and places near to Westminster-hall and the two houses of parliament.

An act for the more effectual administration of the office of a justice of the peace, and for the more effectual prevention of felonies within the district of Dublin metropolis.

An act to amend the acts relating to the duties of assessed taxes, and of the tax upon the profits of property, professions, trades, and offices, and to regulate the assessment and collection of the same.

An act for enabling the commissioners for the reduction of the national debt to grant life annuities.

An act for the more effectual protection of oyster fisheries and the brood of oysters in England.

An act for enabling his majesty to grant annuities to the judges of the court of session, justiciary, and exchequer in Scotland, upon the resignation of their offices.

An act for granting to his majesty a certain sum of money out of the consolidated fund of Great Britain, and for applying certain monies therein mentioned for the service of the year 1808; and for further appropriating the supplies granted in this session of parliament.

An act for repealing the stamp duties on deeds, law proceedings, and

and other written or printed instruments, and the duties on legacies and successions to personal estates upon intestacies, now payable in Great Britain; and for granting new duties in lieu thereof.

An act for enabling his majesty to establish a permanent local militia force in Scotland, under certain restrictions, for the defence of the realm.

An act concerning the administration of justice in Scotland, and concerning appeals to the house of lords.

LITERARY SELECTIONS

AND

RETROSPECT.

BIOGRAPHICAL

ANECDOTES AND CHARACTERS.

Literary Character of Mr. Fox.

[From Lord Holland's Introduction to his History.]

"THE precise period at which Mr. Fox first formed the design of writing a history, cannot be ascertained. In the year 1797, he announced publicly his intention of devoting "a greater* portion of "his time to his private pursuits:" he was even on the point of relinquishing his seat in parliament, and retiring altogether from public life, a plan which he had formed many years before, and to the execution of which he always looked forward with the greatest delight. The remonstrances, however, of those friends, for whose judgment he had the greatest deference, ultimately prevailed. He consequently confined his scheme of retreat to a more uninterrupted residence in the country, than he had hitherto permitted himself to enjoy. During his retirement, that love of literature, and fondness of poetry, which neither pleasure nor business had ever extinguished, revived with an ardour, such as few in the eagerness of youth, or in pursuit of fame or advantage, are capable of feeling. For some time, however, his studies were not directed to any particular object. Such was the happy disposition of his mind, that his own reflections, whether supplied by conversation, desultory reading, or the common occurrences of a life in the country, were always sufficient to call forth the vigour and exertion of his faculties. Intercourse with the world had so little deadened in him the sense of the simplest enjoyments, that even in the hours of apparent leisure and inactivity, he retained that keen relish of existence, which, after the first impressions of life, is so rarely excited but by great interests and strong passions. Hence it was, that in the interval between his active attendance in parliament, and the undertaking of his history, he

* Vide Parliamentary Debates, May 26, 1797.

never felt the tedium of a vacant day. A verse in Cowper, which he frequently repeated,

> How various his employments whom the world
> Calls idle!

was an accurate description of the life he was then leading; and I am persuaded, that if he had consulted his own gratifications only, it would have continued to be so. The circumstances which led him once more to take an active part in public discussions, are foreign to the purpose of this preface. It is sufficient to remark, that they could not be foreseen, and that his notion of engaging in some literary undertaking was adopted during his retirement, and with the prospect of long uninterrupted leisure before him. When he had determined upon employing some part of it in writing, he was no doubt actuated by a variety of considerations, in the choice of the task he should undertake. His philosophy had never rendered him insensible to the gratification which the hope of posthumous fame so often produces in great minds; and, though criticism might be more congenial to the habits and amusements of his retreat, an historical work seemed more of a piece with the tenour of his former life, and might prove of greater benefit to the public, and to posterity. These motives, together with his intimate knowledge of the English constitution, naturally led him to prefer the history of his own country, and to select a period favourable to the illustration of the great general principles of freedom, on which it is founded; for his attachment to those principles, the result of practical observation, as well as philosophical reflection, far from having abated, had acquired new force and fresh vigour in his retirement.

"With these views it was almost impossible that he should not fix on the revolution of 1688. The event was cheering and animating. It was the most signal triumph of that cause to which his public life had been devoted; and in a review of its progress, he could not fail to recognize those principles which had regulated his own political conduct. But the choice of that period was recommended by yet higher considerations; the desire of rescuing from misrepresentation, the most glorious transaction of our history; the opportunity of instructing his countrymen in the real nature of their constitution; and the hope of impressing on mankind those lessons applicable to all times, which are to be drawn from that memorable occurrence.

"The manner in which the most popular historians, and other writers of eminence, had treated the subject, was likely to stimulate him more strongly to such an undertaking. It could not escape the observation of Mr. Fox, that some, from the bias of their individual opinions, had given a false colour to the whole transaction; that others had wilfully distorted the facts to serve some temporary purpose; and that Bolingbroke, in particular, had confounded the distinct and even opposite views of the two leading parties, who, though they concurred in the measure, retained even in their union, all their respective tenets and fundamental distinctions.

"According to his first crude conceptions of the work, it would, as far as I recollect, have begun at the Revolution; but he altered his mind, after a careful perusal of the latter part of Hume's history. An appre-

apprehension of the false impressions, which that great historian's partiality might have left on the minds of his readers, induced him to go back to the accession of King James the Second, and even to prefix an introductory chapter, on the character and leading events, of the times immediately preceding.

"From the moment his labour commenced, he generally spoke of his plan as extending no farther than the settlement at the Revolution. His friends, however, were not without hopes, that the habit of composition might engage him more deeply in literary undertakings, or that the different views which the course of his enquiries would open, might ultimately allure him on further in the history of his country. Some casual expressions, both in conversation and correspondence, seemed to imply that the possibility of such a result was not entirely out of his own contemplation. He acknowledged that some papers which I had the good fortune to procure in Spain, "though "they did not relate to his period "exactly, might be very useful to "him, and at all events entertain-"ing; nay, possibly, that they "might make him go on further "than he intended."*—As his work advanced, his allusions to various literary projects, such as an edition of Dryden, a Defence of Racine and the French Stage, Essay on the Beauties of Euripides, &c. &c. became more frequent and were more confidently expressed. In a letter written to me in 1803, after observing, that a modern writer did not sufficiently admire Racine, he adds "It puts me quite in a passion. "*Je veux contre eux faire un jour* "*un gros livre*, as Voltaire says. "Even Dryden, who speaks with "proper respect of Corneille *villi-*"*pends*† Racine. If ever I pub-"lish my edition of his works, I "will give it him for it, you may "depend. Oh how I wish that I "could make up my mind to think "it right, to devote all the remain-"ing part of my life to such sub-"jects, and such only! Indeed I "rather think I shall; and yet, if "there were a chance of re-esta-"blishing a strong whig party, "(however composed)

"Non adeo has exosa manus victoria fugit
"Ut tantâ quicquam pro spe tentare recusem."

"Even while his undertaking was yet fresh, in the course of an enquiry into some matters relating to the trial of Somerset in King James the First's reign, he says to his correspondent, "but what is all this, "you will say, to my history? "Certainly nothing; but one his-"torical enquiry leads to another; "and I recollect that the impres-"sion upon my mind was, that "there was more reason than is "generally allowed, for suspecting "that prince Henry was poisoned "by Somerset, and that the king "knew of it after the fact. This is "not, to be sure, to my present pur-"pose; but I have thought of pre-"fixing to my work, if it ever "should be finished, a disquisition "upon Hume's History of the "Stewarts, and in no part of it "would his partiality appear strong-"er, than in James the First."‡

"About the same time he talked

* MS. Correspondence.
† Mr. Fox often used this word in ridicule of pedantic expressions.
‡ MS. Correspondence to Lord Lauderdale.

of

of writing, either in the form of a dedication or a dialogue, a treatise on the three arts of Poetry, History, and Oratory; which, to my surprise, he classed in the order I have related. The plan of such a work seemed, in a great measure, to be digested in his head, and from the sketch he drew of his design to me, it would, if completed, have been an invaluable monument of the great originality of thought, and singular philosophical acuteness, with which he was accustomed to treat of subjects in his most careless conversations. But though a variety of literary projects might occasionally come across him, he was very cautious of promising too much; for he was aware, that whatever he undertook, his progress in it would necessarily be extremely slow. He could not but foresee, that as new events arose, his friends would urge him to return to politics; and though his own inclinations might enable him to resist their entreaties, the very discussion on the propriety of yielding, would produce an attention to the state of public affairs, and divert him in some degree from the pursuit in which he was engaged. But it was yet more difficult to fortify himself against the seductions of his own inclination, which was continually drawing him off from his historical researches, to critical enquiries, to the study of the classics, and to works of imagination and poetry. Abundant proof exists of the effect of these interruptions, both on his labours and on his mind. His letters are filled with complaints, of such as arose from politics, while he speaks with delight and complacency of whole days devoted to Euripides and Virgil.

" The scale which his various pursuits occupied in his estimation, is very naturally described in several of his letters. And as it is not entirely foreign to the purpose of this preface, my readers may not be displeased with the insertion of one, as a specimen of his familiar correspondence.

" Dear Grey,

" In defence of my opinion " about the nightingales, I find " Chaucer, who of all poets seems " to have been fondest of the singing birds, calls it a *merry* note; " and though Theocritus mentions " nightingales six or seven times, " he mentions their note as plaintive or melancholy. It is true, " he does not call it any where " merry, as Chaucer does; but by " mentioning it with the song of " the blackbird, and as answering " it, he seems to imply, that it was " a chearful note. Sophocles is " against us; but even *he* says, lamenting *Itys*, and the compa- " parison of her to Electra, is rather as to perseverance day and " night, than as to sorrow. At all " events, a tragic poet is not half so " good authority in this question, as " Theocritus and Chaucer. I cannot light upon the passage in the " Odyssey, where Penelope's restlessness is compared to the nightingale; but I am sure that it is " only as to restlessness and watchfulness, that he makes the comparison. If you will read the " last twelve books of the Odyssey, " you will certainly find it, and I " am sure you will be paid for your " hunt, whether you find it or not. " The passage in Chaucer is in the " Flower and Leaf, p. 99. The " one I particularly allude to in " Theocritus, is in his epigrams, I " think in the fourth. Dryden has " transferred the word *merry* to the " goldfinch, in the Flower and the Leaf;

"Leaf; in deference, may be, to "the vulgar error; but pray read "his description of the nightingale "there: it is quite delightful. I "am afraid I like these researches "as much better than those that re- "late to Shaftesbury, Sunderland, "&c. as I do those better than "attending the House of Com- "mons. "Your's, affectionately,

"C. J. FOX."

"The fact is, he struggled so little against such inclinations, that when pressed to sacrifice his Greek studies for a time, he answers, "I "have no thoughts of throwing "away my Greek books, and would "give up the whole plan if I thought "it incompatible with my giving "a little time to them."*

"But it was not merely the interference of other occupations, whether of business or amusement, that impeded the progress of his work.

"He knew by experience, that he was as slow in composition as he was rapid in public speaking. He had employed many days in writing his letter to the electors of Westminster, in 1793; and even the publication of his speech† on the late Duke of Bedford, (the only instance in which he ever revised what he had delivered in public) occupied a greater portion of his time than could be easily imagined, by those who were unacquainted with his scrupulous attention to all the niceties of language. In addition to these circumstances he soon perceived that his scrupulous exactness, with respect to all the circumstances of any fact which he was obliged either to relate or advert to, would retard him by the multiplicity and minuteness of the researches it would occasion.—"History goes on, (he remarked) "but it goes on very slowly. The "fact is, I am a very slow writer, "but I promise I will persevere. "I believe I am too scrupulous "both about language and facts; "though with respect to the latter, "it is hardly possible. It is asto- "nishing how many facts one finds "related, for which there is no au- "thority whatever. Tradition, you "will say, does in some cases, but it "will not apply to others."‡

"Even while he was employed on the Introduction, in which, "as "it was rather a discussion alluding to "known facts, than a minute en- "quiry into disputed points,"§ he acknowledged that it was not so important to be exact to a nicety; he nevertheless found some difficulty in tracing the information of historians to their original sources. Upon this, as upon all other occasions, where he stood in need of active assistance, he had recourse to the advice and friendship of Lord Lauderdale; and the following letter was the first step he took in those researches, which, after a long series of enquiries, enabled him both

* MS. Correspondence.

† Having mentioned these works, I take this opportunity of adding, that with the exception of the 14th, 16th, and perhaps a few other numbers of a periodical publication in 1799, called the Englishman, and an epitaph on the late Bishop of Downe, they are the only pieces of prose he ever printed; unless, indeed, one were to reckon his advertisements to electors, and the parliamentary papers which he may have drawn up.

There are several specimens of his composition in verse, in different languages; but the lines on Mrs. Crewe, and those to Mrs. Fox, on her birthday, are, as far as I recollect, all that have been printed. An Ode to Poverty, and an Epigram upon Gibbon, though very generally attributed to him, are certainly not his compositions.

‡ MS. Correspondence.

§ MS. Correspondence.

to

to ascertain the nature, and the fate of the Scotch college manuscripts, and to procure a valuable collection of papers from the Depôt of Foreign Affairs at Paris.

*To the Earl of Lauderdale.**

" Dear Lauderdale,

" I am seriously thinking of be-
" coming an historian, and have in-
" deed begun; but my progress
" is so little, that it is not worth
" mentioning, except upon the
" principle of *dimidium qui cepit.*
" As to what people may expect,
" I know not. If much, they will
" be disappointed; but I certainly
" do intend to decline the labour of
" any search, which I am able to
" make, and much less to refuse any
" assistance I can have in such re-
" search. I hope, therefore, you
" will not be satisfied with merely
" recommending to me to make use
" of assistance, but give me some
" hint of what nature, and from
" whom I may get it. To enable
" you to do this better, it is neces-
" sary to inform you, that the death
" of Charles the Second is the period
" from which I commence my his-
" tory; though in my introduction,
" I take a pretty full view of his
" reign, and, consequently, should
" be glad enough to get new lights
" with regard to it. Even this in-
" troductory chapter, however, is
" not yet finished. Next, it is fit
" you should know, that so far from
" having as yet examined, or even
" looked into any manuscript pa-
" pers, or other documents not ge-
" nerally known, I do not even
" know where any such exist, and,
" therefore, any information on that
" head will be very welcome. I find
" one of my greatest difficulties to
" be, how to discover the autho-
" rities upon which historians ad-
" vance their facts, for they very
" often do not refer to them. Hi-
" therto, where I am only taking a
" cursory review, this is of no great
" importance. But in regard to the
" Popish and Rye-house plots parti-
" cularly, I find both Rapin and
" Hume advancing so many facts,
" for which I cannot guess their au-
" thorities, that if I were to give a
" regular history of these transac-
" tions, I should be much puzzled.
" Now, when I am under difficul-
" ties of this sort, can you either
" direct me to whom I can apply
" for a solution of them? or, if I
" send queries to you, can you give
" me answers to them?"

" With both the above requests Lord Lauderdale complied; and by his own diligence, and the assistance of Mr. Laing, was enabled to transmit to Mr. Fox much useful information. In a very short time afterwards that gentleman published his History of Scotland, a work which Mr. Fox emphatically termed " a treasure," and which so animated his labours, by opening new sources of information, and new views of transactions, that at no period was he so ardent in the prosecution of his plan, as when fresh from the perusal of that valuable performance. The advantages he derived from it he frequently declared to be incalculable; and it certainly was not among the least, that it afforded him an opportunity of cultivating the friendship of the author, and consulting him on many points connected with his own undertaking. As the early part of his correspondence is of a general nature, I subjoin his first letter, and an extract from the second.

* This letter was written in the beginning of the year 1800.

To Malcolm Laing, Esq.

"SIR,

"I ought long since to have acknowledged the receipt of your "History of Scotland, and to have "returned you my thanks for your "early communication to me of that "excellent work. It has given me "the greatest satisfaction; and "there are several points relating "to *English* history in it, which "you appear to me to have cleared "up much more than any other of "those historians who have professedly treated of them.

"What you say in answer to "Hume, upon the subject of Glamorgan's powers, is quite conclusive; but I rather regret that "you have not taken notice of that "part of his argument which is "built upon what he calls Glamorgan's defeazance, and which is "the most plausible part of it.

"In Charles the Second's reign "I observe, that you do not mention the atrocious case of Wier, "which Hume details; but that "which you say of Laurie Blackwood is very like what he relates "of Wier. Would it be too much "trouble to ask of you to let me "know whether Hume's statement "of Wier is a correct one?

"I had detected the trick of "Hume's theatrical and false representation of Charles the First "hearing the noise of his scaffold, "but did not know that he had had "Herbert's authentic account so "lately under his eye. In general, "I think you treat him (Hume) "too tenderly. He was an excellent man, and of great powers of "mind, but his partiality to kings "and princes is intolerable. Nay, "it is, in my opinion, quite ridiculous, and is more like the foolish "admiration which women and "children sometimes have for kings, "than the opinion, right or wrong, "of a philosopher.

"I wanted no conviction on "the point of Ossian; but if I had, "you afforded abundance.

"Whether your book, coming "out at a period when the principles upon which it appears to be "written are becoming so unfashionable, will be a popular one "or not, I know not; but to all "who wish to have a true knowledge of the history of your country, it is a most valuable acquisition, and will serve to counteract "the mischief which Hume, Dalrymple, Macpherson, Somerville, and others of your countrymen have done. You will easily "believe that I do not class Hume "with the others, except as to the "bad tendency of their representations.

"I shall desire my friend Lord "Lauderdale to transmit this to "you.

"I am with great regard,

"Your most obedient servant,

St. Anne's Hill, "C. J. FOX."

Sept. 24, 1800.

Extract from a second Letter to Mr. Laing.

"Many thanks to you, my dear "Sir, for yours of the 10th. I "have found the place in Ralph, "and a great deal more important "matter relative to the transactions "of those times, which is but "slightly touched by other historians. I am every day more and "more surprised, that Ralph should "have had so much less reputation "as an historian than he seems to "deserve.

"I will trouble you freely when "I shall have further questions to "ask; but I should take it very ill "if you were so to confine your answer to mere matter of reference,

as

"as not to give me your opinion, "when you form any, upon the "points in question."

"A correspondence ensued, from which it appears that he took indefatigable pains to investigate the authority for every assertion in the writers he consulted, and to correct the slightest variation in their accounts, though apparently of little importance. Before he drew any inference whatever, the weight of evidence was so carefully balanced in his mind, that the authority for each particular circumstance was separately examined, and distinctly ascertained. Indeed, the necessity and even use of such extreme circumspection, such scrupulous sifting of his most minute materials, might at first sight appear questionable. But many parts of the work are sufficient to prove that such labours were far from being fruitless. An instance is easily selected. His enquiries concerning the seizure and execution of the Earl of Argyle, are contained in the correspondence with Mr. Laing, and they are of the nature I have described; but on reading his narrative of those events, the advantages he derived from the circumstantial minuteness of his materials, will not be found less striking, than his diligence in procuring and analyzing them.

"One of the earliest and greatest difficulties that he encountered in the course of his labours, arose from the manner in which Mr. Macpherson and Sir J. Dalrymple had explained and conducted their respective publications, and which he always considered as unsatisfactory. His complaints of both these authors were frequent; and the more he examined and studied their books, the more he perceived the necessity of making some further researches. He was anxious, if possible, to consult the original documents from which their extracts were made; and he was at first apprehensive, that nothing short of an examination of all the manuscripts of the Scotch college at Paris, could enable him to determine the degree of credit due to the extracts of Macpherson. But he must very soon have despaired of obtaining that satisfaction, for he had strong reasons to suspect, even before his journey to Paris in 1802, that the most valuable part, if not the whole of them, had been destroyed. Three important points, however, might yet be ascertained:—1st, Of what the manuscripts, so long preserved in the Scotch college at Paris, actually consisted;—2ndly, To what part of them either Carte or Macpherson had access;—3dly, Whether any portion, copies, or fragments, of the papers were still in existence. The result of his enquiries will be best given in his own words, though upon the first point he had ascertained* something more than appears from the following extract of his letter to Mr. Laing.

"* Among Mr. Fox's papers was found a list of "the works which were placed "in the Scotch college at Paris, soon after the death of James the Second, and were "there at the time of the French Revolution." It is as follows:

"Four volumes folio, six volumes quarto—[Memoirs in James the Second's own hand writing, beginning from the time that he was sixteen years of age].

"Two thin quarto volumes—[Containing letters from Charles the Second's ministers to James the Second (then Duke of York), when he was at Brussels and in Scotland, MS.].

"Two thin quarto volumes—[Containing letters from Charles the Second to his brother, James Duke of York, MS.].

With

" With respect to Carte's extract, " I have no doubt but it is faithfully " copied; but on this extract it is " necessary to make an observation, " which applies to all the rest, both " of Carte's and Macpherson's, and " which leads to the detection of an " imposture of the latter, as impu- " dent as Ossian itself. The ex- " tracts are evidently made, not " from a journal, but from a narra- " tive; and *I have now ascertained* " *beyond all doubt*, that there were " in the Scotch College *two distinct* " manuscripts, one in James's own " hand, consisting of papers of dif- " ferent sizes bound up together, " and the other a sort of historical " narrative, compiled from the " former. The narrative was *said* " to have been revised and correct- " ed, as to style, by Dryden * the " poet, (meaning probably Charles " Dryden, the great poet's son) " and it was not known in the Col- " lege whether it was drawn up in " James's life, or by the direction of " his son, the Pretender. I doubt " whether Carte ever saw the ori- " ginal journal; but I learn, from " undoubted authority, that Mac- " pherson never did; and yet to " read his Preface, page 6 and 7, " (which pray advert to) one would " have supposed, not only that he " had inspected it accurately, but " that all *his* extracts at least, if not " Carte's also, were taken from it. " Macpherson's impudence in at- " tempting such an imposition at a " time when almost any man could " have detected him, would have " been in another man, incredible, if " the internal evidence of the ex- " tracts themselves against him were " not corroborated by the testimony " of the principal persons of the " College. And this leads me to a " point of more importance to me. " Principal Gordon thought, when " I saw him at Paris, in October, " 1802, that all the papers were " lost. I now hear from a well-in- " formed person, that the most ma- " terial, viz. those written in James's " own hand-writing, were indeed " lost, and in the way mentioned " by Gordon, but that the Narra- " tive, from which only Macpher- " son made his extracts, is still ex- " isting, and that Mr. Alexander " Cameron, Blackfriars Wynd, Edin- " burgh, either has it himself, or " knows where it is to be found."

" The above information was cor- rect. There is strong presumptive evidence, that the Manuscripts of King James the Second were de- stroyed, but the Narrative, as de- scribed, was then, and is now, in the hands of Dr. Cameron, Roman Catholic Bishop in Edinburgh. It could not be in possession of a per- son who is better qualified to judge of its merits, and on whose fidelity, should he be induced to print it, the public might more implicitly rely. I am indebted to his accuracy and friendship, for some additional infor- mation respecting the manner in which the Manuscripts of the Scotch College were lost. As the facts are in themselves curious, I lay before the reader his succinct and interest- ing relation of them, contained in a letter to me, dated Edinburgh, March 2, 1808.

" Before Lord Gower, the British " Embassador, left Paris, in the be- " ginning of the French Revolution, " he wrote to Principal Gordon, and " offered to take charge of those va-

* It is the opinion of the present possessor of the narrative, that it was compiled from the original documents by Thomas Innes, one of the superiors of the Col- lege, and author of a work entitled, *A Critical Essay on the ancient Inhabitants of Scotland.*

" luable

" luable papers, (King James's Ma-
" nuscripts, &c.) and deposit them
" in some place of safety in Britain.
" I know not what answer was re-
" turned, but nothing was done.
" Not long thereafter, the Principal
" came to England, and the care of
" every thing in the College devolv-
" ed on Mr. Alexander Innes, the
" only British subject who remained
" in it. About the same time, Mr.
" Stapelton, then President of the
" English College of St. Omer, af-
" terwards Bishop in England, went
" to Paris, previously to his retiring
" from France, and Mr. Innes, who
" had resolved not to abandon his
" post, consulted with him about
" the means of preserving the ma-
" nuscripts. Mr. Stapelton thought,
" if he had them at St. Omer, he
" could, with small risk convey them
" to England. It was therefore re-
" solved, that they should be care-
" fully packed up, addressed to a
" Frenchman, a confidential friend
" of Mr. Stapelton, and remitted
" by some public carriage. Some
" other things were put up with the
" Manuscripts. The whole arrived
" without any accident, and was laid
" in a cellar. But the patriotism of
" the Frenchman becoming suspici-
" ous, perhaps upon account of his
" connection with the English Col-
" lege, he was put in prison; and
" his wife, apprehensive of the con-
" sequences of being found to have
" English manuscripts, richly bound,
" and ornamented with royal arms,
" in her house, cut off the boards,
" and destroyed them. The Manu-
" scripts thus disfigured, and more
" easily huddled up in any sort of
" bundle, were secretly carried, with
" papers belonging to the French-
" man himself, to his country house;
" and buried in the garden. They
" were not, however, permitted to
" remain long there; the lady's
" fears increased, and the Manu-
" scripts were taken up and reduced
" to ashes.

" This is the substance of the ac-
" count given to Mr. Innes, and re-
" ported by him to me in June, 1802,
" in Paris. I desired it might be au-
" thenticated by a *proces verbale.*
" A letter was therefore written to
" St. Omer, either by Mr. Innes, or
" by Mr. Cleghorn, a lay gentleman,
" who had resided in the English
" College of St. Omer, and was per-
" sonally acquainted with the French-
" man, and happened to be at Paris
" at this time. The answer given to
" this letter was, that the good man,
" under the pressure of old age and
" other infirmities, was alarmed by
" the proposal of a discussion and
" investigation, which revived in his
" memory past sufferings, and might,
" perhaps, lead to a renewal of them.
" Any further correspondence upon
" the subject seemed useless, espe-
" cially as I instructed Mr. Innes to
" go to St. Omer, and clear up every
" doubt, in a formal and legal
" manner, that some authentic do-
" cument might be handed down to
" posterity concerning those valu-
" able manuscripts. I did not fore-
" see that war was to be kindled up
" anew, or that my friend Mr. Innes
" was to die so soon.

" Mr. Cleghorn, whom I men-
" tioned above, is at present in the
" Catholic seminary of Old Hall
" Green, Puckeridge, Hertfordshire.
" He can probably name another
" gentleman who saw the Manu-
" scripts at St. Omer, and saved
" some small things, (but uncon-
" nected with the Manuscripts)
" which he carried away in his
" pocket, and has still in his pos-
" session.

" I need not trouble your Lord-
" ship with my reflections upon this
" relation; but I ought not to omit

" that

" that I was told, sometimes, that all " the Manuscripts, as well as their " boards, were consumed by fire in " the cellar in which they had been " deposited upon their arrival at St. " Omer."

" The gentleman alluded to in the latter part of the above letter, is Mr. Mostyn, from whom Mr. Butler of Lincoln's Inn very kindly procured a statement of the particulars relating to this subject, in the year 1804, and transmitted it to Mr. Fox. It contains in substance, though with some additional circumstances and slight variations, the same account as Mr. Cameron's, up to the period of the writer's leaving St. Omer, which was previous to the imprisonment of the Frenchman. *

" Mr. Fox, in a letter to Mr. Laing, remarks, that, " to know " that a paper is lost, is next best to " getting a sight of it, and in some " instances nearly as good." So many rumours have been circulated, and so many misapprehensions prevailed, respecting the contents and the fate of the manuscripts formerly deposited in the Scotch College at Paris, that it is hoped the above account, the result of the Historian's researches, will not be deemed out of its place in a preface to a history of the times to which those manuscripts related.

" The Scotch College papers were not, however, the only, nor even the chief object of Mr. Fox's historical enquiries at Paris. He had remarked, that Sir John Dalrymple frequently " quotes, or rather refers to," † documents in the *Depôt des Affaires Etrangères*, without printing the letter, or extracting the passage from which his statements are taken, and his inferences drawn. This made him particularly desirous of examining the Original Letters of Barillon; and he was not without hopes that many other papers in the *Depôt des Affaires Etrangères*, might prove equally interesting and important. It was obvious, however, that during war, he could not have personal access to such documents. He was therefore on the point of applying, through some private friends at Paris, for a copy of such letters as he could distinctly describe to his correspondent, when the restoration of peace enabled him to repair thither; and the liberality of the French government opened to him the archives of the Foreign Affairs without reserve, and afforded him every facility and convenience for consulting and copying such papers as appeared to him to be material. He lost no time in availing himself of this permission, and while he remained at Paris, he passed a great part of every morning at the *Depôt des Affaires Etrangères*, accompanied by his friends Lord St. John, Mr. Adair, and Mr. Trotter, who assisted him in examining and transcribing the original papers.

" The correspondence of Barillon did not disappoint his expectations. He thought the additional information contained in those parts of it, which Sir John Dalrymple had omitted to extract or to publish, so important, that he procured copies of them all; he observed to one of his correspondents, " my studies at Paris " have been useful beyond what I can " describe:" and his expression to me was, that " Barillon's letters " were worth their weight in gold." ‡ It should seem that he discovered

* Mr. Mostyn's letter to Mr. Butler, was published in one of the magazines, it would therefore be superfluous to reprint it. The name of the Frenchman was Mr. Charpentier, and his country house was at St. Momelin, near St. Omer.

† MS. Correspondence.

‡ MS. Correspondence.

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some curious circumstances from the correspondence of D'Avauz, for he copied out those letters also at length, though a large collection or abstract of them had been formerly published.

"The correspondence of the above mentioned French Ministers with their Court, formed the chief materials which he brought over with him from France. He was disappointed at my failing to procure him that of the Spanish Ambassador,* resident in London during the same period, "which he said, would have "given him advantages of the great-"est consequence over all other his-"torians." The papers, however, of which he was already in possession were, in his judgment, sufficient to throw new light upon many transactions of the reign of King James the Second. If, therefore, unforeseen circumstances had not occurred, soon after his return, to retard the progress of his work, there can be little doubt but he would have composed more during that year, than he had been able to complete since the commencement of the undertaking. He was at first occupied in inserting into the parts he had finished, such additional information as he had drawn from the sources opened to him by his researches at Paris. This was to him a task of greater labour than at first sight might be expected. "I find," he says, "piecing in the bits which I have "written from my Parisian materi-"als, a troublesome job."† It is indeed probable, that his difficulties upon this occasion, were greater than any other modern historian would have had to encounter. I have mentioned them more particularly, because they in some measure arose from his scrupulous attention to certain notions he entertained on the nature of an historical composition. If, indeed, the work were finished, the nature of his design would be best collected from his execution of it; but as it is unfortunately in an incomplete and unfinished state, his conception of the duties of an historian may very possibly be misunderstood. The consequence would be, that some passages, which, according to modern taste, must be called peculiarities, might, with superficial critics, pass for defects which he had overlooked, or imperfections which he intended to correct. It is therefore necessary to observe, that he had formed his plan so exclusively on the model of ancient writers, that he not only felt some repugnance to the modern practice of notes, but he thought that all which an historian wished to say, should be introduced as part of a continued narration, and never assume the appearance of a digression, much less of a dissertation annexed to it. From the period therefore that he closed his Introductory Chapter, he defined his duty as an author, to consist in recounting the facts as they arose, or in his simple and forcible language, *in telling the story of those times.* A conversation which passed on the subject of the literature of the age of James the Second, proves his rigid adherence to these ideas, and perhaps the substance of it may serve to illustrate and explain them. In speaking of the writers of that period, he lamented that he had not devised a method of interweaving any account of them or their works, much less

* Don Pedro Ronquillo. Mr. Fox commissioned me to obtain for him, copies of his Letters from 1685 to 1688 inclusive. By a perverse piece of luck, I fell in with and purchased his original Letters from 1689 to 1691; but could never find any traces whatever of his previous correspondence.

† MS. Correspondence.

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any criticism on their style, into his History. On my suggesting the example of Hume and Voltaire, who had discussed such topics at some length, either at the end of each reign, or in a separate chapter, he observed, with much commendation of their execution of it, that such a contrivance might be a good mode of writing critical essays, but that it was, in his opinion, incompatible with the nature of his undertaking, which, if it ceased to be a narrative, ceased to be a history.

"Such restraints undoubtedly operated as taxes upon his ingenuity, and added to that labour which the observance of his general laws of composition rendered sufficiently great. On the rules of writing he had reflected much, and deeply. His own habits naturally led him to compare them with those of public speaking, and the different, and even opposite principles upon which excellence is to be attained in these two great arts, were no unusual topics of his conversation. The difference did not, in his judgment, consist so much in language or diction, as in the arrangement of thoughts, the length and construction of sentences, and if I may borrow a phrase familiar to public speakers, in the mode of putting an argument. A writer, to preserve his perspicuity, must keep distinct and separate those parts of a discourse, which the orator is enabled by modulation of voice, and with the aid of action, to bring at once into view, without confounding or perplexing his audience. Frequency of allusion, which in speaking produces the happiest effect, in writing renders the sense obscure, and interrupts the simplicity of the discourse. Even those sudden turns, those unforeseen flashes of wit which, struck out at the moment, dazzle and delight a public assembly, appear cold and inanimate, when deliberately introduced into a written composition.

"A perusal of the Letter to the Electors of Westminster, will show how scrupulously Mr. Fox attended to these distinctions. That work was written in the heat of a session of parliament. It treated professedly of subjects upon which the writer was daily in the habit of speaking, with his usual force of argument and variety of illustration. Notwithstanding these circumstances, no political tract of any note in our language, is in form or style less oratorical, or, with the exception of one passage, more free from those peculiarities, which the practice of public speaking seems calculated to produce. Such a strict observance of these principles must have cost him great trouble and attention. He was so apprehensive that his writings might retain some traces of that art, in the exercise of which he had employed the greater part of his life, that he frequently rejected passages, which in any other author would not have appeared liable to such an objection. He seems even to have distrusted his own judgment upon this subject; and after having taken the greatest pains, he was never sufficiently satisfied of his own success. If we except the account of the Earl of Argyle, the Introductory Chapter is unquestionably the most correct and finished part of the present publication. He did not, however, conceive it to be entirely exempt from a defect to which he apprehended that his works must be peculiarly exposed. He says to his correspondent, "I have at last "finished my Introduction, which "after all is more like a speech than "it should be."

"Simplicity, both in expression and

and construction, was the quality in style which he most admired, and the beauty he chiefly endeavoured to attain. He was the most scrupulously anxious to preserve this character in his writings, because he thought that the example of some great writers had, in his own time, perverted the taste of the public, and that their imitators had corrupted the purity of the English language. Though he frequently commended both Hume's and Blackstone's style, and always spoke of Middleton's with admiration, he once assured me, that he would admit no word into his book, for which he had not the authority of Dryden.

"He was scarcely less nice about phrases and expressions. It is indeed possible, that those of his readers who have formed their taste upon Johnson or Gibbon, or taken their notions of style from the criticisms of late years, may discover, in the course of the work, some idioms which are now seldom admitted into the higher classes of composition. To speak without reserve upon a subject in which his judgment, as an author, may be called in question, it appears to me more likely, that such phrases should have been introduced upon system, than that they should have escaped his observation, and crept in through inadvertence. The work is indeed, "*incomplete and unfinished*;" but it is not with reference to any phrases, which may be supposed to be too familiar, or colloquial, that such a description has been given of it. Such was the Author's abhorrence of any thing that savoured of pedantry or affectation, that if he was ever reduced to the alternative of an inflated or homely expression, I have no doubt but he preferred the latter. This persuasion, in addition to many other considerations, has induced me religiously to preserve, in the publication of this work, every phrase and word of the original manuscript. Those who are disposed to respect his authority, may have the satisfaction of knowing, that there is not one syllable in the following chapters, which is not the genuine production of Mr. Fox. That there are several passages, (especially in the latter end of the text) which he might, that there are some which he obviously would have corrected, is unquestionable; but, with the knowledge of such scrupulous attention to language in an author, to have substituted any word or expression, for that which he had written, would not have been presumption only but injustice.

"The manuscript book from which this work has been printed is, for the most part, in the handwriting of Mrs. Fox. It was written out under the inspection of Mr. Fox, and is occasionally corrected by him. His habit was seldom or ever to be alone, when employed in composition. He was accustomed to write on covers of letters or scraps of paper, sentences which he, in all probability, had turned in his mind, and in some degree formed in the course of his walks, or during his hours of leisure. These he read over to Mrs. Fox; she wrote them out in a fair hand in the book; and before he destroyed the original paper he examined and approved of the copy. In the course of thus dictating from his own writing, he often altered the language, and even the construction of the sentence. Though he generally tore the scraps of paper as soon as the passages were entered in the book, several have been preserved; and it is plain, from the erasures

erasures and alterations in them, that they had undergone much revision and correction before they were read to his Amanuensis."

Character of the Protectorship and of the Restoration.

[From the same.]

"WITH the life of the Protector almost immediately ended the government which he had established. The great talents of this extraordinary person had supported, during his life, a system condemned equally by reason and by prejudice; by reason, as wanting freedom; by prejudice, as an usurpation; and it must be confessed to be no mean testimony to his genius, that, notwithstanding the radical defects of such a system, the splendor of his character and exploits render the æra of the Protectorship one of the most brilliant in English history. It is true his conduct in foreign concerns is set off to advantage, by a comparison of it with that of those who preceded, and who followed him. If he made a mistake in espousing the French interest instead of the Spanish, we should recollect, that in examining this question we must divest our minds entirely of all the considerations which the subsequent relative state of those two empires suggest to us, before we can become impartial judges in it; and at any rate, we must allow his reign, in regard to European concerns, to have been most glorious when contrasted with the pusillanimity of James the First, with the levity of Charles the First, and the mercenary meanness of the two last Princes of the House of Stuart. Upon the whole, the character of Cromwell must ever stand high in the list of those who raised themselves to supreme power by the force of their genius; and among such, even in respect of moral virtue, it would be found to be one of the least exceptionable, if it had not been tainted with that most odious and degrading of all human vices, hypocrisy.

"The short interval between Cromwell's death and the Restoration, exhibits the picture of a nation either so wearied with changes as not to feel, or so subdued by military power as not to dare to show, any care or even preference with regard to the form of their government. All was in the army; and that army, by such a concurrence of fortuitous circumstances as history teaches us not to be surprised at, had fallen into the hands of one, than whom a baser could not be found in its lowest ranks. Personal courage appears to have been Monk's only virtue: reserve and dissimulation made up the whole stock of his wisdom. But to this man did the nation look up, ready to receive from his orders the form of government he should choose to prescribe. There is reason to believe, that, from the general bias of the Presbyterians, as well as of the Cavaliers, monarchy was the prevalent wish; but it is observable, that although the Parliament was, contrary to the

principle upon which it was pretended to be called, composed of many avowed royalists, yet none dared to hint at the restoration of the King, till they had Monk's permission, or rather command, to receive and consider his letters. It is impossible, in reviewing the whole of this transaction, not to remark that a general who had gained his rank, reputation, and station in the service of a republic, and of what he, as well as others, called, however falsely, the cause of liberty, made no scruple to lay the nation prostrate at the feet of a monarch, without a single provision in favour of that cause; and if the promise of indemnity may seem to argue that there was some attention, at least, paid to the safety of his associates in arms, his subsequent conduct gives reason to suppose, that even this provision was owing to any other cause, rather than to any generous feeling of his breast. For he afterwards not only acquiesced in the insults so meanly put upon the illustrious corps of Blake, under whose auspices and command he had performed the most creditable services of his life, but in the trial of Argyle, produced letters of friendship and confidence, to take away the life of a nobleman, * the zeal and cordiality of whose co-operation with him, proved by such documents, was the chief ground of his execution; thus gratuitously surpassing in infamy those miserable wretches who, to save their own lives, are sometimes persuaded to impeach, and swear away the lives of their accomplices.

"The reign of Charles the Second forms one of the most singular, as well as of the most important periods of history. It is the æra of good laws and bad government. The abolition of the Court of Wards, the appeal of the Writ de Heretico Comburendo, the triennial Parliament Bill, the establishment of the rights of the House of Commons in regard to impeachment, the expiration of the License Act, and above all, the glorious statute of Habeas Corpus, have therefore induced a modern writer of great eminence to fix the year 1679 as the period at which our constitution had arrived at its greatest theoretical perfection; but he owns, in a short note upon the passage alluded to, that the times immediately following were times of great practical oppression. What a field for meditation does this short observation, from such a man, furnish! What reflection does it not suggest to a thinking mind, upon the inefficacy of human laws, and the imperfection of human constitutions! We are called from the contemplation of the progress of our constitution, and our attention fixed with the most minute accuracy to a particular point, when it is said to have risen to its utmost perfection. Here we are then at the best moment of the best constitution that ever human wisdom framed. What follows? A time of oppression and misery, not arising from external or accidental causes, such as war, pestilence, or famine, nor even from any such alteration of the laws as might be supposed to impair this boasted perfection, but from a corrupt and wicked administration, which all the so much admired checks of the constitution were not able to prevent. How vain then, how idle, how presumptuous, is the

* Burnet. Baillie's Letters, II. 431.

opinion

opinion, that laws can do every thing! and how weak and pernicious the maxim founded upon it, that measures, not men, are to be attended to!"

Character of Charles the Second.

[From the same.]

"WITH respect to the character of this Prince, upon the delineation of which so much pains have been employed by the various writers who treat of the history of his time, it must be confessed that the facts which have been noticed in the foregoing pages, furnish but too many illustrations of the more unfavourable parts of it. From these we may collect, that his ambition was directed solely against his subjects, while he was completely indifferent concerning the figure which he or they might make in the general affairs of Europe; and that his desire of power was more unmixed with the love of glory than that of any other man whom history has recorded; that he was unprincipled, ungrateful, mean, and treacherous, to which may be added, vindictive and remorseless. For Burnet, in refusing to him the praise of clemency and forgiveness seems to be perfectly justifiable, nor is it conceivable upon what pretence his partizans have taken this ground of panegyric. I doubt whether a single instance can be produced, of his having spared the life of any one whom motives, either of policy, or of revenge, prompted him to destroy. To alledge that of Monmouth, as it would be an affront to human nature, so would it likewise imply the most severe of all satires against the monarch himself, and we may add too an undeserved one. For in order to consider it as an act of meritorious forbearance on his part, that he did not follow the example of Constantine, and Philip the Second, by imbruing his hands in the blood of his son, we must first suppose him to have been wholly void of every natural affection, which does not appear to have been the case. His declaration, that he would have pardoned Essex, being made when that nobleman was dead, and not followed by any act evincing its sincerity, can surely obtain no credit from men of sense. If he had really had the intention, he ought not to have made such a declaration, unless he accompanied it with some mark of kindness to the relations, or with some act of mercy to the friends, of the deceased. Considering it as a mere piece of hypocrisy, we cannot help looking upon it as one of the most odious passages of his life. This ill-timed boast of his intended mercy, and the brutal taunt with which he accompanied his mitigation (if so it may be called) of Russel's sentence, show his insensibility and hardness to have been such, that in questions where right and feelings were concerned, his good sense, and even the good taste for which he has been so much extolled, seemed wholly to desert him.

"On the other hand, it would be want of candour to maintain, that Charles was entirely destitute of good qualities; nor was the propriety of Burnet's comparison between him and Tiberius ever felt, I imagine, by any one but its author. He was gay and affable, and, if incapable of the sentiments belonging to pride of a laudable sort, he was at least free from haughtiness and insolence. The praise of politeness which the Stoics are not perhaps wrong in classing among the moral virtues, provided they admit it to be one of the lowest order, has never been denied him; and he had, in an eminent degree, that facility of temper which, though considered by some moralists as nearly allied to vice, yet, inasmuch as it contributes greatly to the happiness of those around us, is, in itself, not only an engaging, but an estimable quality. His support of the Queen during the heats raised by the Popish plot, ought to be taken rather as a proof that he was not a monster, than to be ascribed to him as a merit; but his steadiness to his brother, though it may and ought, in a great measure, to be accounted for upon selfish principles, had at least a strong resemblance to virtue.

"The best part of this Prince's character seems to have been his kindness towards his mistresses, and his affection for his children, and others nearly connected to him by the ties of blood. His recommendation of the Duchess of Portsmouth and Mrs. Gwyn, upon his death-bed, to his successor, is much to his honour; and they who censure it seem, in their zeal to show themselves strict moralists, to have suffered their notions of vice and virtue to have fallen into strange confusion. Charles's connection with those ladies might be vicious, but at a moment when that connection was upon the point of being finally and irrevocably dissolved, to concern himself about their future welfare, and to recommend them to his brother with earnest tenderness, was virtue. It is not for the interest of morality, that the good and evil actions, even of bad men, should be confounded. His affection for the Duke of Gloucester, and for the Duchess of Orleans, seems to have been sincere and cordial. To attribute, as some have done, his grief for the loss of the first to political considerations, founded upon an intended balance of power between his two brothers, would be an absurd refinement, whatever were his general disposition; but when we reflect upon that carelessness which, especially in his youth, was a conspicuous feature of his character, the absurdity becomes still more striking. And though Burnet more covertly, and Ludlow more openly, insinuate that his fondness for his sister was of a criminal nature, I never could find that there was any ground whatever for such a suspicion; nor does the little that remains of their epistolary correspondence give it the smallest countenance. Upon the whole, Charles the Second was a bad man, and a bad king; let us not palliate his crimes; but neither let us adopt false or doubtful imputations, for the purpose of making him a monster.

"Whoever reviews the interesting period which we have been discussing, upon the principle recommended in the outset of this chapter, will find, that, from the consideration of the past, to prognosticate the future, would, at the moment of Charles's demise, be no easy task. Between two persons, one of whom should expect that the country would remain sunk in slavery, the other, that

that the cause of freedom would revive and triumph, it would be difficult to decide, whose reasons were better supported, whose speculations the more probable. I should guess that he who despond-ed, had looked more at the state of the public, while he who was sanguine, had fixed his eyes more attentively upon the person who was about to mount the throne. upon reviewing the two great parties of the nation, one observation occurs very forcibly, and that is, that the great strength of the Whigs consist-ed in their being able to brand their adversaries as favourers of Popery; that of the Tories, (as far as their strength depended upon opinion, and not merely upon the power of the crown) in their finding colour to represent the Whigs as republi-cans. From this observation we may draw a further inference, that in proportion to the rashness of the Crown, in avowing and pressing forward the cause of Popery, and to the moderation and steadiness of the Whigs, in adhering to the form of monarchy, would be the chance of the people of England, for chang-ing an ignominious despotism for glory, liberty, and happiness."

Expulsion of John Locke from Oxford.

[From the same.]

"AMONG the oppressions of this period, most of which were attended with consequences so much more important to the several objects of persecution, it may seem scarcely worth while to notice the expulsion of John Locke from Christ Church College, Oxford. But besides the interest which every incident in the life of a person so deservedly eminent, naturally ex-cites, there appears to have been something in the transaction itself characteristic of the spirit of the times, as well as of the general na-ture of absolute power. Mr. Locke was known to have been intimately connected with Lord Shaftesbury, and had very prudently judged it advisable for him, to prolong for some time his residence upon the Continent, to which he had re-sorted originally on account of his health. A suspicion as it has been since proved, unfounded, that he was the author of a pamphlet which gave offence to the government, in-duced the King to insist upon his removal from his studentship at Christ Church. Sunderland writes, by the King's command, to Dr. Fell, Bishop of Oxford, and Dean of Christ Church. The reverend prelate answers, that he has long had an eye upon Mr. Locke's be-haviour; but though frequent at-tempts had been made, (attempts of which the Bishop expresses no dis-approbation) to draw him into im-prudent conversation, by attacking, in his company, the reputation, and insulting the memory, of his late patron and friend, and thus to make his gratitude, and all the best feel-ings of his heart, instrumental to his ruin, these attempts all proved unsuccessful.

unsuccessful. Hence the Bishop infers, not the innocence of Mr. Locke, but that he was a great master of concealment, both as to words and looks; for looks, it is to be supposed, would have furnished a pretext for his expulsion, more decent than any which had yet been discovered. An expedient is then suggested, to drive Mr. Locke to a dilemma, by summoning him to attend the college on the first of January ensuing. If he did not appear, he shall be expelled for contumacy; if he come, matter of charge may be found against him, for what he shall have said at London, or elsewhere, where he will have been less upon his guard than at Oxford. Some have ascribed Fell's hesitation, if it can be so called, in executing the King's order, to his unwillingness to injure Locke, who was his friend; others, with more reason, to the doubt of the legality of the order. However this may have been, neither his scruple nor his reluctance was regarded by a court who knew its own power. A peremptory order was accordingly sent, and immediate obedience ensued. Thus, while without the shadow of a crime, Mr. Locke lost a situation attended with some emolument and great convenience, was the university deprived of, or rather thus, from the base principles of servility, did she cast away the man, the having produced whom is now her chiefest glory; and thus, to those who are not determined to be blind, did the true nature of absolute power discover itself, against which the middling station is not more secure than the most exalted. Tyranny, when glutted with the blood of the great, and the plunder of the rich, will condescend to hunt humbler game, and make a peaceable and innocent fellow of a college the object of its persecution. In this instance, one would almost imagine there was some instinctive sagacity in the government of that time, which pointed out to them, even before he had made himself known to the world, the man who was destined to be the most successful adversary of superstition and tyranny."

"CORRESPONDENCE *between the* EARL *of* SUNDERLAND *and the* BISHOP *of* OXFORD, *respecting* MR. LOCKE.

[In the hands of the late Anthony Collins, Esq.]

"*From Birch's papers in the British Museum—Copies in Birch's handwriting.*

"*To the Lord Bishop of Oxford.*

"*Whitehall, November 6,* 1684.

"MY LORD,

"The King being given to understand that one Mr. Locke, who belonged to the late Earl of Shaftesbury, and has, upon several occasions, behaved himself very factiously and undutifully to the government, is a student of Christ Church; his Majesty commands me to signify to your Lordship, that he would have him removed from being a student, and that in order thereunto, your Lordship would let me know the method of doing it.

"I am, my Lord, &c.

"SUNDERLAND."

" *To the Right Honourable the Earl of Sunderland, Principal Secretary of State.*

" *November* 8, 1684.

" RIGHT HON.

" I have received the honour of your Lordship's letter, wherein you are pleased to enquire concerning Mr. Locke's being a student of this House, of which I have this account to render; that he being, as your Lordship is truly informed, a person who was much trusted by the late Earl of Shaftesbury, and who is suspected to be ill affected to the government, I have for divers years had an eye upon him, but so close has his guard been on himself, that after several strict enquiries, I may confidently affirm, there is not one in the college, however familiar with him, who had heard him speak a word either against, or so much as concerning, the government. And although very frequently, both in public and private, discourses have purposely been introduced, to the disparagement of his master, the Earl of Shaftesbury, his party, and designs, he could never be provoked to take any notice, or discover in word or look, the least concern; so that I believe there is not in the world such a master of taciturnity and passion. He has here a physician's place, which frees him from the exercises of the college, and the obligation which others have to residence in it, and he is now abroad upon want of health; but notwithstanding that, I have summoned him to return home, which is done with this prospect, that if he comes not back, he will be liable to expulsion for contumacy, and if he does, he will be answerable to your Lordship for what he shall be found to have done amiss; it being probable, that though he may have been thus cautious here, where he knew himself to be suspected, he has laid himself more open in London, where a general liberty of speaking was used, and where the execrable designs against his Majesty and his government were managed and pursued. If he does not return by the first day of January next, which is the time limited to him, I shall be enabled of course to proceed against him to expulsion. But if this method seem not effectual, or speedy enough, and his Majesty, our founder and visitor, shall please to command his immediate remove, upon the receipt thereof, directed to the Dean and Chapter, it shall accordingly be executed by,

" My Lord,

" Your Lordship's most humble

" and obedient servant,

" J. OXON."

" *To the Bishop of Oxon.*

" *Whitehall, November* 10, 1684.

" MY LORD,

" Having communicated your Lordship's of the 8th to his Majesty, he has thought fit to direct me to send you the enclosed, concerning his commands for the immediate expulsion of Mr. Locke.

" SUNDERLAND."

" *To the Right Reverend Father in God, John Lord Bishop of Oxon, Dean of Christ Church, and to our trusty and well-beloved, the Chapter there.*

" Right Rev. Father in God, and trusty and well-beloved, We greet you

you well. Whereas we have received information of the factious and disloyal behaviour of Locke, one of the students of that our college, We have thought fit hereby to signify our will and pleasure to you, that you forwith remove him from his student's place, and deprive him of all the rights and advantages thereunto belonging, for which this shall be your warrant; and so we bid you heartily farewel. Given at our Court at Whitehall, the 11th day of November, 1684.

"By his Majesty's command,

"SUNDERLAND."

"*To the Right Honourable the Earl of Sunderland, Principal Secretary of State.*

"*November* 16, 1684.

"RIGHT HON.

"I hold myself bound in duty to signify to your Lordship, that his Majesty's commands for the expulsion of Mr. Locke from this College, is fully executed.

"J. OXON."

"*To the Bishop of Oxon.*

"MY LORD,

"I have your Lordship's of the 16th, and have acquainted his Majesty therewith, who is well satisfied with the College's ready obedience to his commands for the expulsion of Mr. Locke.

"SUNDERLAND."

DEFEAT AND DEATH OF THE DUKE OF MONMOUTH.

[From the same.]

"HIS preparations for this march were all made, when, on the afternoon of the fifth, he learnt, more accurately than he had before done, the true situation of the royal army, and from the information now received, he thought it expedient to consult his principal officers, whether it might not be advisable to attempt to surprise the enemy by a night attack upon their quarters. The prevailing opinion was, that if the infantry were not intrenched, the plan was worth the trial; otherwise not. Scouts were dispatched to ascertain this point, and the report being that there was no intrenchment, an attack was resolved on. In pursuance of this resolution, at about eleven at night, the whole army was in march, Lord Grey commanding the horse, and Colonel Wade the vanguard of the foot. The Duke's orders were, that the horse should first advance, and pushing into the enemy's camp, endeavour to prevent their infantry coming together; that the cannon should follow the horse, and the foot the cannon, and draw all up in one line, and so finish what the cavalry should have begun, before the King's horse and artillery could be got in order. But it was now discovered, that though there was no intrenchments, there was a ditch which served as a drain to the great moor adjacent, of which no mention had been made by the scouts. To this ditch the horse under Lord Grey advanced, and no farther; and whether immediately,

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as according to some accounts, or after having been considerably harassed by the enemy in their attempts to find a place to pass, according to others, quitted the field. The cavalry being gone, and the principle upon which the attack had been undertaken being that of surprise, the Duke judged it necessary that the infantry should advance as speedily as possible. Wade, therefore, when he came within forty paces of the ditch, was obliged to halt to put his battalion into that order, which the extreme rapidity of the march had for the time disconcerted. His plan was to pass the ditch, reserving his fire; but while he was arranging his men for that purpose, another battalion, newly come up, began to fire, though at a considerable distance; a bad example, which it was impossible to prevent the vanguard from following, and it was now no longer in the power of their commander to persuade them to advance. The King's forces, as well horse and artillery as foot, had now full time to assemble. The Duke had no longer cavalry in the field, and though his artillery, which consisted only of three or four iron guns, was well served under the direction of a Dutch gunner, it was by no means equal to that of the royal army, which, as soon as it was light, began to do great execution. In these circumstances, the unfortunate Monmouth, fearful of being encompassed and made prisoner by the King's cavalry, who were approaching upon his flank, and urged, as it is reported, by the same person who had stimulated him on to his fatal enterprise, quitted the field, accompanied by Lord Grey and some others. The left wing, under the command of Colonel Holmes and Matthews, next gave way, and Wade's men, after having continued for an hour and a half, a distant and ineffectual fire, seeing their left discomfited, began a retreat, which soon afterwards became a complete rout.

"Thus ended the decisive battle of Sedgemore; an attack which seems to have been judiciously conceived, and in many parts spiritedly executed. The General was deficient neither in courage or conduct; and the troops, while they displayed the native bravery of Englishmen, were under as good discipline as could be expected from bodies newly raised. Two circumstances seem to have principally contributed to the loss of the day; first, the unforeseen difficulty occasioned by the ditch, of which the assailants had had no intelligence; and secondly, the cowardice of the commander of the horse. The discovery of the ditch was the more alarming, because it threw a general doubt upon the information of the spies, and the night being dark, they could not ascertain that this was the only impediment of the kind which they were to expect. The dispersion of the horse was still more fatal, inasmuch as it deranged the whole order of the plan, by which it had been concerted that their operations were to facilitate the attack to be made by the foot. If Lord Grey had possessed a spirit more suitable to his birth and name, to the illustrious friendship with which he had been honoured, and to the command with which he was intrusted, he would doubtless have persevered till he found a passage into the enemy's camp, which could have been effected at a ford not far distant: the loss of time occasioned by the ditch might not have been very material, and the most important consequences might have ensued;

sued; but it would surely be rashness to assert, as Hume does, that the army would after all have gained the victory, had not the misconduct of Monmouth and the cowardice of Grey prevented it. This rash judgment is the more to be admired at, as the historian has not pointed out the instance of misconduct to which he refers. The number of Monmouth's men killed is computed by some at two thousand, by others at three hundred; a disparity, however, which may be easily reconciled, by supposing that the one account takes in those who were killed in battle, while the other comprehends the wretched fugitives who were massacred in ditches, corn fields, and other hiding places, the following day.

"In general I have thought it right to follow Wade's narrative, which appears to me by far the most authentic, if not the only authentic account of this important transaction. It is imperfect, but its imperfection arises from the narrator's omitting all those circumstances of which he was not an eye witness, and the greater credit is on that very account due to him for those which he relates. With respect to Monmouth's quitting the field, it is not mentioned by him, nor is it possible to ascertain the precise point of time at which it happened. That he fled while his troops were still fighting, and therefore too soon for his glory, can scarcely be doubted; and the account given by Fergusson, whose veracity however is always to be suspected, that Lord Grey urged him to the measure, as well by persuasion as by example, seems not improbable. The misbehaviour of the last mentioned nobleman is more certain; but as, according to Fergusson, who has been followed by others, he actually conversed with Monmouth in the field, and as all accounts make him the companion of his flight, it is not to be understood that when he first gave way with his cavalry, he ran away in the literal sense of the words, or if he did, he must have returned. The exact truth, with regard to this and many other interesting particulars, is difficult to be discovered; owing, not more to the darkness of the night in which they were transacted, than to the personal partialities and enmities by which they have been disfigured, in the relations of the different contemporary writers.

"Monmouth with his suite first directed his course towards the Bristol channel, and as is related by Oldmixon, was once inclined, at the suggestion of Dr. Oliver, a faithful and honest adviser, to embark for the coast of Wales, with a view of concealing himself some time in that principality. Lord Grey, who appears to have been in all instances his evil genius, dissuaded him from this plan, and the small party having separated, took each several ways. Monmouth, Grey, and a gentleman of Brandenburg, went southward, with a view to gain the New Forest in Hampshire, where, by means of Grey's connections in that district, and thorough knowledge of the country, it was hoped they might be in safety, till a vessel could be procured to transport them to the continent. They left their horses, and disguised themselves as peasants; but the pursuit, stimulated as well by party zeal, as by the great pecuniary rewards offered for the capture of Monmouth and Grey, was too vigilant to be eluded. Grey was taken on the 7th in the evening; and the German, who shared the same fate early

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on the next morning, confessed that he had parted from Monmouth but a few hours since. The neighbouring country was immediately and thoroughly searched, and James had, ere night, the satisfaction of learning, that his nephew was in his power. The unfortunate Duke was discovered in a ditch, half concealed by fern and nettles. His stock of provision, which consisted of some peas, gathered in the fields through which he had fled, was nearly exhausted, and there is reason to think, that he had little, if any other sustenance, since he left Bridgewater on the evening of the 5th. To repose he had been equally a stranger: how his mind must have been harassed, it is needless to discuss. Yet that in such circumstances he appeared dispirited and crest fallen, is, by the unrelenting malignity of party writers, imputed to him as cowardice and meanness of spirit. That the failure of his enterprise, together with the bitter reflection, that he had suffered himself to be engaged in it against his own better judgment, joined to the other calamitous circumstances of his situation, had reduced him to a state of despondency is evident; and in this frame of mind, he wrote on the very day of his capture, the following letter to the King:

"SIR,

"Your Majesty may think it the "misfortune I now lie under, makes "me make this application to you; "but I do assure your Majesty, "it is the remorse I now have in me "of the wrong I have done you in "several things, and now in taking "up arms against you. For my tak-"ing up arms, it was never in my "thoughts since the King died; "The Prince and Princess of Orange "will be witness for me of the assurance I gave them, that I would "never stir against you. But my "misfortune was such, as to meet "with some horrid people, that "made me believe things of your "Majesty, and gave me so many "false arguments, that I was fully "led away to believe, that it was a "shame and a sin before God, not "to do it. But, Sir, I will not "trouble your Majesty at present "with many things I could say for "myself, that I am sure would "move your compassion; the chief "end of this letter being only to "beg of you, that I may have that "happiness as to speak to your Ma-"jesty; for I have that to say to "you, Sir, that I hope may give you "a long and happy reign.

"I am sure, Sir, when you hear "me, you will be convinced of the "zeal I have of your preservation, "and how heartily I repent of what "I have done. I can say no more "to your Majesty now, being this "letter must be seen by those that "keep me. Therefore, Sir, I shall "make and end, in begging of your "Majesty to believe so well of me, "that I would rather die a thousand "deaths, than excuse any thing I "have done, if I really did not think "myself the most in the wrong that "ever a man was; and had not, "from the bottom of my heart, an "abhorrence for those that put me "upon it, and for the action it-"self. I hope, Sir, God Almighty "will strike your heart with mercy "and compassion for me, as he has "done mine with abhorrence of "what I have done: Wherefore, "Sir, I hope I may live to shew you "how zealous I shall ever be for "your service; and could I but say "one word in this letter, you would "be convinced of it; but it is of "that consequence that I dare not "do it. Therefore, Sir, I do beg of

"you

" you once more to let me speak to
" you; for then you will be con-
" vinced how much I shall ever be,
" Your Majesty's
" most humble and dutiful,
" MONMOUTH."

" The only certain conclusion to be drawn from this letter, which Mr. Echard, in a manner perhaps not so seemly for a churchman, terms submissive, * is, that Monmouth still wished anxiously for life, and was willing to save it, even at the cruel price of begging and receiving it as a boon from his enemy. Ralph conjectures with great probability, that this unhappy man's feelings were all governed by his excessive affection for his mistress; and that a vain hope of enjoying, with Lady Harriet Wentworth, that retirement which he had so unwillingly abandoned, induced him to adopt a conduct, which he might otherwise have considered as indecent. At any rate it must be admitted, that to cling to life is a strong instinct in human nature, and Monmouth might reasonably enough satisfy himself, that when his death could not by any possibility, benefit either the public or his friends, to follow such instinct, even in a manner that might tarnish the splendor of heroism, was no impeachment of the moral virtue of a man.

" With respect to the mysterious part of the letter, where he speaks of *one word*, which would be of such infinite importance, it is difficult, if not rather utterly impossible, to explain it by any rational conjecture. Mr. Macpherson's favourite hypothesis, that the Prince of Orange had been a party to the late attempt, and that Monmouth's intention, when he wrote the letter, was to disclose this important fact to the King, † is totally destroyed by those expressions, in which the unfortunate prisoner tells his Majesty he had assured the Prince and Princess of Orange that he would never stir against him. Did he assure the Prince of Orange that he would never do that which he was engaged to the Prince of Orange to do? Can it be said that this was a false fact, and that no such assurances were in truth given? To what purpose was the falsehood? In order to conceal, from motives whether honourable or otherwise, his connection with the Prince? What? a fiction in one paragraph of the letter in order to conceal a fact, which in the next he declares his intention of revealing? The thing is impossible ‡

" The intriguing character of the Secretary of State, the Earl of Sunderland, whose duplicity in many instances cannot be doubted, and the mystery in which almost every thing relating to him is involved, might lead us to suspect that the expressions point at some discovery in which that nobleman was concerned; and that Monmouth had it in his power to be of important service to James, by revealing to him

* Echard, p. 771. " His former spirit sunk into pusillanimity, and he meanly endeavoured, by the following submissive letter," &c. E.

† Macpherson's Hist.

‡ Even if this complete refutation were wanting, the whole system of conduct imputed to the Prince of Orange by the abovementioned author, by which he is made to act in concert with Monmouth at this time, is so contrary to common sense, that the hypothesis never could have been offered to the belief of mankind by one whose mind was not fortified by some previous experience of their unbounded credulity.

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the treachery of his minister. Such a conjecture might be strengthened by an anecdote that has had some currency, and to the truth of which in part, King James's Memoirs, if the extracts from them can be relied on, bear testimony. It is said that the Duke of Monmouth told Mr. Ralph Sheldon, one of the King's chamber who came to meet him on his way to London, that he had had reason to expect Sunderland's co-operation, and authorised Sheldon to mention this to the King: that while Sheldon was relating this to his Majesty, Sunderland entered, Sheldon hesitated, but was ordered to go on. "Sunderland seemed at "first struck," (as well he might whether innocent or guilty) "but "after a short time, said with a "laugh, if that be all he (Mon-"mouth) can discover to save his "life, it will do him little good." * It is to be remarked that in Sheldon's conversation, as alluded to by King James, the Prince of Orange's name is not even mentioned, either as connected with Monmouth or with Sunderland. But, on the other hand, the difficulties that stand in the way of our interpreting Monmouth's letter as alluding to Sunderland, or of supposing that the writer of it had any well founded accusation against that minister, are insurmountable. If he had such an accusation to make, why did he not make it? The King says expressly, both in a letter to the Prince of Orange, and in the extract from his Memoirs, above cited, that Monmouth made no discovery of consequence, and the explanation suggested, that his silence was owing to Sunderland the Secretary's having assured him of his pardon, seems wholly inadmissable. Such assurances could have their influence no longer than while the hope of pardon remained. Why then did he continue silent, when he found James inexorable? If he was willing to accuse the Earl before he had received these assurances, it is inconceivable that he should have any scruple about doing it when they turned out to have been delusive, and when his mind must have been exasperated by the reflection that Sunderland's perfidious promises and self-interested suggestions, had deterred him from the only probable means of saving his life.

"A third, and perhaps the most plausible, interpretation of the words in question is, that they point to a discovery of Monmouth's friends in England, when, in the dejected state of his mind, at the time of writing, unmanned as he was by misfortune, he might sincerely promise what the return of better thoughts forbade him to perform. This account, however, though free from the great absurdities belonging to the two others, is by no means satisfactory. The phrase "one "word," seems to relate rather to some single person, or some single fact, and can hardly apply to any list of associates that might be intended to be sacrificed. On the other hand, the single denunciation of Lord Delamere, of Lord Brandon, or even of the Earl of Devonshire, or of any other private individual, could not be considered as of that extreme consequence, which Monmouth attaches to his promised disclosure. I have mentioned Lord Devonshire, who was certainly not implicated in the enterprise, and who was not even suspected, because it appears from Grey's narrative, that one of Monmouth's agents

* Macpherson's State Papers, I. 146.

had

had once given hopes of his support; and therefore there is a bare possibility that Monmouth may have reckoned upon his assistance. Perhaps, after all, the letter has been canvassed with too much nicety, and the words of it weighed more scrupulously, than, proper allowance being made for the situation and state of mind of the writer, they ought to have been. They may have been thrown out at hazard, merely as means to obtain an interview, of which the unhappy prisoner thought he might, in some way or other, make his advantage. If any more precise meaning existed in his mind, we must be content to pass it over as one of those obscure points of history, upon which, neither the sagacity of historians, nor the many documents since made public, nor the great discoverer, Time, has yet thrown any distinct light.

"Monmouth and Grey were now to be conveyed to London, for which purpose they set out on the 11th, and arrived in the vicinity of the metropolis on the 13th of July. In the mean while, the Queen Dowager, who seems to have behaved with a uniformity of kindness towards her husband's son, that does her great honour, urgently pressed the King to admit his nephew to an audience. Importuned, therefore, by intreaties, and instigated by the curiosity which Monmouth's mysterious expressions, and Sheldon's story had excited, he consented, though with a fixed determination to shew no mercy. James was not of the number of those, in whom the want of an extensive understanding is compensated by a delicacy of sentiment, or by those right feelings which are often found to be better guides for the conduct, than the most accurate reasoning. His nature did not revolt, his blood did not run cold, at the thoughts of beholding the son of a brother whom he had loved, embracing his knees, petitioning, and petitioning in vain, for life; of interchanging words and looks with a nephew on whom he was inexorably determined, within forty-eight short hours, to inflict an ignominious death.

"In Macpherson's extract from King James's Memoirs, it is confessed that the King ought not to have seen, if he was not disposed to pardon the culprit; * but whether the observation is made by the exiled Prince himself, or by him who gives the extract, is in this, as in many other passages of those Memoirs, difficult to determine. Surely if the King had made this reflection before Monmouth's execution, it must have occurred to that Monarch, that if he had inadvertently done that which he ought not to have done, without an intention to pardon, the only remedy was to correct that part of his conduct which was still in his power, and since he could not recal the interview, to grant the pardon.

"Pursuant to this hard-hearted arrangement, Monmouth and Grey, on the very day of their arrival, were brought to Whitehall, where they had severally interviews with his Majesty. James, in a letter to the Prince of Orange, dated the following day, gives a short account of both these interviews. Monmouth, he says, betrayed a weakness, which did not become one who had claimed the title of King; but made no discovery of consequence. Grey was more ingenuous, † (it is not

* Macpherson's State Papers, I. 144.
† Dalrymple's Memoirs, II. 134.

certain

certain in what sense his Majesty uses the term, since he does not refer to any discovery made by that Lord,) and never once begged his life. Short as this account is, it seems the only authentic one of those interviews. Bishop Kennet, who has been followed by most of the modern historians, relates that "This unhappy captive, by the intercession of the Queen Dowager, "was brought to the King's presence, and fell presently at his "feet, and confessed he deserved to "die; but conjured him, with tears "in his eyes, not to use him with "the severity of justice, and to grant "him a life which he would be ever "ready to sacrifice for his service. "He mentioned to him the example "of several great princes, who had "yielded to the impressions of clemency on the like occasions, and "who had never afterwards repented of those acts of generosity and "mercy; concluding, in a most "pathetic manner, Remember, Sir, "I am your brother's son, and if "you take my life, it is your own "blood that you will shed. The "King asked him several questions, "and made him sign a declaration "that his father told him he was "never married to his mother: and "said, he was sorry indeed for his "misfortunes; but his crime was "of too great a consequence to be "left unpunished, and he must of "necessity suffer for it. The Queen "is said to have insulted him in a "very arrogant and unmerciful manner. So that when the Duke "saw there was nothing designed "by this interview, but to satisfy "the Queen's revenge, he rose up "from his Majesty's feet with a "new air of bravery, and was carried back to the Tower." *

"The topics used by Monmouth are such as he might naturally have employed, and the demeanour attributed to him, upon finding the King inexorable, is consistent enough with general probability, and his particular character: but that the King took care to extract from him a confession of Charles's declaration with respect to his illegitimacy, before he announced his final refusal of mercy, and that the Queen was present for the purpose of reviling and insulting him, are circumstances too atrocious to merit belief, without some more certain evidence. It must be remarked, also, that Burnet, whose general prejudices would not lead him to doubt any imputations against the Queen, does not mention her Majesty's being present. Monmouth's offer of changing religion is mentioned by him, but no authority quoted; and no hint of the kind appears either in James's Letters, or in the extract from his Memoirs.

"From Whitehall Monmouth was at night carried to the Tower, where no longer uncertain as to his fate, he seems to have collected his mind, and to have resumed his wonted fortitude. The Bill of Attainder that had lately passed, having superseded the necessity of a legal trial, his execution was fixed for the next day but one after his commitment. This interval appeared too short even for the worldly business which he wished to transact, and he wrote again to the King, on the 14th, desiring some short respite, which was peremptorily refused. The difficulty of obtaining any certainty concerning facts, even in instances where there has not been any apparent motive for disguising them, is no where more striking, than in

* Kennet, III. 482. Echard, III. 771.

the

the few remaining hours of this unfortunate man's life. According to King James's statement in his Memoirs, he refused to see his wife, while other accounts assert positively that she refused to see him, unless in presence of witnesses. Burnet, who was not likely to be mistaken in a fact of this kind, says they did meet, and parted very coldly, a circumstance which, if true, gives us no very favourable idea of the lady's character. There is also mention of a third letter written by him to the King, which being entrusted to a perfidious officer of the name of Scott, never reached its destination;* but for this there is no foundation. What seems most certain is, that in the Tower, and not in the closet, he signed a paper, renouncing his pretensions to the crown, the same which he afterwards delivered on the scaffold; and that he was inclined to make this declaration, not by any vain hope of life, but by his affection for his children, whose situation he rightly judged would be safer and better under the reigning monarch and his successors, when it should be evident that they could no longer be competitors for the throne.

"Monmouth was very sincere in his religious professions, and it is probable, that a great portion of this sad day was passed in devotion and religious discourse with the two prelates, who had been sent by his Majesty to assist him in his spiritual concerns. Turner, Bishop of Ely, had been with him early in the morning, and Kenn, Bishop of Bath and Wells, was sent, upon the refusal of a respite, to prepare him for the stroke, which it was now irrevocably fixed he should suffer the ensuing day. They stayed with him all night, and in the morning of the fifteenth were joined by Dr. Hooper, afterwards, in the reign of Anne, made Bishop of Bath and Wells, and by Dr. Tennison, who succeeded Tillotson in the see of Canterbury. This last divine is stated by Burnet to have been most acceptable to the Duke, and though he joined the others in some harsh expostulations, to have done what the right reverend historian conceives to have been his duty, in a softer, and less peremptory manner. Certain it is, that none of these holy men seem to have erred on the side of compassion or complaisance to their illustrious penitent. Besides endeavouring to convince him of the guilt of his connection with his beloved Lady Harriet, of which he could never be brought to a due sense, they seem to have repeatedly teased him with controversy, and to have been far more solicitous to make him confess what they deemed the true creed of the church of England, than to soften or console his sorrows, or to help him to that composure of mind so necessary for his situation. He declared himself to be a member of their church, but they denied that he could be so, unless he thoroughly believed the doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance. He repented generally of his sins, and especially of his late enterprise, but they insisted that he must repent of it in the way they prescribed to him, that he must own it to have been a wicked resistance to his lawful King, and a detestable act of rebellion.† Some historians have imputed this seemingly cruel conduct to the King's particular instructions, who

* Dalrymple's Memoirs, I. 127.
† Burnet, II. 330 Echard III. 772.

might

might be desirous of extracting, or rather extorting, from the lips of his dying nephew, such a confession as would be matter of triumph to the royal cause. But the character of the two prelates principally concerned, both for general uprightness, and sincerity as church of England men, makes it more candid to suppose, that they did not act from motives of servile compliance, but rather from an intemperate party zeal for the honour of their church, which they judged would be signally promoted, if such a man as Monmouth, after having throughout his life acted in defiance of their favourite doctrine, could be brought in his last moments to acknowledge it as a divine truth. It must never be forgotten, if we would understand the history of this period, that the truly orthodox members of our church regarded monarchy not as a human, but as a divine institution, and passive obedience and non-resistance, not as political maxims, but as articles of religion.

"At ten o'clock on the 15th, Monmouth proceeded in a carriage of the Lieutenant of the Tower, to Tower Hill, the place destined for his execution. The two Bishops were in the carriage with him, and one of them took that opportunity of informing him, that their controversial altercations were not yet at an end; and that upon the scaffold, he would again be pressed for more explicit and satisfactory declarations of repentance. When arrived at the bar, which had been put up for the purpose of keeping out the multitude, Monmouth descended from the carriage, and mounted the scaffold with a firm step, attended by his spiritual assistants. The sheriffs and executioners were already there. The concourse of spectators was innumerable, and if we are to credit traditional accounts, never was the general compassion more affectingly expressed. The tears, sighs, and groans, which the first sight of this heart-rending spectacle produced, were soon succeeded by an universal and awful silence; a respectful attention, and affectionate anxiety, to hear every syllable that should pass the lips of the sufferer. The Duke began by saying he should speak little: he came to die, and he should die a Protestant of the church of England. Here he was interrupted by the assistants, and told, that, if he was of the church of England, he must acknowledge the doctrine of non-resistance to be true. In vain did he reply, that if he acknowledged the doctrine of the church in general, it included all: they insisted he should own *that* doctrine particularly with respect to his case, and urged much more concerning their favourite point, upon which, however, they obtained nothing but a repetition in substance of former answers. He was then proceeding to speak of Lady Harriet Wentworth, of his high esteem for her, and of his confirmed opinion that their connection was innocent in the sight of God; when Goslin the Sheriff asked him, with all the unfeeling bluntness of a vulgar mind, whether he was ever married to her. The Duke refusing to answer, the same magistrate, in the like strain, though changing his subject, said he hoped to have heard of his repentance for the treason and bloodshed which had been committed; to which the prisoner replied with great mildness, that he died very penitent. Here the churchmen again interposed, and renewed their demand of *particular* penitence and *public* acknowledgment upon public

affairs, Monmouth referred them to the following paper which he had signed that morning:

"I declare, that the title of King "was forced upon me; and, that "it was very much contrary to my "opinion, when I was proclaimed. "For the satisfaction of the world, "I do declare that the late King "told me, he was never married to "my mother. Having declared "this, I hope the King, who is "now, will not let my children "suffer on this account. And to "this I put my hand this fifteenth "day of July, 1685.

"MONMOUTH."

"There was nothing, they said, in that paper about resistance; nor, though Monmouth quite worn out with their importunities, said to one of them, in a most affecting manner, "I am to die,—Pray my Lord, —"I refer to my paper," would these men think it consistent with their duty to desist. They were only a few words they desired on one point. The substance of these applications on one hand, and answers on the other, was repeated, over and over again, in a manner that could not be believed, if the facts were not attested by the signature of the persons principally concerned.* If the Duke, in declaring his sorrow for what had passed, used the word invasion, "give it "the true name," said they, "and "call it rebellion." "What name "you please," replied the mild-tempered Monmouth. He was sure he was going to everlasting happiness, and considered the serenity of his mind in his present circumstances, as a certain earnest of the favour of his Creator. His repentance, he said, must be true, for he had no fear of dying, he should die like a lamb. "Much may come "from natural courage," was the unfeeling and stupid reply of one of the assistants. Monmouth, with that modesty inseparable from true bravery, denied that he was in general less fearful than other men, maintaining that his present courage was owing to his consciousness that God had forgiven him his past transgressions, of all which generally he repented with all his soul.

"At last the reverend assistants consented to join with him in prayer, but no sooner were they risen from their kneeling posture, than they returned to their charge. Not satisfied with what had passed, they exhorted him to a *true* and *thorough* repentance; would he not pray for the King? and send a dutiful message to his Majesty, to recommend the Dutchess and his children? As "you please;" was the reply, "I "pray for him and for all men." He now spoke to the executioner, desiring that he might have no cap over his eyes, and began undressing. One would have thought that in this last sad ceremony, the poor prisoner might have been unmolested, and that the divines would have been satisfied, that prayer was the only part of their function for which their duty now called upon them. They judged differently, and one of them had the fortitude to request the Duke, even in this stage of the business, that he would address himself to the soldiers then present, to tell them he stood a sad example of rebellion, and entreat the people to be loyal and obedient to the King. "I have said I will make no

* Vide Somers's Tracts, I. 435.

"speeches,"

"speeches," repeated Monmouth, in a tone more peremptory than he had before been provoked to; "I "will make no speeches. I come "to die." "My Lord, ten words "will be enough," said the persevering divine, to which the Duke made no answer, but turning to the executioner, expressed a hope that he would do his work better now than in the case of Lord Russel. He then felt the axe, which he apprehended was not sharp enough, but being assured that it was of proper sharpness and weight, he laid down his head. In the meantime, many fervent ejaculations were used by the reverend assistants, who, it must be observed, even in these moments of horror, shewed themselves not unmindful of the points upon which they had been disputing; praying God to accept his *imperfect* and *general* repentance.

"The executioner now struck the blow, but so feebly or unskilfully, that Monmouth being but slightly wounded, lifted up his head, and looked him in the face as if to upbraid him, but said nothing. The two following strokes were as ineffectual as the first, and the headsman in a fit of horror, declared he could not finish his work. The sheriffs threatened him; he was forced again to make a further trial, and in two more strokes separated the head from the body.

"Thus fell, in the thirty-sixth year of his age, James, Duke of Monmouth, a man against whom all that has been said by the most inveterate enemies both to him and his party, amounts to little more than this, that he had not a mind equal to the situation in which his ambition, at different times, engaged him to place himself. But to judge him with candour, we must make great allowances, not only for the temptations into which he was led by the splendid prosperity of the earlier parts of his life, but also for the adverse prejudices with which he was regarded by almost all the cotemporary writers from whom his actions and character are described. The Tories of course are unfavourable to him; and even among the Whigs, there seems, in many, a strong inclination to disparage him; some to accuse themselves for not having joined him, others to make a display of their exclusive attachment to their more successful leader, King William. Burnet says of Monmouth, that he was gentle, brave, and sincere: to these praises, from the united testimony of all who knew him, we may add that of generosity, and surely those qualities go a great way in making up the catalogue of all that is amiable and estimable in human nature. One of the most conspicuous features in his character, seems to have been a remarkable, and as some think, a culpable degree of flexibility. That such a disposition is preferable to its opposite extreme, will be admitted by all who think that modesty, even in excess, is more nearly allied to wisdom, than conceit and self sufficiency. He who has attentively considered the political, or indeed the general concerns of life, may possibly go still further, and rank a willingness to be convinced, or in some cases even without conviction, to concede our own opinion to that of other men, among the principal ingredients in the composition of practical wisdom. Monmouth had suffered this flexibility, so laudable in many cases, to degenerate into a habit, which made him often follow the advice, or yield to the entreaties, of persons whose characters by no means entitled them to

such deference. The sagacity of Shaftesbury, the honour of Russel, the genius of Sidney, might, in the opinion of a modest man, be safe and eligible guides. The partiality of friendship, and the conviction of his firm attachment, might be some excuse for his listening so much to Grey; but he never could, at any period of his life, have mistaken Fergusson for an honest man. There is reason to believe that the advice of the two last mentioned persons had great weight in persuading him to the unjustifiable step of declaring himself King. But far the most guilty act in this man's life, was his lending his name to the declaration which was published at Lyme, and in this instance, Fergusson, who penned the paper, was both the adviser and the instrument. To accuse the King of having burnt London, murdered Essex in the Tower, and finally, poisoned his brother, unsupported by evidence to substantiate such dreadful charges, was calumny of the most atrocious kind; but the guilt is still heightened, when we observe, that from no conversation of Monmouth, nor indeed from any other circumstance whatever, do we collect that he himself believed the horrid accusations to be true. With regard to Essex's death, in particular, the only one of the three charges which was believed by any man of common sense, the late King was as much implicated in the suspicion as James. That the latter should have dared to be concerned in such an act without the privacy of his brother, was too absurd an imputation to be attempted, even in the days of the Popish plot. On the other hand, it was certainly not the intention of the son to brand his father as an assassin. It is too plain, that in the instance of this declaration, Monmouth, with a facility highly criminal, consented to set his name to whatever Fergusson recommended as advantageous to the cause. Among the many dreadful circumstances attending civil wars, perhaps there are few more revolting to a good mind, than the wicked calumnies with which, in the heat of contention, men, otherwise men of honour, have in all ages and countries permitted themselves to load their adversaries. It is remarkable that there is no trace of the divines who attended this unfortunate man, having exhorted him to a particular repentance of his manifesto, or having called for a retraction or disavowal of the accusations contained in it. They were so intent upon points more immediately connected with orthodoxy of faith, that they omitted pressing their penitent to the only declaration, by which he could make any satisfactory atonement to those whom he had injured."

Anecdotes of Buchanan.

[From Mr. Irving's Memoirs of his Life.]

"It was perhaps the alarming state of France that induced Buchanan to hasten his return to his native country. The precise period of his return has not been ascertained: but it is certain he was at the Scottish court in January, 1562; and that, in the month of April, he was officiating at classical

classical tutor to the queen, who was then in the twentieth year of her age. Every afternoon she perused with Buchanan a portion of Livy. This author is not commonly recommended to very young scholars; and indeed the study of the Latin language is known to have occupied a considerable share of her previous attention. She had been sent to France in the sixth year of her age, and had acquired every accomplishment that could adorn her station. The charms of her person were so conspicuous as to place her above the most elegant of her fair cotemporaries; and the polish of her mind corresponded to the native elegance of her external form. She was acquainted not only with the Scottish and French, but also with the Italian and Spanish languages; aud her knowledge of the Latin tongue was such as modern ladies have not very often surpassed. In the fourteenth year of her age, she pronounced, before a splendid auditory of the French court, a Latin declamation against the opinion of those who would debar the female sex from the liberal pursuits of science and literature. This oration, which she had herself composed, she afterwards translated into French; but neither the original nor the version has ever been published. Some of her Italian and French verses are however preserved. Mary was unquestionably entitled to the character of a learned princess; but her subsequent conduct rather serves to confirm than to refute the caustic observation of Muretus.

"The æra at which Buchanan finally returned to his native country, was highly important. After a violent struggle between the old and the new religion, the latter had at length prevailed: its doctrines and discipline received the sanction of parliament in the year 1560. For the manly principles of the Reformation he had always cherished a secret affection; and his attachment, as he candidly owns, had been confirmed by the personal malignity of the grey friars. As he now resided in a country where he could avow his sentiments without restraint, he professed himself a member of the reformed church of Scotland; and this accession to their cause was duly appreciated by the leaders of the party. The Earl of Murray was then rising towards that summit of power which he afterwards attained. He was one of the few Scottish nobles of the age who reverenced literature, and patronized its professors. His own education had not been neglected; he had been committed to the tuition of Ramus, who then presided over the College of de Prêle at Paris. For Buchanan he soon procured a station of some dignity and importance: as commendator of the priory of St. Andrews, he enjoyed the right of nominating the principal of St. Leonard's College; and a vacancy occurring about the year 1566, he placed Buchanan at the head of that seminary. The masterships of the Scottish colleges are generally conferred on ecclesiastics: this practice does not, however, in each instance, result from the fundamental statutes, but from the influence of established modes. It has indeed been asserted, that Buchanan was not a mere layman, but a doctor and professor of divinity. This supposition is evidently devoid of foundation; and its author ought to have recollected the distinction between doctors by office, and doctors by faculty. The tenure of his appointment would seem to have imposed the task of delivering occasional lectures on theology; and the skill with which he discussed the subject of prophetic inspiration is com-

commemorated in the unpublished history of Calderwood. The theological prelections of a gay and satirical poet must have excited no ordinary curiosity. Buchanan was a man of universal talent: and the study of theology had recently occupied a considerable share of his attention.

"On his return to Scotland, he determined to publish, in a correct manner, the poetical works which he had composed at many different periods of his variegated life. His paraphrase of eighteen psalms had already appeared as a specimen; and the whole version having received the polish of his masterly hand, he committed it to H. Stephanus. That famous printer is represented as having long deferred the impression; and it is at least certain that the manuscript was in his custody so early as the year 1562. Its suppression might be imputed to various causes; but according to the very learned Hadrianus Junius, he had protracted the edition with the secret view of claiming this version as his own, in the event of Buchanan's decease. Many circumstances render this supposition highly improbable: and it must be recollected that Junius regarded with manifest hostility, the man to whom he imputes so flagitious a scheme. The date of this first complete edition is uncertain; for it has been absurdly omitted in the book itself. It was printed by Henricus Stephanus and his brother Robertus. In the year 1566 they published a second edition, which includes the author's tragedy of *Jephthes*. Buchanan, in the title-page of both impressions, is styled "Poetarum nostri sæculi facile princeps:" and his paraphrase was recommended to the learned world by the poetical encomiums of several respectable scholars; by the Greek verses of H. Stephanus, Franciscus Portus, and Fredericus Jamotius, and by the Latin verses of Stephanus and Castelvetro. The name of Jamotius is not so familiar to learned ears, but he was a man of considerable erudition. He was a native of Bethune in Artois, and by profession a physician. Castelvetro, an Italian critic of high reputation, is still regarded as one of the most subtle commentators on Aristotle's poetics. Of Buchanan's superlative genius, Stephanus was a zealous admirer: it was he who conferred upon him the appellation of chief poet of the age; and this honourable title was afterwards recognized by the scholars of France, Italy, Germany, and other countries. Of this celebrated printer, it may be safely affirmed that he was at least as much inclined to censure as to commend: his cotemporary Joseph Scaliger, though very willing to applaud his erudition, has characterized him as a man of an arrogant and morose temper; and even his son-in-law, the candid and amiable Casaubon, however anxious he might be to conceal his infirmities, has occasionally mentioned him in terms of similar import. The erudition of Stephanus was however extensive and profound; insomuch that he is justly regarded as the most learned printer who has yet appeared. He was one of the best Grecians of that laborious age; and was eminently skilled in the Latin as well as in his vernacular language. The Greek tongue he studied before the Latin; and this unusual method he afterwards recommended as the most eligible. The services which he rendered to the cause of literature were such as entitle him to perpetual gratitude: before his time, Greek books were extremely rare; and the numerous editions which proceeded from his press, are generally

rally distinguished for their correctness and elegance. Of his own compositions it is more difficult to speak. By his *Thesaurus Linguæ Græcæ*, as well as by some of his philological annotations, he undoubtedly rendered essential service to classical learning; but his efforts at a higher species of excellence are for the most part attended with very indifferent success. He produced an infinite number of little works, which certainly display but a slender share of judgment. Among other critical lucubrations, he published a dissertation *De Criticis Veteribus Græcis et Latinis;* and on such a subject, a curious and interesting treatise might have been expected from so learned a man: this dissertation, however, is sufficiently trifling and jejune. Another book he has professedly written on the Latinity of Lipsius; but a great part of it is occupied with considerations respecting a war with the Turks. This, says Scaliger, appeared so ridiculous, that some person proposed to entitle it "De Lipsii Latinitate *adversus Turcam.*" He was judiciously advised by Thuanus and by P. Pithœus to restrict himself to the publication of ancient authors; a plan by which he would have contributed more effectually to the advancement of learning.

"Stephanus, who was ambitious of universal excellence, might perhaps expect to obtain the same pre-eminence among the Greek, as was due to Buchanan among the Latin paraphrasts of the psalms. But like his countryman Serranus, he did not complete the version of which he published a specimen. A Greek translation had formerly been exhibited by Apollinarius; and at a more recent æra, others were executed with different degrees of success by Æmilius Portus, Petavius, and Duport. The Latin versions amount to a very large number; and by every competent and impartial judge, the superiority has always been awarded to Buchanan. In this renowned work, he has employed no fewer than twenty-nine varieties of metre; and each of them with the utmost propriety and skill. The adaptation of the measures, the harmony of the verse, the elegance and purity of the diction, the pious and dignified strain of the phraseology, would have been sufficient to secure a high reputation independent of his original compositions. This production indeed displays all the spirit and freedom of an original: the poet seems unfettered by the necessity of adhering to a prescribed train of thought; and he often rises to all the enthusiasm and sublimity of his divine prototype. His version of the hundred and fourth psalm might alone have conferred upon him the character of a poet. The next in merit is perhaps the hundred and thirty-seventh; which he has clothed in elegiac verse that has seldom or ever been surpassed. His work is professedly a paraphrase; and indeed it would be impossible to execute a strict translation with any degree of elegance. That he has frequently dilated the original thought, is sufficiently evident; but no translator has been more successful in retaining the spirit and essence. It is not certain that Buchanan was intimately acquainted with the Hebrew language; but he must have consulted with diligence the principal commentators on the book of psalms. He is reported to have enjoyed the particular friendship of Franciscus Vatablus; and to have derived from that famous professor some more curious elucidations of the Hebrew text.

"From his admirable version, he has

has carefully excluded such expressions as are strictly and solely applicable to subjects of classical mythology; but as he had adopted a classical language, it would have been utterly impossible to exclude every word or phrase, capable of suggesting the mythological allusions of his Pagan predecessors. The ancient Pagans often addressed Jupiter, whom they regarded as the Supreme Being, in a strain of phraseology which may reverently be applied to the true God; and sometimes perhaps a Christian could not select words more suitable to the devotional ideas that may arise in his mind. When he writes in a language which derives its vital principles from a people whose objects of worship were fictitious, he cannot express himself without employing words originally appropriated by mythology: the boundaries of speech are already ascertained, and the only expedient that remains is a happy and judicious adaptation. Buchanan has however been censured by a late writer. 'In the translation of a psalm,' says Lord Woodhouselee, 'we are shocked when we find the Almighty addressed by the epithets of a heathen divinity, and his attributes celebrated in the language and allusions proper to the Pagan mythology.'—In the entire translation of the psalms by Johnston, we do not find a single instance of similar impropriety. And in the admirable version by Buchanan, there are (to my knowledge) only two passages which are censurable on that account. The one is the beginning of the fourth psalm:

"O pater, O hominum *divûmque* æterna potestas!"

which is the first line of the speech of Venus to Jupiter, in the 10th Æneid: and the other is the beginning of psalm lxxxii, where two entire lines, with the change of one syllable; are borrowed from Horace:

Regum timendorum in proprios greges,
Reges in ipsos imperium est *Jovæ*.

'In the latter example, the poet probably judged that the change of *Jovis* into *Jovæ* removed all objection; and Ruddiman has attempted to vindicate the *divûm* of the former passage, by applying it to saints or angels: but allowing there were sufficient apology for both these words, the impropriety still remains; for the associated ideas present themselves immediately to the mind, and we are justly offended with the literal adoption of an address to Jupiter in a hymn to the Creator.' Whatever may be the general effect of the two passages, it may at least be affirmed that those particular words are employed without any degree of impropriety. In the original Scriptures, the angels are repeatedly denominated gods: and *Jova* is manifestly the tetragrammaton of the Hebrews, or that name of the Supreme Being which consists of four letters. To insert the word Jehovah in the translation of a psalm, certainly cannot be deemed reprehensible.

"Some feeble attempts have been made to dispossess Buchanan of his high pre-eminence in this department. Dr. Eglisham had the vanity to suppose himself capable of executing a paraphrase, superior to that of his illustrious countryman; and was even so infatuated as to exhibit a version of the hundredth and fourth psalm in contrast with his. On Buchanan's translation of that psalm, he at the same time published a furious criticism; which he concludes very complacently, by submitting his lucubrations to the judgment of the university of Paris. His fever of vanity was however expelled, and by a very violent remedy. Dr. Johnston,

ston, who was aware that the reputation of his native land was closely connected with that of Buchanan, exposed the phrensy of Eglisham in a galling satire; and Dr. Barclay, another learned physician, refuted his captious criticisms, and exposed the puerility of the version which he had exhibited in so hazardous a position.

"Arthur Johnston was one of the best Latin poets of the age in which he flourished. His original compositions are distinguished by a spirit of classical elegance; and he has executed a complete paraphrase of the psalms, which is regarded as superior to that of every other poet except Buchanan. Of Buchanan's superiority he professes to have been abundantly aware; but some of his fervent admirers have attempted to elevate him 'above all Greek, above all Roman fame.' Lauder, a man notorious for his impostures, was the first who endeavoured to establish Johnston's reputation on the ruin of Buchanan's; and his project found an immediate abettor in Mr. Benson, an English gentleman of some small scholarship, and of more than sufficient confidence in his own powers. Buchanan's defence against Lauder was undertaken by Mr. Love; against Benson, by Mr. Ruddiman, a more formidable antagonist. Not satisfied with overwhelming Johnston with hyperbolical praise, Mr. Benson had laboured to prove that Buchanan's paraphrase is unworthy the commendation which it has received: but his magisterial and shallow criticisms were most completely exposed by that excellent grammarian, whose elaborate performance, though perhaps somewhat deficient in compression, may still be recommended for its intrinsic value.

"The elegant and melodious version of Johnston is almost entirely restricted to the elegiac measure, in which he had attained to great proficiency. In the hundredth and nineteenth psalm alone, his metre is varied; and each stanza is exhibited in a new species of verse. Buchanan's plan of varying the measure according to the characteristics of the poem, was evidently more eligible to a writer who possessed such versatility of talent. His friend Beza has likewise adopted a variety of metres; but he has not perhaps selected them with equal judgment.

"Sir Thomas Hope, who was king's advocate from 1626 till 1641, and who is well known to Scottish lawyers, must also be commemorated among the Scottish poets who have executed Latin paraphrases of this sacred book. His version still remains in manuscript; and its merit is not perhaps sufficient to render its publication an object of much solicitude.

"Buchanan's paraphrase continues to be read in the principal schools of Scotland, and perhaps in those of some other countries. Lauder's attempt to supplant it by that of Johnston proved unsuccessful. During the life-time of Buchanan, it had begun to be introduced into the schools of Germany; and its various measures had been accommodated to appropriate melodies for the purpose of being chaunted by academics. Pope Urban the Eighth, himself a poet of no mean talents, is said to have averred that "'twas pity it was written by so great a heretic, for otherwise it should have been sung in all churches under his authority." The famous Bishop Bedell "loved it beyond all other Latin poetry;" and Nicolas Bourbon, who was himself a poet of considerable celebrity, declared that he

he would rather have been the author of this paraphrase than archbishop of Paris."

"When Buchanan consigned his psalms to the printer, he was probably engaged in superintending the classical studies of Queen Mary; and to that most accomplished and most hopeful princess, he gratefully inscribed a work destined for immortality. His dedication has received, and indeed is entitled to the highest commendation for its terseness, compression, and delicacy.

"Nympha, Caledoniæ quæ nunc felicitur oræ
Missa per innumeros sceptra tueris avos;
Quæ sortem antevenis meritis, virtutibus annos,
Sexum animis, morum nobilitate genus,
Accipe (sed facilis) cultu donata Latino
Carmina, fatidici nobile regis opus.
Illa quidem Cirrha procul et Permesside lympha,
Pene sub Arctoi sidere nata poli:
Non tamen ausus eram male natum exponere fœtum,
Ne mihi displiceant quæ placuere tibi.
Nam quod ab ingenio domini sperare nequibant,
Debebunt genio forsitan illa tuo."

"Buchanan recommended himself to the queen by other poetical tributes. One of his most beautiful productions is the epithalium which he composed on her first nuptials. This attractive subject had also excited the poetical talents of De l'Hospital and Turnebus; but the rival composition of Buchanan displays a fertility of fancy, and a felicity of diction, which preclude all comparisen.

"The elegant poem which he composed on the birth of his future pupil King James, affords an interesting proof of the early solicitude with which he regarded his destiny, as connected with the welfare of his native country.

"Vos quoque felices felici prole parentes,
Jam tenerum teneris puerum consuescite ab annis
Justitiæ, sanctumque bibat virtutis amorem
Cum lacte; et primis pietas comes addita cunis
Conformetque animum, et pariter cum corpore crescat.
Non ita conversi puppis moderamine clavi
Flectitur, ut populi pendent a principe mores.
Non carcer, legumque minæ, torvæque secures
Sic animos terrent trepidos formidine pœnæ,
Ut veræ virtutis honos, moresque modesti
Regis, et innocui decus et reverentia sceptri
Convertunt mentes ad honesta exempla sequaces."

"Several of his miscellaneous poems of less importance relate to the same accomplished princess; who was not insensible of his powerful claims upon the protection of his country. In the year 1564, she had rewarded his literary merit by conferrng on him the temporalities of the abbey of Crossragwell; which amounted in annual valuation to the sum of five hundred pounds in Scottish currency.

"But while he thus enjoyed the favour of the queen, he did not neglect his powerful friend the Earl of Murray. To that nobleman he inscribed his *Franciscanus* during the same year. The date of the earliest edition is uncertain; but the dedication was written at St. Andrews on the 5th of June, 1564, when he was perhaps residing in the Earl's house.

"He at the same time prepared for the press his miscellany entitled *Fratres Fraterrimi;* a collection of satires, almost entirely directed againt the impurities of the Popish church. The absurdity of its doctrines, and the immoral lives of its priests, afforded him an ample field for the exercise of his formidable talents;

talents; and he has alternately employed the weapons of sarcastic irony and vehement indignation. His admirable wit and address must have contributed to promote the cause which Luther had so ardently espoused; and Buchanan ought also to be classed with the most illustrious of the reformers. Guy Patin was so fascinated with his satirical powers, that he committed to memory all his epigrams, his *Franciscanus*, and his *Fratres Fraterrimi*. After having particularized some of Buchanan's verses, he subjoins, Virgil never produced better, but it has required fifteen centuries to produce a poet like Virgil. This lively and intelligent physician was evidently no bigot: many decided Papists have, however, mentioned the heretical poet with enthusiasm; though such indeed as expected preferment, have constantly interposed a formal caution relative to his heresy.

"To these satires, which seem to have been composed in Scotland, Portugal, and France, he prefixed a poetical dedication to his friend Carolus Utenhovius. Buchanan and Utenhovius apparently maintained a particular intimacy; and they have repeatedly interchanged poetical compliments.

"Carolus Utenhovius was born at Ghent, in the year 1536. His grandfather Nicholas was distinguished by his rank, his prudence, and his erudition; and his father, who bore the same baptismal name with himself, was considered as a man of piety and eloquence. The friend of Buchanan prosecuted his studies at Paris with more than common success. His birth seems to have been superior to his fortune; for he engaged himself as preceptor to the daughters of Jean de Morel, so highly celebrated for their literature. He afterwards visited England in the train of Paul de Foix, the French ambassador; and his poetical incense recommended him to the notice of Queen Elizabeth. Having entered into the matrimonial state, he settled at Cologne; where he died of an apoplexy in the year 1600. Thuanus represents him as a wanderer all his life, but still constant in his love of poetry. His works chiefly consist of miscellaneous verses, composed in seven different languages, ancient and modern. He was long understood to be engaged in preparing an edition of the Dionysiacs of Nonnus, together with a Latin translation; and, in the opinion of Falkenburgius, he was excellently qualified for the task. This edition, however, did not make its appearance.

"In the year 1567, Buchanan published another collection, consisting of *Elegiæ*, *Silvæ*, *Hendecasyllabi*. To this miscellany was prefixed an epistle to his friend Peter Daniel; a learned man, who is still remembered for his edition of Virgil with the commentary of Servius. This epistle contains several hints relative to the history of the author's poetical works. 'Between the occupations of a court,' says Buchanan, 'and the annoyance of disease, I have hardly been able to steal any portion of time, which I could either devote to my friends or to myself; and I have therefore been prevented from maintaining a frequent correspondence with my friends, and from collecting my poems which lie so widely dispersed. For my own part, I was not extremely solicitous to recal them from perdition; for the subjects are generally of a trivial nature, and such as at this period of life are at once calculated to inspire me with disgust and shame. But as Pierre Montauré

Montauré, and some other friends, to whom I neither can nor ought to refuse any request, demanded them with such earnestness, I have employed some of my leisure hours in collecting a portion, and placing it in a state of arrangement. With this specimen, which consists of one book of elegies, another of miscellanies, and a third of hendecasyllables, I in the meantime present you. When it shall suit your convenience, I beg you will communicate them to Montauré, and other philological friends, without whose advice I trust you will not adopt any measure relative to their publication. In a short time I propose sending a book of iambics, another of epigrams, another of odes, and perhaps some other pieces of a similar denomination: all these I wish to be at the disposal of my friends, as I have finally determined to rely more on their judgment than on my own. In my paraphrase of the psalms, I have corrected many typographical errors, and have likewise made various alterations: I must therefore request you to advise Stephanus not to publish a new edition without my knowledge. Hitherto I have not found leisure to finish the second book of my poem *De Sphæra;* and therefore I have not made a transcript of the first: as soon as the former is completed, I shall transmit them to you. Salute in my name all our friends at Orleans, and such others as it may be convenient. Farewel. Edinburgh, July the twenty-fourth 1566.' The two friends whom Buchanan particularizes in this letter, were men of no inconsiderable distinction. Pierre Montauré, who has been commemorated by Thuanus as a man of excellent talents, was master of the requests, a counsellor of state, and keeper of the royal library. He composed Latin verses with uncommon felicity, and was profoundly skilled in the mathematical sciences. His attachment to the cause of rational religion involved him in misfortune: having been driven from Orleans, the place of his nativity, he retired to Sancerre sur Loire, where his unmerited exile was soon terminated by death. He died on the 19th of August, 1570; and his intimate friend De l'Hospital composed his epitaph in affectionate and indignant terms. His library was uncommonly rich in mathematical manuscripts, was pillaged during the subsequent tumults of St. Bartholomew. Henry des Mesmes, who was master of the requests, and enjoyed other offices of dignity, descended from a family that derived its remote lineage from the native country of Buchanan. Although he did not court the fame of authorship, few individuals have been more generally known among their learned cotemporaries. He was not only a generous encourager of literature, but was himself a man of erudition. He was possessed of a noble library, which was always accessible to the learned; and his illustrious family was long afterwards distinguished for the same liberality of conduct. Buchanan was not the only poet who confided in the critical judgment of Des Mesmes; his decisions seem to have been very generally regarded with the utmost deference. Having retired from the court in disgust, he died in the month of August, 1596, at the age of sixty-four.

"His promise relative to the three books of iambics, epigrams, and odes, Buchanan seems to have forgotten: after an interval of nearly ten years, Daniel strongly urged

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its performance. It is not certain whether those poems were printed before the author's decease; but they now contribute to form the stately and variegated monument of his fame. Of his short and miscellaneous pieces, the subjects are sometimes indeed of a trivial nature; but even those lighter efforts serve to evince the wonderful versatility of his mind. His epigrams, which consist of three books, are not the least remarkable of his compositions: the terseness of the diction, the ductility and pungency of the thought, have deservedly placed them in the very first class. The general admiration which they have excited, appears from the frequency with which they are translated and imitated by poets of various countries. The pointed epigram has always been a favourite mode of intellectual exercise with the French; and several accomplished scholars of that nation have sufficiently indicated their approbation of Buchanan's epigrammatic wit. Menage, who has pronounced all his verses to be excellent, was particularly delighted with the felicity of the subsequent lines.

"Illa mihi semper præsenti dura Neæra,
Me, quoties absum, semper abesse dolet.
Non desiderio nostri, non mœret amore,
Sed se non nostro posse dolore frui."

That admirable philologer has imitated them in one of his Italian madrigals.

"Chi creduto l'avrebbe?
L'empia, la cruda Iole
Del mio partir si duole.
A quel finto dolore
Non ti fidar, mio core.
Non è vera pietade
Quella che monstra, nò; ma crudeltade.
Dell' aspro mio martire
La cruda vuol gioire;
Udir la cruda i miei sospiri ardenti,
E mirar vuole i duri miei tormenti."

M. de la Monnoye, a man of extensive and accurate literature, translated the same epigram into French.

"Philis, qui tête à tête insensible à mes feux,
Comte pour rien mes pleurs, mes soupirs, et mes vœux,
Quand je suis éloigné regrette ma présence.
Ah! dois-je là-dessus me flater vainement?
Non, non, le déplaisir qu'elle a de mon absence
Lui vient de ne pouvoir jouïr de mon tourment."

Buchanan's epigram *In Zoilum* has frequently been repeated with relish, and frequently translated.

"Frustra ego te laudo, frustra me, Zoile, lædis:
Nemo mihi credit, Zoile, nemo tibi."

Menage, who has written another in the very same strain, avers that Buchanan, as well as himself, was indebted to the prose of Libanius.

Μὰψ ἐμὲ λοιδορέεις μάψ, Ζώϊλε, καὶ σε ἐπαινῶ·
Οὐ γὰρ ἐμοῖς, ἃ σοῖς πίστις ἔνεσι λόγοις.

The following verses of M. de la Monnoye are professedly a translation of Buchanan's distich.

"Tu dis par tout du mal de moi,
Je dis par tout du bien de toi:
Quel malheur est le nôtre!
L'on ne nous croit ni l'un ni l'autre."

His epigrammatic epitaph on Jacobus Silvius, a famous professor of physic in the university of Paris, shall close these motley transcripts.

"Silvius hic situs est, gratis qui nil dedit unquam:
Mortuus et gratis quod legis ista dolet."

Silvius was famous for his learning, and infamous for the most sordid avarice. Buchanan's indignation had been provoked by the indecent rage which he publicly testified against two poor students, who had occasionally attended his prelections without paying their fees. He died in the year 1555; and so little was his memory revered among his pupils, that during the very crisis of his

his funeral service, some of them exhibited Buchanan's epigram on the door of the church. H. Stephanus has translated this distich into French.

"Ici gist Sylvius, auquel onc en sa vie
De donner rien gratis ne prit aucune envie:
Et ores qu'il est mort et tout rongé de vers,
Encores a despit qu'on lit gratis ces vers."

"The editors of Buchanan have uniformly inserted among his works, and without any suggestion of its superiorness, an epigram on Julius the second, which was perhaps written before Buchanan was born, and certainly before he had exceeded the seventeenth year of his age. It was composed and circulated during the life-time of that pontiff, who died on the twenty-second of February, 1513; and Janus Lascaris had obtained his favour by repelling it in another epigram, where the same topics are converted to his praise. In one collection, the satirical lines are ascribed to C. Gr. supposed to be Conradus Grebelius of Zurich.

"In the present arrangement of Buchanan's poetry, no separate book of odes is to be found; but a large proportion of his *Miscellanea* is of the lyric denomination. In his paraphrase of the psalms, lyric measures are chiefly employed; and many odes occur among his other productions. In this department of composition, as well as in various others, he deservedly holds the first rank among the modern Latinists. His diction is terse and elegant, his numbers are harmonious; and as his genius possessed a native elevation, he did not find it requisite to invest his thoughts with an eternal pomp of words. Several of the moderns, and even Casimir himself, seem to have entertained an opinion that the dignity of lyric poetry cannot be supported without the perpetual straining after brilliant metaphors and gorgeous diction; from an adherence to this notion, their productions are often removed to an equal distance from classical elegance, and from genuine sublimity. Buchanan's diction is lofty when the subject requires it; but the practice of Horace had suggested to him that every ode need not aim at sublimity, and that every sublime ode need not be darkened by an unbroken cloud of metaphors. His ode on the first of May has been very honourably distinguished by a late ingenious and elegant writer. "I know not," says Mr. Alison, "any instance where the effect of "association is so remarkable in "bestowing sublimity on objects, "to which it does not naturally be-"long, as in the following inimitable "poem of Buchanan's, on the "month of May. This season is, "in general, fitted to excite emo-"tions very different from sublimi-"ty, and the numerous poems "which have been written in cele-"bration of it, dwell uniformly on "its circumstances of 'vernal joy.' "In this ode, however, the cir-"cumstances which the poet has "selected, are of a kind which to "me appear inexpressibly sublime, "and distinguish the poem itself "by a degree and character of gran-"deur which I have seldom found "equalled in any other composi-"tion."

"His book of elegies, nine in number, is composed with his usual felicity. Some of them, however, which relate to the ladies are not the most pleasing of his performances. The most beautiful of these poems is the elegy on the first of May; a season which awoke in Buchanan the finest emotions of a truly poetical mind. The whole is tender

der and exquisite; but the opening may be produced as no unfavourable specimen.

"Festa vocant, lætisque comes Lascivia festis,
At chorus, et choreæ blandus amicus Amor:
Ludit et admissis levis Indulgentia frenis,
Et levat assueto libera colla jugo.
Interea vigiles paullum secedite curæ,
Et genitor curæ dure facesse labor:
Este procul lites, et amaræ jurgia linguæ,
Mixtaque flebilibus mœsta querela sonis;
Dum renovat Maius senium revolubilis ævi,
Et tenerum verno pingit honore solum;
Dum cœli juvenile decus, mundique juventa,
Per non ingratas itque reditque vices,
Inque recurrentes sine fine revertitur ortus,
Et nunquam fessis secula lustrat equis."

These poetical lines are conceived in the genuine spirit of the ancient elegy.

"In the sportive effusions of his youth, Buchanan has occasionally indulged a vein of pruriency, from which some authors have very rashly drawn conclusions respecting the morality of his conduct. "His "life," says Dr. Stuart, "was li-"beral like his opinions. From "the uncertain condition of his for-"tune, from his attachment to "study, he kept himself free from "the restraint of marriage; but if "a judgment may be formed from "the vivacity of his temper and the "wantonness of his verses, he was "no enemy to beauty and to love, "and must have known the tumults "and the languors of voluptuous-"ness." The necessity of this inference is very questionable. Dr. Blacklock has frequently descanted with enthusiasm on the beauties of external nature; and yet he was absolutely blind from his infancy. Buchanan might allude to raptures which he never felt. His friend Beza had indulged his youthful fancy in the utmost freedom of description; yet he afterwards protested with solemnity, that although his verses were lascivious, his conduct was chaste. The poets of that æra seem to have entertained an opinion that no man was entitled to their confraternity, unless he had offered an early sacrifice on the altars of Venus. This notion they might partly imbibe from their perpetual study of the Roman authors; the principal Latin poets of antiquity had bequeathed for their use abundant examples of elegant obscenity. The modern Italians, whether laymen or priests, did not hesitate to follow ancient precedents: some of the productions of Antonius Panormita, Pontanus, and Bembus, verge upon the very extremity of wantonness and impurity. These examples passed to other nations; Secundus, Bonefonius, and many eminent poets beside, vied with each other in the elegance of their language, and the grossness of their ideas. And, what may perhaps be regarded as still more extraordinary, in the scholastic compilations published during that period for the use of Latin versifiers, this department is very seldom neglected: the *Epithetorum Opus* of Jo. Ravisius Textor exhibits the most obscene words in the Latin language, studiously illustrated by accurate quotations from ancient and modern poets. A long train of Catholic priests have expatiated on the languors of love and the ecstacies of enjoyment: as they were doomed to perpetual celibacy, they must either have entertained a hardy contempt of moral reputation, or supposed that such productions would be regarded as mere efforts of a poetical fancy. Even the renowned queen of Navarre, who

who is represented as a woman of consummate virtue, did not blush to write what few modern ladies would profess to read. There are some poets, says Bayle, who are equally chaste in their verses and in their conduct; others who are neither chaste in their conduct nor in their verses: some there are, unchaste in their verses, and yet chaste in their conduct; and whose fire is entirely confined to the head. All their wanton liberties are sports of fancy; their Candidas and their Lesbias mistresses of fiction. Dr. Stuart's suggestion ought therefore to have been delivered in more cautious terms: and Mr. Wharton has likewise mentioned Buchanan's amatory verses in a manner which betrays some degree of precipitancy. These observations, which are merely historical, do not insinuate the expediency of following a bad example, however prevalent. Buchanan has repeatedly expressed his compunction for having been guilty of such levity; nor is it incumbent on his biographer to commend the youthful sallies which he himself condemned in his graver years. By some authors, and particularly by Mr. Benson, his delinquency has however been described in terms of illiberal and absurd exaggeration.

"While he presided over St. Leonard's College, he appears to have enjoyed the esteem and confidence of the university. The public register bestows upon him the honourable title for which he was indebted to Stephanus. In 1566 and the two ensuing years, he was one of the four electors of the rector; and was nominated a protector by each of the three officers who were successively chosen. For several years he was likewise dean of faculty.

"Of the general assembly of the national church, convened at Edinburgh on the 25th of December, 1553, Buchanan had sat as a member; and had even been appointed one of the commissioners for revising "The Book of Discipline." In that commission he had been associated with the Earl Marischal, Lord Ruthven, the bishop of Orkney, and several other persons of distinction. He was also a member of the assembly which met at Edinburgh on the 25th of June, 1567; and on that occasion had the honour, though a layman, of being chosen moderator.

"The nation was now in a state of anarchy; and Buchanan was soon to assume the character of a politician. The late conduct of Queen Mary, whom he once regarded in so favourable a light, had offered such flagrant insults to virtue and decorum, that his attachment was at length converted into antipathy. Having placed her affections on the Earl of Bothwell, a man of the most profligate manners, she deemed it expedient to remove every object which might obstruct their mutual views. The pusillanimous and ill-fated king was murdered on the tenth of February, 1567; and it is but too evident that his deluded consort was not unacquainted with the nefarious plot by which he fell. The nation indignantly pointed to the actual murderer; but she protected him from the vengeance of the law, and distinguished him by public marks of her favour. On the 24th of April, Bothwell, accompanied by a numerous train of horsemen, seized the person of his sovereign; and her conduct very clearly evinced that this expedient had either been suggested by herself, or at least had been adopted with her entire approbation. Having

ing precipitately obtained a divorce from his lawful wife, his infamous nuptials with the queen were solemnized on the 15th of May, about three months after he had assassinated her former husband. A series of actions so unprecedented and so atrocious could not fail of producing unbounded indignation. But the schemes of Bothwell were not yet accomplished: his extreme solicitude to secure the person of the young prince, excited new apprehensions; and a powerful confederacy was at length formed for the purpose of defeating the design which he had evidently conceived. Both parties had recourse to arms, and Mary followed her new husband to the field. But when the hostile armies encountered each other, he found his followers so little disposed to engage, that he abandoned the queen in the midst of her parley with the confederates, and quitted the scene with precipitation. She now found herself in the power of her indignant subjects; and was certainly exposed to treatment which cannot be remembered to their honour. As her undiminished passion for the ruffian who had destroyed her peace and her reputation, would not permit her to yield to their proposal of dissolving so indecent a marriage, they readily perceived the consequences of suffering her to retain that power which she had abused. They formed the resolution of securing her person; and she was committed to strict custody in the castle of Lochlevin. Her policy induced her to accede to the proposition of resigning her crown, and to invest her natural brother the Earl of Murray with the regency. On the 2nd of May, 1568, she escaped from her prison; and soon afterwards found herself at the head of a numerous army. The defeat at Langside terminated her prospects of being speedily reinstated in her authority. She now retired into England, where she hoped to find an asylum: but she soon discovered that she had reposed her confidence in a most perfidious and cruel rival. Having incautiously offered to submit her cause to the cognizance of the English queen, she thus found a pretext for degrading her to the level of an English subject; and she was most ungenerously detained in a state of captivity. Elizabeth required the regent to empower delegates to appear before her commissioners; but as his principal adherents declined so hazardous an office, he was reduced to the ignominious necessity of attending in person. His associates in this commission were the Earl of Morton, Bothwell bishop of Orkney, Lord Lindsay, and Pitcairne commendator of Dunfermline. He was also accompanied by Buchanan, Maitland of Lethington, Balnaves of Hallhill, Macgill of Rankeilor, and some other individuals of inferior attainments. Balnaves and Macgill bore the character of able civilians; and the abilities of Maitland were of the first order. The delegates nominated by the unfortunate queen were Dr. John Lesley, bishop of Ross, a man eminently distinguished for his talents and learning, Lord Livingston, Lord Boyd, Lord Herreis, Sir John Gordon of Lochinvar, Sir James Cockburn of Skirling, and Gavin Hamilton commendator of Kilwinning. On the 4th of October 1568, the conference was opened at York before the commissioners of Elizabeth, but in the course of the ensuing month it was transferred to Westminster. This singular transaction

was managed with great address on both sides. Nor was Buchanan the least powerful of Murray's coadjutors: he composed in Latin a detection of Queen Mary's actions, which was produced to the commissioners at Westminster, and was afterwards circulated with great industry by the English court. His engaging in a task of this kind, as well as his mode of executing it, has frequently been urged as a proof of his moral depravity; and to augment his delinquency, the benefits conferred upon him by the queen have been multiplied with much ingenuity. It is certain that she granted him the temporalities of the abbey of Crossragwell; and beyond this single point the evidence cannot be extended. Nor was this reward bestowed on a man who had performed no correspondent services. He had officiated as her classical tutor, and had composed various poems for the entertainment of the Scottish court: but the immortal dedication of his psalms was alone equivalent to any reward which she conferred. If Buchanan celebrated her in his poetical capacity, and before she ceased to be an object of praise, it certainly was not incumbent upon him to approve the atrocious actions which she afterwards performed. The duty which he owed to his country was a prior consideration; and with that duty, his further adherence to the infatuated princess was utterly incompatible.

"The Earl of Murray and his associates returned to Scotland in the beginning of the ensuing year. This work of Buchanan, which was not published till 1571, seems to have been intrusted to Dr. Thomas Wilson; who is supposed, with great plausibility, to have added the "Actio contra Mariam Scotorum Reginam," and the Latin translation of Mary's first three letters to the Earl of Bothwell. From a manuscript notice inserted in a copy which belonged to Mr. Herbert, it appears that the *Actio* was by some ascribed to Sir Thomas Smith, but by the annotator himself to Wilson, of whom he must apparently be supposed to have had some personal knowledge. Wilson was at that time master of the requests, and afterwards secretary of state. Some of the sentiments, and the general texture of the composition, are such as cannot easily be supposed to have proceeded from Buchanan; and, in the present inquiry, it is of more consequence to ascertain that it was not written by him, than who was its real author. "It resumes," says Mr. Laing, "the detail of the same facts con-"tained in the Detection, with the "tedious repetition natural to one "author, when retracing the foot-"steps of another, whom he strives "only to surpass in violence: su-"peradding such local description, "and vulgar reports as a keen in-"quirer, who had visited Scotland "in person, might collect from "Lesley, and other Scots, whom "he examined on the subject. The "Detection is a concise historical "deduction of facts; a rapid narra-"tive, written with that chaste "and classical precision of thought "and language, from which each "sentence acquires an appropriate "idea, distinct from the preceding, "neither anticipated, repeated, nor "intermixed with others; and the "style is so strictly historical, that "the work is incorporated in Bu-"chanan's history almost without "alteration. But the Action against "Mary is a dull declamation, and "a malignant invective, written in

"professed

" professed imitation of the ancient " orators, whom Buchanan has never " imitated; without arrangement of " parts, coherence, or a regular train " of ideas; and without a single " passage which Buchanan, in his " history, has deigned to transcribe. " A man inured to extemporary " eloquence, whose mind is accus- " tomed only to popular arguments, " and his tongue to prompt and " loose declamation, never writes " with such lucid arrangements, " with such accuracy of thought, " or compression of style, as a pro- " fessed author, who thinks no la- " bour too great for what is be- " queathed to posterity; and the " virulent Action against Mary no " more resembles Buchanan's De- " tection, than the coarse and ver- " bose ribaldry of Whitaker, or the " elegant yet diffuse rhapsodies of " Burke and Bolingbroke, the cor- " rect and classical precision of Ju- " nius or Hume."

" The regent to whom Buchanan was so cordially attached, did not long survive those transactions. On the 23d of January, 1570, he was shot in the street of Linlithgow, by Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh, whom his clemency had formerly rescued from an ignominious death. The assassin had been confirmed in his inhuman enterprise by the approbation of his powerful kinsmen. The indignation of Buchanan was naturally roused against the house of Hamilton; and he had sufficient cause to suspect that their purposes were not yet completely effected. Under these impressions, he addressed an admonition to the faithful peers; in which he earnestly adjured them to protect the young king, and the children of the late regent, from the perils which seemed to await them. It was apparently in the course of the same year, 1570, that he composed another Scottish tract, entitled *Chamæleon*. In this satirical production, he very successfully exposes the wavering politics of the famous secretary Maitland. The secretary, who was justly alarmed at the prospect of being publicly exhibited in such glaring colours, entertained a suspicion that the work was to issue from the press of Robert Lekprevick; and on the 14th of April, 1571, his emissary Captain Melvin searched, for the third time, that printer's house in Edinburgh. This search took place about eleven o'clock on a Saturday night; but Lekprevick being warned of his danger, had previously disappeared with such papers as seemed to threaten disagreeable consequences. The *Chamæleon*, if it was actually delivered to the printer, seems to have been suppressed by Maitland's vigilance; for it remained in manuscript till the beginning of last century. The style of these two productions is at least equal in vigour and elegance to that of any other composition in the ancient Scottish language; though it is sufficiently obvious that the happy genius of the author cannot there appear in its genuine splendor. " When we " read," says an accomplished and able writer, " the compositions of " Buchanan in his native tongue, " how completely are his genius " and taste obscured by those " homely manners which the coarse- " ness of his dialect recals; and how " difficult is it to believe that they " express the ideas and sentiments " of the same writer, whose Latin " productions vie with the best mo- " dels of antiquity!"

" Soon after the assassination of his illustrious friend, Buchanan was removed to a situation of no inconsiderable importance; he was appointed one of the preceptors of

the young king. For this preferment, he was apparently indebted to the privy council, and others of the nobility and gentry, who assembled in consequence of that disastrous event, for the purpose of regulating the affairs of the nation. Having appeared before the council, he resigned his office of principal in favour of his friend Patrick Adamson, probably the famous poet who was afterwards archbishop of St. Andrews. The circumstance of his being permitted to nominate a successor, may be considered as an additional proof of the high estimation in which his character was held. The privy council now admitted Adamson to the principality; but it does not appear from the university records that he ever exercised his new functions.

"The prince had been committed during his infancy to the charge of the Earl of Mar, a nobleman of the most unblemished integrity. In 1570, when Buchanan entered upon his office, he was only four years of age. The chief superintendence of his education was intrusted to the Earl's brother, Sir Alexander Erskine, "a gallant well-natured "gentleman, loved and honoured "by all men." The preceptors associated with Buchanan were Peter Young, and the two abbots of Cambuskenneth and Dryburgh, both related to the noble family of Mar. Young was respectable for his capacity and learning. His disposition was naturally mild; and his prudent attention to his future interest rendered him cautious of offending a pupil, who was soon to be the dispenser of public favours. He was afterwards employed in several political transactions of importance, obtained the honour of knighthood, and received an annual pension of considerable amount. The lofty and independent spirit of Buchanan was not to be controlled by the mere suggestions of cold caution; the honourable task which the voice of his country had assigned to his old age, he discharged with simple integrity, and was little solicitous what impression the strictness of his discipline might leave on the mind of his royal pupil. James, who was of a timid nature, long remembered the commanding aspect which his illustrious preceptor had assumed. Of the uncourtly discipline to which he was subjected, two instances have been recorded; but with regard to their authenticity, every inquirer shall be left to decide for himself. The king having caught a fancy for a tame sparrow which belonged to his play-fellow the master of Mar, solicited him without effect to transfer his right; and in endeavouring to wrest it out of his hand, he deprived the poor little animal of life. Erskine having raised due lamentation for its untimely fate, the circumstances were reported to Buchanan, who lent his young sovereign a box on the ear, and admonished him that he was himself a true bird of the bloody nest to which he belonged. A theme which had one day been prescribed to the royal pupil, was the conspiracy of the Earl of Angus and other noblemen during the reign of James the third. After dinner he was diverting himself with the master of Mar; and as Buchanan, who in the meantime was intent on reading, found himself annoyed by their obstreperous mirth, he requested the king to desist; but as no attention was paid to the suggestion, he threatened to accompany his next injunction with something more forcible than words. James, whose ear had been tickled by the quaint application

application of the apologue mentioned in his theme, replied that he should be glad to see who would *bell the cat.* His venerable preceptor, who might have pardoned the remark, was perhaps offended with the mode in which it was uttered; he threw aside his book with indignation, and bestowed upon the delinquent that species of scholastic discipline which is deemed most ignominious. The countess of Mar, being attracted by the wailing which ensued, hastened to the scene of his disgrace; and taking the precious deposit in her arms, she demanded of Buchanan how he presumed to lay his hand upon "the Lord's anointed?" To this interrogation, he is said to have returned an answer that contained a very unceremonious antithesis relative to the part which had received the chastisement. A man who was no stranger to polished society can hardly be suspected of such unpoliteness to a lady, unless we suppose her to have assumed a degree of insolence which rendered it expedient to convince her, by an overwhelming proof, that he disowned her authority.

"The young monarch's proficiency in letters was such as reflected no discredit on his early instructors. He undoubtedly acquired a very considerable portion of scholastic knowledge, and attained to the command of a fluent and not inelegant style. By some of the most illustrious of his cotemporaries, he has even been extolled as a prodigy of erudition: but the commendations bestowed upon a living potentate are generally to be received with the utmost caution. His literary attainments are however commemorated in terms of respect by several eminent writers, who cannot be suspected of the same partiality of judgment. Dr. Parr admits that he was possessed of no contemptible share of learning; and an admirable historian mentions his Βασιλικὸν Δῶρον with appropriate praise. "Notwithstanding," says Dr. Robertson, "the great alterations and "and refinements in national taste "since that time, we must allow "this to be no contemptible per-"formance, and not to be inferior "to works of most cotemporary "writers, either in purity of style "or justness of composition." His works are numerous, and of various denominations.

That he should regard the memory of his preceptor with any unusual degree of affection, could not reasonably be expected. The character of his mother Buchanan had discussed in a very unceremonious style; and, in return, James has repeatedly mentioned the name of Buchanan with very little reverence. The royal author condemns his History of Scotland as an infamous invective; and admonishes his heir apparent to punish such of his future subjects as should be guilty of retaining it in their custody. James is to be considered as one of Buchanan's most formidable enemies. The only son of an ill-fated princess was naturally solicitous to wash away the foul spots of her reputation; and with this view he exerted all the powerful influence attached to his sceptre. Men of letters who courted his favour, were too easily induced to consider his mother's fame as immaculate; and as her reputation was incompatible with that of her principal accuser, the next step of expediency was to convict Buchanan in the most summary manner. His strong antipathy cannot indeed excite much surprise; but it would perhaps have been more magnanimous to suppress his indignation

nation against a preceptor, who had discharged his duty with the most conscientious solicitude. Of the future glory of his pupil, and the attendant felicity of his country. Buchanan seems to have cherished many a fond and anxious hope; but all his labours proved abortive, and his expectations deceitful. The understanding of James, which had presented no unfavourable dawn, was naturally opaque; and the malignant influence of courtly adulation speedily counteracted the effect of those salutary maxims of virtue and polity, with which it was the perpetual solicitude of Buchanan to fortify his tender mind. From the mature wisdom of his instructor, he might have imbibed the durable principles of a legitimate sovereignty; might have learned to secure his own glory, to provide for the future peace of his race, and to consider the happiness of his people as the most splendid object of regal ambition. But his notions of prerogative, after having been fostered by a more genial atmosphere, became at length so utterly extravagant as to approach the borders of phrenzy. In his native country, he was frequently treated with the utmost contempt; but England had long been habituated to the tyranny of the house of Tudor. His son inherited his political errors as well as his crown; though the royal family scorned improvement, the rest of the nation had begun to sicken at perpetual encroachment and submission; and the ensuing struggle, which was unquestionably followed by remote consequences of a salutary nature, involved the death of a monarch whose faults, though of the first magnitude, were faults of education. If the pupil of Buchanan had been worthy of such a preceptor, the royal house of Stewart might still have swayed the sceptre of their ancestors.

"One of the earliest propensities which he discovered, was an excessive attachment to favourites; and this weakness, which ought to have been abandoned with the other characteristics of childhood, continued to retain its ascendancy during every stage of his life. His facility in complying with every request alarmed the prophetic sagacity of Buchanan. On the authority of the poet's nephew, Chytræus has recorded a ludicrous expedient which he adopted for the purpose of correcting his pupil's conduct. He presented the young king with two papers, which he requested him to sign; and James, after having slightly interrogated him respecting their contents, readily appended his signature to each, without the precaution of even a cursory perusal. One of them was a formal transference of the regal authority for the term of fifteen days. Having quitted the royal presence, one of the courtiers accosted him with his usual salutation; but to this astonished nobleman he announced himself in the new character of a sovereign; and with that happy urbanity of humour for which he was so distinguished, he began to assume the high demeanour of royalty. He afterwards preserved the same deportment towards the king himself; and when James expressed his amazement at such extraordinary conduct, Buchanan admonished him of his having resigned the crown. This reply did not tend to lessen the monarch's surprise; for he now began to suspect his preceptor of mental derangement. Buchanan then produced the instrument by which he was formally invested; and, with the authority of a tutor, proceeded to remind him of the absurdity of assenting

assenting to petitions in so rash a manner.

"About the period when he was nominated preceptor to the king, other marks of distinction were conferred upon him. His first civil appointment, which he seems to have retained but a short while, was that of director of the chancery. The keeper of the privy seal, John, afterwards Lord Maitland, having been deprived of his office on account of his adherence to the unfortunate queen, it was very laudably conferred on Buchanan, in the year 1570. The Earl of Lenox was at that time regent. His situation as lord privy seal was undoubtedly honourable, and probably lucrative. It entitled him to a seat in parliament. This office he retained for the space of several years. On the 30th of April, 1578, he nominally resigned it in favour of his nephew Thomas, the son of Alexander Buchanan of Ibert; but that measure seems only to have been adopted for the purpose of securing the reversion. For in the month of June, he voted in parliament for the abbot of Dunfermline's being sent as ambassador to the English court; and in that of July for the Earl of Morton's being excluded from the king's council. So late as the year 1580, one of his correspondents addresses him by the title of preceptor and counsellor to the king of Scotland.

"With the three former regents he was cordially connected; but the conduct of Morton had deservedly excited his patriotic indignation. It was by the seasonable council of Buchanan and Sir Alexander Erskine, that the king had been induced to depose him from his office, which, however, he afterwards succeeded in regaining. The situation of Scotland during that unhappy period is sufficiently known. It was the policy of Elizabeth to exert over this country a very unwarrantable influence; and the anticipation of a speedy union might perhaps have considerable tendency to reconcile many upright men to her views. A list of twenty-four persons in Scotland, whom she proposed to attach by pensions, is still preserved. One hundred pounds was the gratuity intended for Buchanan; and several noble earls are not there valued at a higher price. But it is far from being certain that this pension was ever conferred; nor is any material inference to be rashly deduced from the insertion of his name in the scrolls of a political projector, residing in a different kingdom.

"Buchanan was equally consulted as a politician and as a scholar. The inconveniences which were found to result from the use of a multiplicity of Latin grammars in the different schools of the kingdom, having been represented to the young monarch, a committee of learned men was appointed to deliberate respecting a competent remedy. Buchanan presided; and his coadjutors were Peter Young, Andrew Simpson, and James Carmichael. They assembled in the royal palace of Stirling; and while they continued to exercise their commission, were suitably entertained at the charge of the king. Having found the grammars commonly in use to be extremely defective, it was resolved that three of their number should attempt to establish a more rational standard. Simpson, who was schoolmaster, and afterwards minister of Dunbar, undertook the rudiments; Carmichael, who was likewise a schoolmaster, what is improperly termed etymology; and to Buchanan was assigned the department of prosody.

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The respective tracts of these grammarians were in due time committed to the press; but they did not long continue to be received as the standard introduction to the Latin language. The expediency of the legislature interfering in a case of this kind, may very safely be called in question. From the promiscuous use of different elementary treatises, some inconveniences undoubtedly will arise: but if certain grammars were to be authoritatively intruded on all the schools of a kingdom, no future opportunity would be left for that gradual improvement which may be expected in every department of human art. If king James's regulations, which were probably authorized by an order of council, had continued to be enforced with any degree of rigour, the grammatical works of Ruddiman might never have been undertaken. If the Scottish geometers had been compelled to adhere to a particular text-book, Euclid would in all probability never have been illustrated by the labours of Dr. Simson and Mr. Playfair.

"In the month of July, 1578, the parliament granted a commission "to certain noble, reverend, wor- "shipful, and discreet persons, to "visit and consider the foundations "and erections of the universities "and colleges within this realm; "to reform such things as sounded "to superstition, idolatry, and po- "pery; to displace unqualified and "unfit persons from the discharge "of their offices in the said univer- "sities; and to establish such qua- "lified and worthy persons therein "as they should find good and suf- "ficient for the education of youth." These commissioners having failed to convene at the time specified, the business was consequently delayed; but it was afterwards expedited by a remonstrance from the general assembly. The delegates of the church particularized the university of St. Andrews as a proper subject for the first experiment of reformation: and the privy council enjoined the heads of that university to repair to Edinburgh on a certain day, and to submit their charters to the inspection of a commission which was now appointed. The commissioners who acted upon this occasion were the Earl of Lenox, Robert commendator of Dunfermline, George Buchanan, James Haliburton, and Peter Young. Having found much to alter and redress, they subscribed a memorial, dated on the 8th of November, 1579; and their scheme of reformation was ratified by parliament on the 11th of the same month. This very curious memorial, which is written in the Scottish language, is known to have been the production of Buchanan. The general plan is very skilfully delineated; and it evidently presupposed the nation to abound in men of learning. The act of parliament which ratified Buchanan's scheme was afterwards repealed, in consequence of the confusion and uncertainty which the academics pretended to have arisen from the introduction of such material alterations. But they may fairly be suspected of having been unwilling to pursue the arduous path of erudition which had been prescribed: it was more easy to observe the old formalities of the schools, than to embrace so large a plan of discipline. The former act was repealed on the 4th of August, 1621; and the general principles of the repealing statute are such as might have been expected from one of King James's parliaments. To these legislators it seemed "most equitable that the "will of the founders should take "effect,

"effect, except where the same is "repugnant to the true religion "presently professed within this "kingdom." But it was certainly as far remote from the will of the founders; that their colleges should ever become seminaries of any new religion, as that the plan of scholastic discipline originally prescribed should be subjected to salutary innovations. If in one instance it was absolute sacrilege to violate the tenor of their bequest, it must in all other instances have been the same. But as it had been found expedient to supersede their regulations with respect to the very essential article of religion, it ought likewise to have occurred to the legislature, that to banish unprofitable modes of study was a measure not less consistent with equity. Whatever may be their genuine origin, it is always proper to consider foundations of this kind as having originated in the pure motives of benevolence and public spirit; and to promote their correspondence with the progressive nature of man, must be deemed perfectly consistent with the general principles which their authors ostensibly entertain.

"The merit of Buchanan, as must already have appeared, was not overlooked by his countrymen; and his consequence abroad had been increased by the respect which he secured at home. From the general state of religious opinions in the nation, as well as from the conspicuous character of the royal instructor, the Protestants on the continent seem to have conceived early hopes of finding in the Scottish monarch a powerful accession to the common cause. So considerable was the influence of this illustrious scholar, that his favour was even solicited by the king of Navarre, afterwards so famous by the title of Henry the Great. In a letter addressed to Buchanan, that accomplished prince requested him to instil into the tender mind of his pupil such sentiments as might conduce to their future attachment. This letter he intrusted to his faithful adherent Philip Mornay, a man highly distinguished for his literary and political talents. In the progress of his voyage to England, Mornay fell into the hands of pirates, and it was carried off with the rest of the plunder; but upon his arrival in London, he apprized Buchanan of his master's wishes. The French protestants were extremely solicitous for a matrimonial alliance between James and the king of Navarre's sister; and at the suggestion of several persons of that class, R. Lemaçon de la Fontaine requested Buchanan to promote a scheme which might essentially contribute to the advancement of the reformed religion. Two of his letters relative to this subject have been preserved; but what encouragement the project received, is not known.

"Beza, the friend of Buchanan, and the terror of the Papists, addressed himself to the young king with similar views. In the year 1580, he dedicated to James one of his publications, in a strain sufficiently calculated to pre-engage his attachment to the Protestant interests. On this occasion, he wrote a short epistle to his early friend. 'Behold, my dear Buchanan, a 'notable instance of double ex- 'travagance in a single act; afford- 'ing an illustration of the charac- 'teristic phrenzy of poets—provided 'you admit me to a participation 'of that title. I have been guilty 'of trifling with a serious subject, 'and have dedicated my trifles to a 'king. If, with your usual polite-

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'ness, and in consideration of our 'ancient friendship, you should undertake to excuse both these circumstances to the king, I trust the matter 'will have a fortunate issue: but if 'you refuse, I shall be disappointed 'in my expectations. The scope of 'this little work, such as it is, you 'will learn from the preface; namely, that the king, when he shall 'be aware of the high expectations 'which he has excited in all the 'churches, may at the same time, 'delighted with those various and 'excellent examples, become more 'and more familiar with his duty. 'Of this work I likewise send a copy 'to you, that is, owls to Athens; and 'request you to accept it as a token 'of my regard. My late Paraphrase 'of the Psalms, if it has reached 'your country, will I hope inspire 'you with the design of reprinting 'your own, to the great advantage 'of the church: and, believe me, 'it is not so much myself as the 'whole church that entreats you to 'accelerate this scheme. Farewel, 'excellent man. May the Lord 'Jesus bless your hoary hairs more 'and more, and long preserve you 'for our sake. Geneva, March '16th, 1580.'

"In a former letter, Beza had congratulated him on the promising disposition of his royal pupil. 'I 'could not suffer this safe messenger 'to depart without a letter, at once 'to convince you that, during your 'absence, I have carefully preserved 'and continually cherished your remembrance, and to offer you, or 'rather the whole nation, my congratulations in reference to what 'you have signified to our friend 'Scrimger; namely, that you are 'blest with a king whose childhood 'has already afforded such indications of piety and every virtue, as 'have excited in the public mind the 'hope and expectation of all that is 'desirable. God forbid that the 'same mischance, which not long 'ago befel a neighbouring nation, 'should befal you: but may he rather grant that Scotland, being 'thus possessed of a king endowed 'with every accomplishment of 'body and mind, may at length repose from the domestic wars and 'assassinations with which it has 'so long been annoyed, and enjoy the blessings of holy peace. 'May the same merciful Father 'rid you of your Medea, or Athalia: for I cannot find a name suitable to her misdeeds. With respect to our affairs, you will I 'hope receive complete information 'from our friend Young. From 'the perusal of your Psalms I have 'derived incredible delight: although they are such as could 'only have proceeded from yourself, yet I wish, what to you will 'by no means be difficult, that from 'being good you would render them 'the best, or, if you please, better 'than the best. Farewel, excellent 'man, together with all the good 'and pious. May the Lord Jesus 'preserve you in health and safety. 'Geneva, April 12th, 1572.'

"These illustrious friends displayed a strong congeniality of disposition: they were animated with the same ardent spirit of independence, and were equally attached to the principles of the Reformation. From the same warmth of zeal that prompted them to the pursuit of excellence, they were sometimes betrayed into a violent and intemperate style. The terms which Buchanan has applied to Queen Mary and Archbishop Hamilton are such as can hardly be justified; and Beza has often treated his literary antagonists in a very reprehensible manner. Beza, like his admirable correspondent, evinced

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an early predilection for poetry; and he likewise executed a complete Paraphrase of the Psalms. Their respective versions have repeatedly been associated together; but as Le Clerk has very properly suggested, this was a comparison which Beza ought not so rashly to have hazarded.

Death and Character of Buchanan.

(*From the same.*)

"BUCHANAN expired a short while after five o'clock, on the morning of Friday the 28th of September, 1582. He was then in the seventy-seventh year of his age. His remains were interred in the cemetery of the Grey-friars; and his ungrateful country never afforded his grave the common tribute of a monumental stone. After an interval of some years, his tomb was opened; and his skull, or at least a skull supposed to be his, was, by the intervention of Principal Adamson, deposited in the library of the university of Edinburgh. It is so thin as to be transparent.

"The death of this illustrious man was less commemorated by the surviving poets than might reasonably have been expected. Some poetical tributes were however produced on the occasion. Andrew Melvin, who had frequently celebrated him while alive, did not fail to discharge the last debt of lettered friendship.

"Ergo silent magni Buchanani in funere Musæ?
Nec vatem Aonidum flet pia turba suum?
An secum Buchananus habet montem, unde Camœnæ
Devolvunt mœstis murmura trunca modis?
An secum Buchananus habet fontem, unde poetæ
Pieriis poti collachrymantur aquis?
Aonio frustra quæruntur vertice Musæ:
Castalio frustra e fonte petuntur aquæ.
Pro monte est cœlum, pro fonte est Christus: utrumque
Et Christum et cœlum nunc Buchananus habet.
Hausisti hinc sacros latices, divine poeta:
Fudisti hinc summo carmina digna Deo.
Hauriat hinc quisquis Buchanani in funere mœret,
Ut vatum fundat carmina digna Deo."

Joseph Scaliger has also written his epitaph, and in terms of liberal and appropriate praise.

"Postquam laude tua patriam, meritisque beasti,
Buchanane, tuis Solis utrumque latus,
Contemptis opibus, spretis popularibus auris,
Ventosæque fugax ambitionis, obis;
Præmia quina quater Pisææ functus olivæ,
Et linquens animi pignora rara tui:
In quibus haud tibi se anteferent quos Itala vates
Terra dedit: nec quos Gallia mater alit,
Æquabunt genium felicis carminis, et quæ
Orbis habet famæ conscia signa tuæ.
Namque ad supremum perducta poetica culmen
In te stat, nec quo progrediatur habet.
Imperii fuerat Romani Scotia limes:
Romani eloquii Scotia finis erit."

"Buchanan had consecrated a monument of his own fame, composed of materials more permanent than brass or marble; but his country has at length afforded him one of those memorials which are of least value when most merited, and which contribute more to the honour of the living

living than of the dead. An obelisk, nineteen feet square at the base, and extending to the height of one hundred and three feet, was lately erected to his memory at the village of Killearn. The plan was suggested by the late Robert Dunmore, Esq. to a very numerous company assembled in the house of a gentleman in that vicinity. Professor Richardson, well known as a successful cultivator of polite literature, was present on the occasion. A subscription was immediately opened, and nearly completed by those classical guests; and one of their number, the late Mr. Craig, a nephew of Thomson, furnished the architectural design as his contribution. To this memorial of departed genius the intelligent traveller resorts with veneration and enthusiasm.

"Buchanan had experienced many of the vicissitudes of human life, and, in every situation, had adhered to those maxims of conduct which he deemed honourable. His integrity was stern and inflexible: what has been regarded as the least immaculate part of his character, naturally resulted from the prominent qualities of a mind which could not sufficiently accommodate itself to the frailties of mankind. The misdeeds of the ill-fated queen were, in his opinion, such as dissolved every tie by which he might once be bound: her conduct, he supposed, had not only destroyed her hereditary claims of allegiance, but had even reflected disgrace and infamy on human nature. This sentiment, whatever may be the legitimacy of its origin, was certainly entertained by Buchanan; who has accordingly vented his unbounded indignation in terms which cannot otherwise be justified. But the age in which he lived was rude and boisterous; nor did the exquisite cultivation of his mind entirely defend him from the general contagion. He was subject to the nice and irritable feelings which frequently attend exalted genius; enthusiastic in his attachment, and violent in his resentment; equally sincere in his love and in his hatred. His friends, among whom he numbered some of the most distinguished characters of that æra, regarded him with a warmth of affection which intellectual eminence cannot alone secure. Of an open and generous disposition, he displayed the enviable qualities which render domestic intercourse profitable and interesting. The general voice had awarded him a pre-eminence in literature that seemed to preclude all hopes of rivalship: but his estimate of his own attainments was uniformly consistent with perfect modesty; and no man could evince himself more willing to acknowledge genuine merit in other candidates for fame. This affability, united to the charms of a brilliant conversation, rendered his society highly acceptable to persons of the most opposite denomination. His countenance was stern and austere, but his heart soft and humane. In his writings, he inculcates the principles of patriotism and benevolence; and in his commerce with the world, he did not depart from his solitary speculations. His patriotism was of that unadulterated species which flows from general philanthropy: his large soul embraced the common family of mankind, but his affections taught him that his first regards were due to the barren land from which he derived his birth. Notwithstanding his long habituation to an academical life, his manners betrayed none of the peculiarities of a mere pedagogue. During his latter

latter years, when his constitution was broken by complicated diseases, and his mind sick of terrestrial objects, he became negligent in his dress, and perhaps somewhat inattentive to the ceremonials of private intercourse; but his general character was that of a man conspicuous for the urbanity of his wit. His conversation was alternately facetious and instructive. George Buchanan's wit is still proverbial among his countrymen; and a motley collection of his supposed repartees and adventures is one of the most common books in the libraries of the Scottish peasantry. His humour was however of a more dignified denomination than it is there represented; nature seemed to have intended him for the ornament and reformation of a court. The native elegance of his mind, and the splendor of his reputation, secured him the utmost respect and deference from such of his countrymen as were not separated from him by the rancour of political zeal: and although he even assumed considerable latitude in censuring the errors of exalted station, yet the dignified simplicity of his manners prevented his liberties from exciting resentment. Conscious of personal worth and of intrinsic greatness, he did not fail to assert his own privileges: mere superiority of rank was not capable of alluring him to a servile and degrading attachment; but it was equally incapable of provoking his envy or malice. In the course of his chequered life, he found himself not unfrequently exposed to the miseries of poverty; but his philosophical mind never learned to stoop to the suggestions of sordid prudence. Although he at length enjoyed one of the great offices of the crown, and possessed other sources of emolument, yet his liberality seems to have increased in proportion to his opulence; he purchased no estates, and had no hoards of treasure to bequeath. Of his prodigality or ostentation no evidence occurs: it is not therefore unreasonable to conclude, that the principal charms of his wealth arose from its application to benevolent purposes. Of the truth of the Christian religion, and consequently of its eternal moment, his conviction seems to have been complete and uniform. Sir James Melvil, although his political enemy, has candidly represented him as a man of piety. The nature of his attachment to the Reformation was consistent with his usual wisdom: he eagerly hailed the dawn of an æra which promised to relieve the world of enormous delusion, and of enormous profligacy; but he certainly could not approve the excesses of a party which evinced sufficient inclination, as soon as it possessed sufficient power, to tyrannize over the consciences of mankind. The extravagances of John Knox, with whom he appears to have been personally acquainted, and who was undoubtedly a most powerful champion in a cause of which they entertained the same general sentiments, have received no splendid encomiums from the historical pen of Buchanan. He was too delicate to devour popular creeds, and too enlightened to applaud the fierce spirit of intoleration in men who had themselves been roused to strenuous action by the bitterness of persecution.

"Nor was the genius of Buchanan less variegated than his life. In his numerous writings, he discovers a vigorous and mature combination of talents which have seldom been found united in equal perfection. According to the common opinion,

opinion, intellectual superiority is almost invariably circumscribed by one of the two grand partitions which philosophers have delineated; it is either founded on the predominancy of those capabilities which constitute what is termed the imagination, or of those which in contradistinction are denominated the understanding. These different powers of exertion, though certainly not incompatible with each other, are but rarely found to coalesce in equal maturity. Buchanan has however displayed them in the same high degree of perfection. To an imagination excursive and brilliant, he unites an undeviating rectitude of judgment. His learning was at once elegant, various, and profound: Turnebus, who was associated with him in the same college, and whose decisions will not be rashly controverted, has characterized him as a man of consummate erudition. Most of the ancient writers had limited their aspiring hopes to one department of literature; and even to excel in one, demands the happy perseverance of a cultivated genius. Plato despaired of gaining a reputation by his poetry; the poetical attempts of Cicero, though less contemptible perhaps than they are commonly represented, would not have been sufficient to transmit an illustrious name to future ages. Buchanan has not only attained to excellence in each species of composition, but in each species has displayed a variety of excellence: in philosophical dialogue and historical narrative, in lyric and didactic poetry, in elegy, epigram, and satire, he has never been equalled in modern, and hardly surpassed in ancient times. A few Roman poets of the purest age have excelled him in their several provinces; but none of them has evinced the same capability of universal attainment. Horace and Livy wrote in the language which they had learned from their mothers; but its very acquisition was to Buchanan the result of much youthful labour. Yet he writes with the purity, the elegance, and freedom of an ancient Roman. Unfettered by the classical restraints which shrivel the powers of an ordinary mind, he expatiates with all the characteristic energy of strong and original sentiment; he produces new combinations of fancy, and invests them with language equally polished and appropriate. His diction uniformly displays a happy vein of elegant and masculine simplicity; and is distinguished by that propriety and perspicuity, which can only be attained by a man perfectly master of his own ideas, and of the language in which he writes. The variety of his poetical measures is immense, and to each species he imparts its peculiar grace and harmony. The style of his prose exhibits correspondent beauties; nor is it chequered by phraseologies unsuitable in that mode of composition. His diction, whether in prose or verse, is not a tissue of centos; he imitates the ancients as the ancients imitated each other. No Latin poet of modern times has united the same originality and elegance; no historian has so completely imbibed the genius of antiquity without being betrayed into servile and pedantic imitation. But his works may legitimately claim a higher order of merit; they have added no inconsiderable influx to the general stream of human knowledge. The wit, the pungency, the vehemence, of his ecclesiastical satires, must have tended to foment the genial flame of reformation; and his political speculations are evidently those of a man who had nobly soared beyond the narrow limits of his age.

Dignities, Disatsers, and Pursuits of James Bruce, Esq. in Abyssinia.

[From Mr. Murray's Account of his Life and Writings.]

"TWO different objects occupied at this time Mr. Bruce's attention. One of them was the transit of Venus over the sun, which was to happen in June 1769. He wished to observe that phenomenon, which was visible only in the northern part of the globe; but this could not be done without undertaking a long and dangerous journey through Armenia, and the regions to the north of it, inhabited by the wandering Tartars. The vast distance between Asia Minor and a place suitable for observing the transit, seems to have made less impression on his mind than it reasonably ought to have done. He had procured routes of the way to the shores of the Caspian, and probably would have attempted to reach them, if other difficulties had not prevented him. But he had lost all his astronomical instruments at Bengazi, and observations of such importance required the most improved which had yet been constructed. He had written to his friends in France and England, requesting them to purchase for him such instruments as he described. Their answers discouraged him greatly. They informed him, that no instrument fit for his purpose could be procured in time, as all the best artists were already engaged by the different astronomers who intended to observe the transit. This disappointment was aggravated by accounts, which he received from England, of absurd and disrespectful stories relating to himself and his travels, which had been circulated there by some persons envious of his reputation.

"The other project was a journey into Abyssinia, in which most of the learned had placed the sources of the Nile. The discovery of these had been long held out as an achievement worthy of the ambition of kings, and had taken deeper possession of Mr. Bruce's mind than any other project. But as this could not be accomplished in a scientific manner, without the aid of astronomical instruments, he was obliged to await the issue of the application that he made to his friends, and which he had too much reason to apprehend would be unfavourable.

"In the beginning of March, 1768, he left Aleppo. In his way to Tripoly, he came to the Asi, or Orontes, the ford of which could not be distinguished, as the river was swollen with the rains from the mountains. The natives treacherously pointed out a place where there had formerly been a bridge, at which, having attempted to pass, he and his horse fell suddenly into a deep and rapid current, out of which he escaped with the greatest difficulty.

"He thence travelled slowly along the Phœnician shore, and halted several days at Tripoly, Beirout, Tortosa, and other places on the way, where he had friends, or wished to gratify curiosity.

"Soon after arriving at the hospitable mansion of M. Clerembaut, he received letters from his friends in Europe, informing him, that they had procured, and would ship for Alexandria, a quantity of astronomical instruments. As these were to be dispatched for Egypt, and well-founded reasons inclined him to doubt of the success of a journey into the north of Asia, he resolved

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to visit the former country, which Norden and Pococke have praised for the magnificence of its ancient architecture. He expected to find in the temples of Dendera and Thebes, some original proportions and forms which had suggested the Greek orders. The strength and simple grandeur of the Egyptian architecture were already known in Europe, but Mr. Bruce hoped to direct the attention of the learned to some of its other qualities, not less curious and remarkable. If in this he was not successful to the extent of his wishes, the disappointment that he felt was relieved by the hopes of more important discoveries in Abyssinia, into which he now had resolved to penetrate, at the expence of every other enjoyment, and at the hazard of his life.

"Having sailed from Sidon, June 15, 1768, he arrived soon after at Alexandria. As he had seldom quitted the Arab dress since his shipwreck at Bengazi, he retained it on landing in Egypt, in order to mislead the inquisitive spirit of the populace, who mistook him under this disguise for a Mugrebin, or Barbary Arab.

"Egypt, at that time under the Mameluke government, was filled with oppression and injustice. There was no security for life or property. Though the supreme power was then in the hands of the celebrated Ali Bey, who favoured the Christians, he entrusted the management of the revenue to the Copts and Jews, whose aversion to the Franks counteracted the influence of his unusual partiality. The Bey retained on the throne the prejudices of his original condition. He was, like most Mahometans, an implicit believer in astrology, and therefore had chosen for his minister a Copt, called Maalem Risk, a pretender to that ridiculous science. When Mr. Bruce's astronomical instruments were landed at Alexandria, Risk conceived a high opinion of their owner's skill in astrology, and ordered them to be forwarded without paying duty, or being examined at the custom-house.

"Mr. Bruce and his servants proceeded to Rosetto by land, travelling in the dress of Barbary Arabs, and thence embarked on the Nile for Cairo, where they arrived in the beginning of July. They were received with great kindness and hospitality by the mercantile house of Julian and Bertran, and by other French merchants, to whom Mr. Bruce was recommended by his friends in the Levant. When he privately communicated to them his intention of penetrating into Abyssinia, they were struck with astonishment at the rashness of such a design, but offered to assist him in it to the utmost of their power. In order that the government might not be prejudiced against him by insinuations, he gave out that he was going to India, and seldom appeared in public, except in the disguise of a Dervish who was skilled in magic, and cared for nothing but study.

"Soon after his arrival, he was visited by Risk, who questioned him respecting his knowledge of the stars, and introduced him to his master as a physician and astrologer. After a few audiences, he completely gained the confidence and friendship of the Bey by his superior skill in medicine and prophecy.

"In the course of his attendance on the Bey, he met with a Coptic priest called Father Christopher, who had been his chaplain and intimate acquaintance at Algiers, and who was now promoted to the dignity of Archimandrite under Mark, patriarch of Alexandria. This priest informed him, that there was a

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number of Greeks in Abyssinia, many of whom enjoyed the first offices in the state; and that they all had the greatest veneration for the patriarch, who was the head of the Abyssinian church, and honoured by the whole nation. He introduced his friend to the patriarch, and undertook to procure letters of recommendation to the principal Greeks at Gondar, accompanied with a general bull or pastoral admonition, in which they should be enjoined to renounce their pride and vanity, and to support, with all their influence, the stranger whom the patriarch sent among them. The priest made no delay in accomplishing his promises, and Maalem Risk furnished peremptory letters of recommendation, in the name of his master, to the cashiefs of the principal places on the Nile, to Hamam, Shekh of Upper Egypt, and to the governors of Deir and Ibrim, garrison towns far up the river, on the way to Dongola. The Bey likewise wrote in favour of "Yagoube his physician," to the Sheriffe or Prince of Mecca, the governor of Masuah, and to the King of Sennaar.

"Mr. Bruce sailed from Cairo, December 12, 1768, on a voyage up the Nile. Soon after his departure he became acquainted with a Shekh of the Howadat Arabs, by whose friendship he was enabled to visit the country about Metrahenny, and to determine, after Pococke, the site of Memphis, the ancient capital of Egypt. He thence successively reached Gawa, Achmim, and Dendera, the last of which places is well known to possess most magnificent remains of Egyptian architecture. At Furshout he was graciously received by Shekh Hamam, who held the government of the greater part of Upper Egypt, and by his nephew Ishmael at Badjoura, with whom he resided till the 7th of January, 1769.

"Having resumed his voyage, he arrived at the villages Elgournu and Medinet-Abou, situated on the ground formerly occupied by Thebes, the oldest metropolis of Egypt. He there visited the caves, in the adjacent mountain, which were called the tombs of the kings, but seem to have been the common burial-place of the city. The banditti, who live in these sepulchres, obliged him to cross the Nile at midnight to Luxor, where he was well received by the governor.

"Having passed Esne and Edfu, he came to a place called Shekh Ammer, the residence of Nimmer, chief of the Ababde Arabs, who possesses the desert on the southern frontier of Egypt. Mr. Bruce having asked the protection of Nimmer, who was an old man, in ill health, and much disposed to be grateful for some medicines which the former had sent him from Furshout, the Shekh rose from his couch, and, lifting his emaciated hand, pronounced a curse on any of the tribe who should injure him. He then summoned his people to the tent and concluded the covenant of friendship between them and his physician.

"After having secured the protection of the Ababde Arabs, Mr. Bruce visited Syene and the cataract. He then returned down the river Negadé and Badjoura, where he waited the departure of a caravan, partly belonging to Shekh Hamam, and partly to the Ababdé, which was soon to set out for Cosseir, on the Red Sea. Along with it, he left Kenne, Feb. 16, 1769, and proceeded across the barren desert, which lies between the Nile and the Arabian Gulf. This wilderness is part of the chain of mountains which

runs the whole length of the Red Sea, and which, except that which divides Barbary from the regions on the Niger, is perhaps the most arid in the world. Mr. Bruce after suffering much inconvenience from the people of the caravan, arrived at Cosseir on the 22d of February, and remained there till the 5th of April, when he sailed for Arabia. During his residence at Cosseir, he made an excursion up the coast of the Red Sea, as far as N. L. 23° 58′, and examined Jibbel Zumrûd, the emerald mine, described by Pliny and other ancient writers.

"Being desirous to visit as many parts of the Red Sea as possible, instead of sailing over to Jidda, he directed his course for Tor, a village at the bottom of the gulf, at no great distance from Mount Sinai. In this voyage, as indeed in all others which he performed in the east, he paid great attention to the hydrography of his courses, making plans of the different harbours, and observations for the use of future navigators. He likewise collected a number of marine productions, of various kinds, in which the Red Sea is exceedingly fertile.

"From Tor he sailed along the Arabian shore, by Imbo and Rabac, to Jidda, where he landed on the 3d of May. During this voyage he had slept little, being afflicted with slight returns of the ague which he had caught at Bengazi, and from which he suffered exceedingly in Syria. He had long worn the Arab dress, and had sometimes passed for a Barbary Arab at Cairo, Shekh Ammer, and other places of the desert. He now so much resembled a Turkish galiongy, or sailor, that the captain of the port of Jidda was astonished to hear some of his servants say that he was an Englishman.

"As soon as Mr. Bruce came on shore, his baggage was carried to the custom-house, while he went in his neglected dress to the English factory established in that town. Jidda is the port in Arabia from which the English East India Company usually disperses its merchandise over the adjoining countries. There was then a number of East India ships in the harbour, notwithstanding the unhealthiness of the station, and the enormous extortions of the Sheriffe of Mecca, sufficient to ruin any species of commerce. Mr. Bruce, whose appearance made no impression in his favour, was driven from the gate of the factory by one of his countrymen and relations, who mistook him for a vagrant; but he was received with great kindness and compassion by Captain Thornhill, of the Bengal Merchant. In the mean time, Yousef Cabil, governor of Jidda, having taken the liberty of examining his baggage, was surprised to find in it a number of valuable presents, and letters written by persons of the highest dignity, particularly a firman from the Sublime Porte, a letter to the Khan of Tartary, and several others from Ali Bey, addressed to the Sheriffe of Mecca, to his minister Metical Aga, and to Yousef Cabil himself. The style of these letters alarmed the governor. He came immediately to the factory to inquire about the English nobleman, recommended by the Grand Signior and Ali Bey, and was astonished to find him sitting under a shed in the habit of a Turkish sailor. A good understanding was instantly established with Yousef; the English gentlemen used their whole influence to promote Mr. Bruce's designs, and every head was employed in procuring letters of the most effective kind from the Sheriffe of Mecca to the governor of Masuah, the king of Abyssinia,

Abyssinia, and his general and prime minister, Michael Suhûl.

"The country which Mr. Bruce now prepared himself to visit, though nearly bordering on the coast of the Red Sea, has no regular communication with the rest of the world. Though the oldest, and indeed the only Christian kingdom in Africa, its inhabitants are sunk in the deepest ignorance and superstition. Owing to a violent but unsuccessful attempt of the Portuguese Jesuits, in the seventeenth century, to change the form of religion from that of the Greek church of Alexandria to the Roman Catholic, the very name of *Frank* or European, is generally regarded in Abyssinia, as synonimous with pagan and infidel. Besides this prejudice, which had hitherto, occasioned in Habbesh the death or banishment of every European, a civil war of the most violent kind rendered, at this period, that country still less easy of access to foreigners. Three powerful parties the *Kuaranya*, the *Galla*, and the *Tigré*, divided the kingdom into as many factions, of which it is here necessary for the perspicuity of the ensuing narrative, to give a short account. The Kuaranya, so called from Kuara, a small province in the west of Abyssinia, where the kindred of *Welleta Georgis*, the queen, who, on the death of king Bacuffa, her husband, in 1729, being chosen guardian to her son Yasous II. confirmed her authority, by raising her own relations to all places of trust and importance. On the death of her son, in 1754, she was nominated guardian to her grandson Joas; but this Prince being descended by his mother from the Galla, a barbarous nation, which in former times had overrun the kingdom, regardless of the opinion of his Abyssinian subjects, put his relations in possession of his army and provinces. The queen's kindred opposed this dangerous measure unsuccessfully. The Galla, in 1767, murdered Eshté, the principal leader of her party, which was followed by a junction of the Galla with Michael, governor of Tigré, the province of Habbesh, nearest to Arabia, a powerful, ambitious, and savage warrior, who detested both parties, and secretly aspired to the direction of the whole kingdom. The King and the Galla imprudently conferred on this general the high offices of *Râs* and *Betû-det*, which constituted him, by the laws of that country, guardian of the whole kingdom, under the King, and commander-in-chief of the national forces. This promotion occasioned the rebellion of the Queen's son-in-law, Mariam Barea, governor of Begemder, a rich province near the capital, who was Michael's inveterate enemy, and who had been superseded in his government, by the King and the Galla. No sooner was the destruction of that nobleman accomplished, than Michael turned his arms against the Galla themselves, drove them from the capital, and having assassinated the King, placed on the throne a man entirely superannuated, grand-uncle of the Prince he had murdered. This person, being found incapable of discharging the ordinary duties of government, was secretly destroyed by Michael's order, and his son *Teclahaimanoût*, a youth of fifteen years of age, raised to the sovereignty, under the general's direction and influence. To confirm these violent proceedings, the governor of Tigré attempted to secure an alliance with the old Queen, by marrying her daughter, the Princess Esther, the widow of Mariam Barea, and by concluding a league with *Powussen* and *Gusho*, governors of

the two great provinces of *Begemder* and *Amhâra*, and both leaders of the Queen's party. This alliance was granted by the Queen and her relations, merely with the view of joining, at a more convenient time, with the Galla, in order to relieve themselves from their common enemy. Till this should be practicable, the Kuaranya acknowledged the King elected by Michael, and united their forces with his army in a general expedition (December 1768) against the Galla general *Fasil*. This person, hereditary chief of all the Galla nation in Abyssinia, and absolute master of the four southern provinces of *Gojam*, *Damot*, *Maitsha*, and *Agow-midré*, had declared his intention to revenge the murder of the late King, and to drive Michael home to his own district of Tigré. At the moment when Mr. Bruce approached the Abyssinian territories, Michael was wasting Fasil's province's with fire and sword. All subordination was for a time, at an end throughout the kingdom. The province of Tigré, belonging to Michael himself, was as disorderly as Agow-midré, the seat of war, in which Mr. Bruce intended to visit the fountains of the Nile. But the command of the province nearest to Arabia, and of the metropolis, united in the hands of the same person, was a favourable circumstance; and he now endeavoured, by every means, to secure Michael's favour and protection.

"Metical Aga, the Sheriffe's minister, was originally an Abyssinian slave. He was well acquainted with Michael, on account of the small distance between Jidda and Tigré, and still more on account of the great connection by trade which subsisted between the two kingdoms. The island of Masuah, and the district of Arkeeko, which form the chief entrance by sea into Abyssinia, had been seized by the Turks in the sixteenth century, and was usually governed by an Aga and garrison of janizaries; but the Naybe, or Turkish deputy, had at length declared himself independent, and could be forced only by an alliance between the Turks and Abyssinians, to acknowledge the authority of the former. The Naybe, who then ruled at Masuah, was a person of a mean, cruel, and avaricious character, overawed only by the governor of Tigré. As it was well known that no stranger could escape out of his hands but with the greatest difficulty, Metical Aga, at the instance of the English, wrote in the most urgent terms to Râs Michael, that he was about to send him a Christian physician, who was accustomed to wander over the world in search of herbs and trees beneficial to the health of man; a subject of a great King, sovereign of a powerful people, called the English, settled in India, and much esteemed at Jidda. He added, that he himself, and all the English in Arabia, were interested in the safety of this man, and entreated Michael to save him from the violence of the Naybe of Masuah, and to protect him till he should return to Cairo, by way of Jidda, or of Sennaar. The influence which Ali Bey, and the English, had over Metical Aga, Mr. Bruce confirmed by presents; but this precaution did not satisfy Captain Price, of the Lion of Bombay East India-man, who had taken a particular interest in his welfare, and whose friendship was of greater service to him than that of any other person at Jidda. He solicited Metical Aga to send a confidential servant with letters into Abyssinia, a measure to which Mr. Bruce owed the preservation of his life.

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"As the person whom the Aga designed to send along with Mr. Bruce required some time to prepare himself for his journey, the latter seized the opportunity of making an excursion to the southern parts of the Red Sea. He sailed from Jidda, July 8, 1769, to the regret of his countrymen, who dreaded a fatal termination of his voyage. The English ships saluted, as a mark of honour due to such useful but hazardous enterprises, his vessel, which left the harbour at the same time with one which carried over to the island of Dahalac, near Masuah, a new governor, appointed by the Basha of Jidda. That person arrived long before Mr. Bruce, and informed the Naybe, that a great Prince, son or brother of a King, to whom all the English at Jidda had paid the highest honours, would soon pass through Masuah on his way to Habbesh. The Naybe therefore called a council, to deliberate whether he and his people should, according to their usual custom, murder this illustrious stranger on landing, or preserve his life till they should know from his letters by whom he was recommended and protected.

"After leaving Jidda, Mr. Bruce sailed up the Arabian coast by Confoda, Cape Heli, and Loheia, till he reached the straits of the Indian ocean. He returned partly along the African side of the gulf, and arrived at Loheia on the 6th of August, where he was obliged to wait till the beginning of September, for his guide, Mahomet Gibberti. Mahomet at last joined him, with a firman from the Sheriffe to the Naybe of Masuah, and letters to Râs Michael. He also brought a letter for Ahmed, the Naybe's nephew, and one for Mr. Bruce from Sidi Ali, keeper of the sacred well of Mecca, whom Mr. Bruce had known in Syria. Ali advised the traveller to distrust the Naybe, and to secure the friendship of Ahmed, who had much influence, and was capable of generous actions. This information was valuable, as Ahmed had already defeated the counsels of his uncle, unfavourable to Mr. Bruce.

"When the council was called at Masuah, in consequence of the governor of Dahalac's intelligence, Ahmed had firmly opposed the Naybe's measure of killing Mr. Bruce at landing, as cruel and impolitic. It was improbable, he affirmed, that a person of such consequence would be unprovided with powerful protection; that half the guns which the English had fired in honour of him at Jidda, would, in a few hours, lay Masuah in ruins; and that Râs Michael's vengeance, if the stranger was recommended to him, would not be lenient. These reasons inclined most of the council to vote with Ahmed, which prevented the execution of a design equally inhuman and extraordinary.

"Mr. Bruce anchored before Masuah, September 19, 1769, after a tedious voyage, in the course of which he had been nearly shipwrecked. He remained on board that night, but Mahomet Gibberti, instantly went on shore, and dispatched their letters of greatest importance to Adowa, the capital of Râs Michael's province. Amongst these was a copy of the patriarch's bull, and a letter from Mr. Bruce to Janni, a respectable Greek, whom Michael had appointed his deputy-governor. Mahomet then went immediately to the Naybe, in order to prevent suspicion. Having met with Ahmed by the way, he learned from him the counsel which he had given on the occasion mentioned above, and confirmed him in his former opinion. Intelligence of all this was conveyed

conveyed to Mr. Bruce before landing, which enabled him to appear to much advantage next day before Ahmed. That chief, imputing the stranger's knowledge of the Naybe's counsels to supernatural skill, confessed to him his uncle's bad intentions, promised his own friendship, and gave him a house and other accommodations.

"The first audience which Mr. Bruce had of the Naybe, was sufficiently discouraging. Though he pretended to be the servant of the Turkish emperor, he threw aside the Imperial order with the greatest indifference, and shewed the same disrespect to the letters of Ali Bey, the Porte of Janizaries, and the Sheriffe of Mecca. About three weeks after, he demanded an enormous present, which Mr. Bruce refused to give, being exempted from paying tribute in the Grand Signior's dominions. The Naybe endeavoured to frighten him into compliance by threats of imprisonment; but, finding these unsuccessful, he summoned a divan, in which he accused the stranger of several ridiculous offences, such as conversing, for the purpose of bringing diseases upon the country, with a comet then visible at Masuah. Many of the soldiers supported these accusations, and, had it not been for his own firmness, and the interference of the Sardar of the Janizaries, Mr. Bruce would have been murdered on the spot. He escaped to his house, from which he keptup a correspondence with the Sardar, who informed him that his friend Ahmed, being sick at Arkeeko, could not attend in council. On the night of that day in which the divan had been assembled, the Naybe sent a party to murder Mr. Bruce; but they had not courage to make an attack on him, being terrified for his fire-arms. He found soon after an opportunity of visiting Ahmed, who was in ill health, and in great need of medical assistance. The chief expressed the utmost abhorrence of his uncle's behaviour, and promised to furnish Mr. Bruce with necessaries for his journey. No kindness could be more acceptable to the latter than a promise of this nature; but the pleasure arising from it was greatly enhanced by the arrival of three messengers from Abyssinia. One of these was from Janni, bidding Mr. Bruce a hearty welcome to the country; the other two wore the dress of the crown-servants, and brought a letter to the Naybe from Râs Michael, requesting him to supply his physician with necessaries, and to forward him without delay.

"The Naybe was now obliged to let his prey escape. His last resource was to alarm Mr. Bruce with false accounts of the state of several barbarous nations through which he had to pass in his journey to Tigré. These falsehoods were detected by the Abyssinian messengers, who used great familiarity with the Naybe. The charge of supplying the party with necessaries was left to Ahmed, who fulfilled his promise without any assistance from his uncle.

"The caravan set out from Arkeeko on the 15th of November. At parting, Ahmed told Mr. Bruce that his uncle intended to embarrass, or perhaps, murder him in the road to Dobarwa, which lies through the Naybe's territories, and is the easiest entrance into Habbesh. He therefore advised him to take a different path, over a number of rugged mountains, in which the fatigue of the journey would be compensated by safety, as he was master of the country, and knew that his orders would be obeyed. This advice was not

not neglected: they commenced their journey immediately, according to Ahmed's directions.

"Soon after leaving Arkeeko, they began to ascend the stupendous range of mountains which parts Abyssinia from the Red Sea. These Alpine barriers exhibit all the singular appearances which are produced by a vertical sun, and immense heavy rains, which fall on them at certain seasons. With excessive toil and fatigue, increased by carrying their heavy baggage, to which Mr. Bruce's astronomical instruments made a large addition, the people of the caravan gained at last the summit of Taranta, one of the steepest mountains in their way, from which they had the pleasure of viewing, on the other side of it, the country of Habbesh.

"They arrived soon after at Dixan, a frontier town, part of which belongs to the Naybe, and part to the Abyssinians. The Naybe's guides followed them to a place called Hadadîd, the utmost limit of his territories, where the Abyssinians exerted their authority, and drove them back to their master. The caravan encamped all night on the Abyssinian side of the boundary, in the open fields. It was a memorable station, as being the first where Mr. Bruce recovered part of that tranquillity of mind, to which he had been a stranger since his arrival at Masuah.

"They left Hadadîd on the morning of the 26th of November, 1769, and proceeding to the village of Hadawi, were met by the *Baharnagash*, Michael's deputy, a brave, but simple man, who, though accompanied by the insignia of his office, gave Mr. Bruce but an unfavourable opinion of Abyssinian noblemen. They soon became acquainted, and Mr. Bruce bought a horse from him, which he afterwards called Mirza, (a name, he says, of good fortune) and which he taught to perform the different paces and movements used by the Arabs and Mamelukes. The Abyssinians are totally ignorant of the excellence which the Moors and Barbary Arabs have attained in managing horses. They were astonished, therefore, at the feats which Mr. Bruce performed on horseback, and at the Barbary saddle and bridle, which he had brought along with him. He owed to his skill in horsemanship, a great part of the favour which he afterwards obtained in this barbarous and unhappy country.

"On the 1st of December, the caravan reached Kellah, a small town in Tigré, not far from Debra Damo, a mountain which was used as a prison for the Princes of the royal family of Abyssinia, when the court resided at Axum. They were detained there three days by the officers of the revenue, till an order came from Janni of Adowa to allow them to pass. On the 6th, they arrived at that town, the residence of Michael Suhûl, and of his deputy, Janni, a venerable old man, who received Mr. Bruce with every demonstration of kindness and affection. He burst into tears on hearing an account of the oppression which they had undergone at Masuah, and strove to compensate for the Naybe's violence by a thousand civilities. Mr. Bruce and his servants resided with Janni from the 6th of December, 1769, till the 17th of January, 1770. The whole country was in suspense respecting the fate of Michael's campaign against the rebels. Nobody, even in his own province, loved this ferocious chieftian. He had spent fifty years of his life in humbling every individual of consequence in Tigré, and his

his house at Adowa, contained no fewer than three hundred persons, all in irons, and most of them kept like wild beasts in cages, for the purpose of extorting money from them. The province of *Woggora*, also between Tigré and the capital, presuming on the defeat of Michael, was nearly in open rebellion, and therefore dangerous to pass.

"Having visited the ruins of the Jesuit's convent at Fremona, Mr. Bruce came to Axum, formerly the metropolis of Abyssinia, and long the residence of the kings, who governed the Hamyarite colony, from which the Abyssinians are descended. Axum was built by the Ptolemies, as appears from the obelisks, and other remains of Egyptian architecture, still existing there. Near these ruins, Mr. Bruce had an opportunity of seeing the monks perform the Greek ceremony of blessing the waters at the Epiphany. Soon after leaving Axum, he observed a remarkable instance of the barbarism of the modern Abyssinians, a party of soldiers eating pieces of flesh cut from a living cow, which is a singular and frequent practice in that country.

"The caravan advanced through the province of Siré, which borders on Tigré, with much difficulty, and in perpetual fear of being attacked, or detained, by the governors of small districts, and officers of the revenue. After passing the Tacazzé, which is the largest river in Upper Abyssinia, they entered Woggora, where the hardships of the way were increased by the disaffection of the inhabitants, the extortion of the custom-houses, and the ruggedness of the road, which lay over mountains. Mr. Bruce was informed in Woggora, that Michael had been successful against Fasil, the rebel general, and that he was then at Ibaba, on the south of the lake of Dembea, on his return to Gondar. At a place called Kossogué, they first had a view of the metropolis, or rather of the king's palace; for the other houses were hid by the trees which grow in the town, and gave it, at a distance, the appearance of a forest. On the 15th of February, they encamped on the Angrab, a small river, which runs by the city.

"The principal people to whom Mr. Bruce had letters of recommendation, were absent with the army. But he was surprised at receiving no visit nor message from Petros, Janni's brother, who had been instructed to receive him. Petros, frightened at some menacing expressions which the priests had uttered on the subject of bringing Franks into the kingdom, had fled to Ibaba, in order to consult the Râs. On going to Michael's tent, he saw the skin of a Galla, one of his intimate acquaintances, whom the Râs had flayed alive, hanging on a pole before the door. This spectacle bereft him of all inclination for an audience, and he hastened back to Gondar, with orders from Negadé Râs Mahomet, the officer who has the superintendance of all foreigners in Abyssinia, that Mr. Bruce should stay in that part of the town allotted to Mahometans, till the Râs should arrive.

"Mr. Bruce, therefore, took up his residence with Hagi Saleh, brother to the abovementioned officer. The small-pox, a disease which is so virulent and unskilfully treated in Habbesh, that it is scarcely less formidable than the plague, had attacked the country. The Mahometans were exceedingly thankful for the care which Mr. Bruce took of their children, but they were soon deprived of his assistance. Ayto Aylo,

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an Abyssinian nobleman of great influence with all the parties which then distracted the kingdom, and a professed patron of foreigners, hearing that a white man had come to Gondar, paid Mr. Bruce a visit, and undertook to introduce him at court. Aylo was secretly a Roman Catholic, and detested the priests of his own country; he was besides an admirer of horsemanship, and of those who excelled in it. The court resided at a place called Koscam, at some distance from the city. In the way to Koscam, Mr. Bruce filled Aylo with astonishment, at the feats which he performed with his horse and double barrelled gun. Being prepared therefore, to give the highest character of the stranger, Aylo introduced him to the Iteghé, or queen dowager, the first person of her sex in Abyssinia, and universally more revered than the King himself. This Princess was the widow of Bacuffa, who died in 1729; she had reigned twenty-four years, along with her son Yasous, and fourteen with her grandson, who was murdered by Michael. Her relations, the Kuaranya, had been exceedingly powerful during the reign of her son, but many of them had been killed and disgraced by the succeeding king, and by his kindred the Galla. Michael had subdued both these parties, and changed the order of the succession, by placing first her husband's brother, and then his nephew, on the throne. She was, however, much respected by the King, and had considerable influence with Michael, who had married her daughter, the Princess Esther.

"The small-pox, from Masuah, had spread over the whole city, and a son of the Râs, newly returned from camp, was dead of that disease. The Queen, being in a great anxiety for her grand-children, most of whom were infected, entreated Mr. Bruce to reside at Koscam, and to undertake the care of them. He therefore removed to her palace, and by using the European mode of treatment, which is very different from the Abyssinian, had the pleasure of seeing them all recover, and of finding himself completely established in favour at court. During his attendance on the children, he became acquainted with the Queen's daughter, Ozoro Esther, at that time wife to the Râs, but who had been twice married before, and had children alive by both husbands. Her son, *Ayto* Confu, a promising young man, to whom Mr. Bruce had conceived an attachment at first sight, took the small-pox, and recovered very slowly. Mr. Bruce was not wanting in attention to Confu. He removed to an apartment leading to his chamber, and waited on him constantly. The Princess was equally careful. She could neither eat nor sleep; but watched him all night in fear and anxiety. As it was not proper for the physician to leave such a nurse without company, a particular friendship commenced between them, which continued till their last interview, and greatly advanced Mr. Bruce's interest at court.

"During the time of Confu's illness, Esther had secretly procured several peremptory orders from the *Râs*, commanding Mr. Bruce not to stir from Koscam. These displeased him, till the cause was explained by Esther herself, who hastened to the camp as soon as Michael came near Gondar, for the purpose of recommending her physician. Mr. Bruce saw the King and Michael, for the first time, at Azazo, near Gondar. The appearance of the latter by no means indicated the abilities

lities which he really possessed: and the reception which he gave the King's stranger, and his own, was not very flattering; but his general practice was to do more than he promised. All was in confusion at Gondar, on account of the large army around it; Mr. Bruce, therefore, returned to Koscam, till he should receive further orders. The first scene which Michael exhibited after he arrived, was the pulling out the eyes of a number of Galla officers whom he had taken in war, after which he turned them out into the fields, to perish by famine and the wild beasts. Mr. Bruce saved the lives of two of them, a circumstance which was of service to him afterwards, when travelling through the Galla country to the sources of the Nile.

"For some time after his first audience, Mr. Bruce thought himself entirely neglected by Michael and the King; but, about the middle of March, Aylo told him, that Mahomet Gibberti had delivered to the Râs two letters from Metical Aga, in which he explained to Michael Mr. Bruce's character, designs, and religion, and requested that he would provide for his safety while he resided in Abyssinia. Michael complained that Metical did not know the state of the country, otherwise he would not have asked safety for a stranger, while the King himself was daily fighting for his life. 'All I can do,' said the Râs, 'is to keep him with me; if the King and I perish, he cannot suppose, that it was in my power to defend his stranger.'—'You do not know the man,' exclaimed *Ayto* Aylo, who remembered the feats at Koscam, 'he is a devil on horseback; he rides and shoots better than any man who ever came into Abyssinia.——Put him about the King, and there is no fear of him.'

"Michael, on this, instantly resolved to make Mr. Bruce Palamharas, or master of the horse, an office of great honour and emolument, sometimes held by foreigners. Mr. Bruce, however, declined it, on account of its requiring constant residence at court, which, he alleged, would prevent him from seeing the different parts of the country, particularly the sources of the Abay or Nile, which, above all other places, he was anxious to visit. When Michael understood that he disliked preferment of that description, he gave him a formal audience, and explained to him in a few words, very characteristic of himself, the unsettled state of the country, and the only method by which a stranger in it could hope for safety. He then announced to him that he had appointed him a Baalomaal, or one of the gentlemen whose office it is to wait on the King, and commander of the Coccob horse, a body of cavalry belonging to the household. After this, Aylo and Tecle-Mariam, the King's secretary, conducted Mr. Bruce to the foot of the throne, where he made the prostrations usual in oriental countries on receiving preferment.

"The various incidents which established Mr. Bruce's reputation for courage, abilities, and generosity after his introduction to the King, though very interesting, are too minute to be enumerated in this place. He gained nearly as much by the discreet and liberal manner in which he treated his enemies, as by the respectful attention which he paid to his friends. He easily excited the admiration of an ignorant court by exhibiting effects of fire-arms well known in Europe, but wonderful

derful to such as have little knowledge of them. Though equally qualified for the field and court, he owed much of the favour bestowed on him by the Abyssinians to his medical character. In order, however, to prevent his being reckoned an indigent physician, he often refused the money which was offered him for his services, and, by asserting that he practised medicine for his own satisfaction, and through a love of mankind, preserved the dignity of his character as a soldier and a man of rank.

" By his situation at court, he had an opportunity of observing the gross debauchery in which the higher classes of people in Abyssinia indulge. All Gondar was one scene of festivity at the marriage of Powussen, governor of Begemder, with a grand-daughter of the Râs and the old Queen. To celebrate this alliance, which was made for the sake of ensuring Powussen's fidelity to the government, Michael, Ozoro Esther, and the bride's mother, distributed multitudes of cattle among the populace and army. Drink was given in proportion ; and the dissipation which prevailed every where, for some weeks, can neither be described nor imagined. The married women ate raw beef, drank hydromel and spirits, and smoked like the men. Mr. Bruce, though dejected, in ill health, and shocked at the grossness of such society, was often obliged to be present. He also attended the Râs, whose bodily infirmities were much aggravated by the state of his mind. Fasil, the rebel general, had invaded Agowmidré, a province on the S. W. side of the lake of Dembea, from which Gondar is chiefly supplied with provisions ; and daily accounts of the defeat and ruin of the Agows, obliged Michael to think of taking the field against him, though the rainy season was approaching, when all military operations are in a manner suspended.

" Mr. Bruce had hopes that Michael's expedition would facilitate his journey to the sources of the Abay or Nile, which lie in Agowmidré ; but as the state of his health would not permit him to stay in Gondar till the army marched, he obtained leave from the king to retire to Emfras, a village about 20 miles from the capital, on the eastern side of the lake of Dembea ; where he arrived on the 5th of April. Here he enjoyed a relaxation from the excesses of the court, and devoted a considerable part of his time to study.

" From Emfras he went occasionally to Gondar, where he obtained more preferment. The northern frontier of Habbesh is a low, warm, and woody country, peopled by Mahometans. These furnish the king with horses, which they purchased in the dominions of Sennaar ; and they, besides, pay a considerable tribute, arising from the commerce between the two kingdoms. The principal part of this frontier is called Râs-el-feel, which borders on Atbara, and is usually governed by a Mahometan deputy. Râs-el-feel, with many other possessions in the north of Abyssinia, was the patrimony of Ayto Confu, eldest son of Ozoro Esther. The Râs had confirmed his right ; but his Arab deputy Abd-el Jileel having refused to join the army, Confu had resolved to send his lieutenant Ammonios to displace him : that officer, however, having been fixed by Michael in the command of the household cavalry under Mr. Bruce, could not execute his master's orders. Mr. Bruce had been engaged by Negadé Râs Mahomet to solicit from Confu the place

place of deputy at Râs-el-feel for one Yasine, who knew the province, and was besides one of his intimate acquaintance. Yasine had sailed with him from Loheia, and been of great service to him, both at sea and in his journey to Gondar. He reflected that this person, who, though a Mahometan, was brave, honest, and friendly, would secure to him the passage to Sennaar through Râs-el-feel. He immediately went to intercede for him; but being told that Confu had resigned the command of the district, and that the king had given it to himself, he went to the palace, and, after making the usual acknowledgments, dispatched Yasine to dispossess the rebellious deputy.

"Mr. Bruce had now obtained preferment above his wishes. He was one of the gentlemen of the king's bed-chamber, a commander of the household cavalry, and governor of a province; offices which, however difficult it may be to obtain in European courts, are often bestowed in Abyssinia on foreigners, if they possess abilities and character. Soon after his last preferment, he suffered from an attack of the ague and fever, which had formerly afflicted him in Syria. This obliged him to reside regularly at Emfras till the middle of May, when the king's army took the field on an expedition round the lake of Dembea against Fasil. On the arrival of the troops at Emfras, on their way to Agow-midré, Mr. Bruce joined the camp, and was graciously received by the King, Ozoro Esther, and the nobility. As he was not prepared to go with the army, he promised to follow it with all expedition. The king's forces crossed the Nile at Dara, for which Mr. Bruce and his servants set out two days after. In the way they fortunately met with Ayto Adigo, shûm or governor of Karooda, a town not far distant, a nobleman attached to the queen's party, and an intimate acquaintance of Mr. Bruce, who had lived with him at Koscam and Emfras. Adigo and Mr. Bruce were soon after joined by Netcho, a relation of the queen, who, with a few disorderly troops from Kuara, his native province, came to assist the Râs. All three were advancing towards Dara. Mr. Bruce had sent his servants forward with his household furniture, and whatever else could be dispatched with them, but had accidentally retained his astronomical instruments, in hopes of procuring stronger mules from Adigo. At a short distance from Dara, a party of horse, commanded by Guebra Medehin and Confu, two profligate young men, relations of the old queen, and sons of her kinsman Basha Eusebius, attacked the servants, and, stripping them naked, carried off every thing which they had. These robbers permitted the servants to escape, being disappointed at not finding their master. Mr. Bruce, Adigo, and Netcho were astonished to see them return in that state, and alarmed at the news which they brought of a rebellion having broken out in Begemder and Amhara, two powerful provinces, of which the governors, Gusho and Powussen, were said to have agreed with Fasil to surround the king and his army. Guebra Medehin and his brother pretended to be the lieutenants of these governors; but Adigo and Netcho concurred in rejecting this assertion as altogether improbable, on account of their abandoned and dissolute character.

"In the event of a conspiracy having been formed against the king, it became exceedingly dangerous to follow the army. But, as the

the truth of the report was uncertain, Mr. Bruce determined to proceed; after having sent back to Gondar his astronomical instruments, and such of his servants as were unfit for the journey.

"On arriving at Dara, he was kindly received by Negadé Râs Mahomet, who enabled him to visit the celebrated cataract of the Nile at Alata, and gave him an escort to the army.

"They crossed the Nile on the 22d of May, and proceeded through a country wasted with fire and sword, and deluged with rains, the season of which was now commenced, till they reached Derdera, a place on the N.W. side of the lake of Dembea, where Gusho and Powussen had agreed with Fasil to surround the king's army. This conspiracy was revealed to Michael, and, along with other circumstances, occasioned his precipitate return to Gondar. Fasil's spies decoyed the king's troops to pass the Nile at a disadvantageous ford, in which many of the soldiers were lost, though the cavalry, in which Mr. Bruce commanded, swam over without any accident.

"While Michael and the king marched rapidly on towards Gondar, Fasil appeared in their way; and, after a short skirmish of no importance, made proposals of peace. Though Michael knew the futility of this overture, he was desirous of seeing Fasil assume the form of allegiance, and therefore proclaimed him governor of Agow-midré, Damot, and the adjoining provinces. Fasil sent several persons of consequence in his service to Gondar, a short time after, to receive his investiture from the king. Mr. Bruce insinuated himself into the company of these persons, and gained their friendship by presents. He likewise strove to obtain the favour of Fasil, by sending some medicines, which were at that time requisite, to his favourite general Welletin Yasous. For these acts of respect and kindness, the messengers expressed themselves willing to grant a suitable compensation. Mr. Bruce, induced by their readiness to oblige him, asked of the king a gift of the village of Geesh, and of the ground which contains the fountains of the Abay, with a promise from Fasil to conduct him to these in safety, and free from expence. The court, ignorant of his enthusiasm, laughed at the trifling nature of this request. The king hastened to pronounce the words of the grant, and to make Fasil's servants confirm it by oath, in the name of their master.

"These transactions were scarcely finished, when Mr. Bruce was obliged to take leave of the king in an interview which filled his mind with the deepest regret. It was known at Gondar that the governors of Begemder and Amhara would attack Michael as soon the rains should have cut off his retreat to his own province. The only means of saving himself and the king lay in escaping to Tigré before the rivers were impassable. The whole army was therefore immediately in motion. The king used every entreaty to persuade Mr. Bruce to go with him, which he evaded by urging the ill health in which he then was, the certain disgrace which would attend him in his own country, if he did not accomplish the sole end of his journey into Abyssinia, and the probability of his majesty's speedy return to Gondar. He dwelt on the last of these topics with a confidence so much resembling certainty, that the king was greatly moved. He renewed his request with the most pressing anxiety and tenderness; but

but finding Mr. Bruce inflexible, he desisted, and advised him to live entirely at Koscam with the queen, unless Fasil came to Gondar; and in either case to send him word how he was used.

"Before the army left the town, the Râs had proposed to burn it: a dreadful counsel, which he said had been given him by his guardian spirit, the archangel Michael. This design was overruled by the other officers; but, subordination being at an end in the city, Mr. Bruce fled (June 5th, 1770) to Koscam, where Ozoro Esther and her attendants took refuge, as soon as the army marched.

"All the preferment which Mr. Bruce had received fell at the departure of the king. The old queen was the only protector who remained to him; and he was for several months confined almost within the verge of her palace. Gusho and Powussen, the governors of Amhara and Begemder, came to Gondar after Michael had left it. Mr. Bruce waited on them, to prevent offence, but received no favours, except the restitution of some articles, taken from his servants by Guebra Medehin. Fasil, enraged at the breach of their former engagement, took no share in their measures; on the contrary, he entered into a negotiation with Michael to restore the king, while they were engaged in persuading the queen to depose him, and to raise a person of her own family to the throne. They succeeded in recommending that impolitic measure: one Socinios, a young man of no education, and totally destitute of abilities, was proclaimed king at Gondar, in the beginning of August, with the usual ceremonies.

"This person, besides his incapacity, was addicted to the grossest vices. Mr. Bruce remained at Koscam, by the queen's advice, and went very seldom to court, as the person on whom she had bestowed the title of king was a professed enemy of Franks, in which disposition he was confirmed by Abba Salama, the Acab-saat, who held a high ecclesiastical dignity in the Abyssinian church. This priest had formerly been restrained from persecuting Mr. Bruce by the authority of Râs Michael, but now recommenced his hostility with a violence disgraceful to his sacred office.

"About the 10th of August an incident happened which gained Mr. Bruce additional praise from all parties. One of the assassins, who had been employed by Michael to murder Joas, the late king, was apprehended, and being brought to Gondar, confessed, at his trial, the circumstances of that atrocious action, which had never been made public. The body of Joas was dug up from the pit into which the assassins had thrown it, and exposed to the view of the people; but so deeply had the fear of Michael's resentment impressed every breast, that no person ventured to shew it the least respect. Mr. Bruce, having heard of this, went secretly from Koscam, and put the body in a state of preparation for interment, which afterwards took place in a very private manner. This attention shewn to a king, deserted by all his servants, procured Mr. Bruce the esteem of the whole court. When an account of it was brought into Tigré, even Michael himself seemed to approve of his behaviour. Tecla-haimanout, the young king, said many kind things on this occasion, perhaps anticipating the day when another ill-fated possessor of the throne of Abyssinia should need the accidental compassion of a stranger.

"About

"About the beginning of October, the return of Michael and the king began to be generally considered as certain. One of the messengers from Tigré brought special orders to Mr. Bruce to join the army on its passage over the Tacazzé. He willingly promised to obey; but, in the mean time, resolved to hazard a journey to the sources of the Nile, which he had hopes of accomplishing, before the king's approach. The queen remonstrated strongly against this resolution; but as she did not absolutely prohibit him from pursuing it, he made himself ready to leave Gondar on the 27th of October. Confirmation of Michael's return arrived that very day, with dreadful threats of vengeance against the court, and those concerned in supporting Socinios.

"Next morning (Oct. 28, 1770), Mr. Bruce set out on a romantic and dangerous excursion to Saccala, accompanied only by a few servants, and under no protection. His friend Ayto Aylo gave him a guide, with some recommendations to a few persons of his acquaintance on the road. Guebra Ehud, Aylo's brother, was in Fasil's camp, who was then said to be marching for Gondar; and Mr. Bruce expected to meet with that chieftain and his army in a few days. Such an army was not a welcome appearance to a friendless stranger. It was chiefly composed of Galla, one of the most savage nations on earth, of which Fasil had brought many hordes, wilder than those that inhabited his own country, over the Nile, and these he was now preparing to dismiss, as he could not govern them, in the vicinity of Gondar.

"Mr. Bruce's company, after leaving the city, proceeded on their way to the S. W. till they reached the lake of Tzana. As they kept a minute journal of their daily progress, and of the bearing of places by compass, perhaps no journey of the kind was ever performed with greater attention. They fell in with the van of Fasil's army on the 30th of October, at a place called Bamba; and, on arriving at the camp in the evening, were admitted into his tent. The reception which he gave Mr. Bruce was, suitable to his character, in the highest degree rude and indecent. He affected to know little of Geesh or Saccala, which, he pretended, lay at a great distance among the wild Galla. On being informed to the contrary, he entered into a long detail of frivolous excuses, accompanied with such degrading reflections on the character of white men, that Mr. Bruce, after having reproached him with disrespect for the king's orders, and brutal inhospitality to strangers, lost his temper, and hurried abruptly out of the tent. About midnight, a relation of Râs Michael, who was a prisoner in the camp, came to inform him, that Fasil was giving orders about escorting him to Geesh. These good news relieved his spirits; he could not sleep, on account of the agitation excited by a mixture of joy and fear, but went early next morning to Fasil's tent, where, after some disgraceful treatment from the servants, he gained admittance. Finding Fasil better disposed to serve him, he gave him a valuable present, and received from his hands the investiture of Geesh in the usual way; after which, this barbarian assembled his Galla chiefs, and, having addressed them in their own language, administered the oath of brotherhood to them and Yagoube. He then gave Mr. Bruce a guide, called Shalaka Woldo, a person of authority in that country, and a horse, which he desired

desired him not to mount, but to drive before him till he came to Saccala.

"Having taken leave of Fasil, they proceeded on their journey. Shalaka Woldo followed with the horse, to which the wild Galla paid more respect to than himself. This man was by birth an Agow, of a sly designing character, a perfect master of the deepest dissimulation, and such a singular compound of rage, oddity, and artifice, that he proved a troublesome guide, but a diverting companion. On arriving at the Kelti, a considerable river, which falls into the Nile, on the western side, they met with a detachment of Fasil's Galla, commanded by a celebrated chief called the Jumper, whom Woldo described as the greatest thief and robber in all Maitsha. They learned from him, that they would fall in with a party of 200 men, at a place called Roo, under the command of his brother, who had orders from Fasil to protect them. Their guardian was considered by his countrymen as a prodigy of mildness, and emphatically called the Lamb, because he *sometimes* spared the lives of his prisoners, especially of pregnant women, contrary to the established custom of the Galla. He was dispatched at this time on an affair of the utmost importance. Fasil had received information that Abba Salamana, the priest already mentioned, had prevailed on the governor of Kuara, a neighbouring province, and on Woodaje Asahel, chief of the Galla belonging to Joas, the late king, to send, each, a party into Maitsha, for the purpose of murdering Mr. Bruce. The Lamb was entrusted with the charge of defeating both these parties, which he did, without alarm or disturbance to the travellers, in a manner deserving the highest commendation.

"On the 2d of November, they met the Lamb and his party, who paid their respects to Fasil's horse, without attending to the company. He told Woldo that he was looking for some Agow horsemen who were in that quarter, and who probably intended to do mischief; but that he was disappointed at not finding them, as it deprived him of an opportunity of shewing Mr. Bruce with what dexterity he should have cut them all to pieces.

"They next entered the wild but beautiful countries of Aroosi and Goutta. On arriving at the Nile, a ludicrous scene took place between Woldo and the Agows. These miserable people, who are oppressed by the Galla, have a religious veneration for the river. As they made objections to the liberties which Mr. Bruce and his company took with the stream of their watery diety, Woldo, with much solemn buffoonery, made them carry over the baggage of the whole party for nothing, and, besides, obliged them to pay him a considerable sum in private, which he roundly affirmed that they had stolen from him. Mr. Bruce was not much pleassd on discovering the selfish character of his guide, whom he endeavoured, with little success, to gain by promises of a reward, and to awe by the fear of responsibility. As he foresaw that Woldo would treat the Agows of Geesh in the same manner with those of Goutta, he disclosed to him his intention of remitting the tribute due to himself, as proprietor of the villages, and of paying for every thing with which they should supply him.

"They continued their journey, southwards, the two following days. The ground rose insensibly as they advanced,

advanced till they reached the church of St. Michael, situated on a small hill in the district called Saccala, where Mr. Bruce observed that the Nile was dwindled into a scanty brook. The reverie excited by this uncommon object, a sight of which had not been granted to the proudest monarchs of antiquity, was interrupted by his servants, who came to tell him that they had lost their guide. They found that singular character at a distance behind them, complaining of indisposition, and apparently unable to walk; but Mr. Bruce detected this, and several other artifices obliquely employed by him, with a view to obtain a present, which was given as soon as mentioned. Being therefore satisfied, Woldo pointed with his finger to the marsh which contains the springs of the Nile, and retired into the village of Geesh, leaving his master to indulge his enthusiasm.

"Mr. Bruce ran down to the grassy spot, where he observed two or three fountains of different sizes, some of which were enclosed within a mound of sod, the work of the Agows, who have long worshipped the river, and still continue to pay adoration to it at these sources. The joy which he felt on contemplating an object unknown to the ancients, and which, as he conceived, had been hitherto seen by no European, was great, but momentary and transient. The dangers and sufferings which he had already undergone, and those which probably might terminate, in the most fatal manner, this romantic journey, presented themselves to his imagination, and quite overwhelmed him with despondency and sorrow.

"From this insupportable sate of mind he sought relief in the ludicrous conversation of Strates, a Greek, who had followed him from Gondar. The original character of this person, which displayed itself in a variety of conversations and actions bordering on buffoonery, had amused him on many occasions, and now contributed to enliven a scene, scarcely susceptible of diversion or cheerfulness. While Mr. Bruce was offering up libations at these sacred springs in honour of his friends, Woldo secured him a good reception among the Agows, by publishing the liberal intentions of their new governor. Kefla Abay, a venerable old man, who superintended the village of Geesh under Fasil, and who was the lineal descendent of those priests, who, in the times of paganism, had officiated in the worship of the river, readily offered his services, and parted with his own house for Mr. Bruce's accommodation. The other Agows were not less obliging. Cattle and provisions of all kinds used in that country, were sent by Fasil's servants; so that Mr. Bruce was able to make the five days of his residence at Geesh a continual festival."

Character and Writings of James Bruce, Esq.

[From the same.]

"MR. BRUCE was received at Marseilles by his friends and the literary people of that city with enthusiasm. The Comte de Buffon, M. Guys, and many others, who had taken a particular interest

in his travels, came to congratulate him on his return, and to hear from him a detail of his adventures and discoveries. With the first of these gentlemen he contracted an intimate friendship. The Comte, who was then publishing his great work on natural history, took an early opportunity of announcing to the world the information which he had received in that science from Mr. Bruce himself, and from a perusal of his numerous and beautiful drawings.

"After having resided in the south of France, till his health was in some measure restored, he set out for Paris in company with the Comte de Buffon. The reception which he met with in that metropolis was exceedingly flattering. His travels became a subject of general conversation; his company was courted every where, and by persons of the first distinction in point of learning and quality. As an acknowledgment of the favours which he had received from the French nation in the course of his travels, he presented a part of the seeds of rare plants, which he had collected in Abyssinia, to the king's garden at Paris, and a copy of the prophecies of Enoch, a literary curiosity of considerable value, to the Royal Library.

"His health being still unconfirmed, he set out from Paris about the end of July, for Italy. On reaching Bologna, he was welcomed by his friend the Marquis di Ranuzzi, and spent about two months at the baths of Poretta. His health was completely established during his residence at Bologna: where he first reposed from the fatigues of travel, and found leisure to finish such of his drawings of architecture and natural history as had not been completed in Africa.

"From Bologna he went to Rome, much against the advice of his friends, who knew that the causes of his excursion to that city arose from circumstances unworthy of his notice, and likely in the end to prove dangerous to himself. Fortunately, no disagreeable consequences took place. On the contrary, his reception there was perhaps more flattering to a mind like his, which revered ancestry and noble descent, than any which he elsewhere experienced. That city was the last retreat of some families which had formerly held a high rank in his native country; and though the political causes which had brought them so low never influenced any part of his opinions, he was not insensible to the pleasure with which they enjoyed his fame. He received particular marks of attention from many of the Roman nobility, and was introduced to Pope Clement XIV, the celebrated Ganganelli, who presented him with a series of gold medals relating to several transactions of his pontificate.

"Mr. Bruce returned to France in spring 1774, where he resided till June following. He left Paris about the middle of that month, and arrived soon after in England, from which he had been absent twelve years. The public, as might have been expected, was impatient to hear his adventures, and every person of distinction or learning, who had any curiosity to know the wonders of foreign countries, sought his acquaintance. He shewed his numerous and beautiful drawings, which obtained particular praise; and his collection of Ethiopic manuscripts, a sufficient proof to *such* as could read them, of his travels in Abyssinia. Soon after his arrival in London he was introduced at court, and graciously

received

received by his Majesty, who was pleased to honour with his royal approbation Mr. Bruce's labours in the cause of discovery, and to accept those drawings of Baalbec, Palmyra, and the African cities, which the traveller had promised to make for his collection.

"After a residence of some months in London, he prepared to visit Scotland. The curiosity of the public respecting his travels, continued to operate nearly to the same extent as formerly; but several persons, who were envious of his fame, ignorant of his merits, or offended at the little deference which he paid to their learning, began to depreciate his character, and to propagate stories injurious to his reputation. Mr. Bruce's manner of conversation in private companies, was open, free, and animated. On occasions, when he thought proper to amuse his friends with an account of his adventures, he generally fixed upon such of them as differed most from common occurrences. A description of the savage manners of the Galla, of the bloody feasts of the Abyssinians, of the negro court of Sennaar, or even of his own artifices to astonish and awe barbarians, was calculated to amuse men of sense and judgment, who knew something of the variety of human nature; but persons of a different character judged it incredible, because it was extraordinary. Most of the obloquy, however, which Mr. Bruce experienced, was owing to envy. He had lived too long in a state of independence to become the humble admirer of any literary man; and had seen too much to be instructed by those dictators who presided in the different societies which, at that time, assumed the direction of learning and science. Some of his enemies, not contented with questioning his veracity in particular instances, asserted that he had never been in Abyssinia; and this palpable falsehood, which any scholar might have detected by looking at Mr. Bruce's Ethiopic manuscripts, was afterwards believed by many, on the authority of Mr. Wortley Montague, and the Baron de Tott.

"A proud sense of honour and independence led him to treat with indignant but silent contempt these insinuations, which were not spread for the purpose of ascertaining truth, but of defrauding living merit of its fame and reward. He found all who were best able to judge of his character and abilities, ready to give full credit to his narrative, generous in their sentiments, respectful in their inquiries, and candid in their opinions respecting his pretensions and abilities.

"Mr. Bruce left London in the beginning of autumn on his way to Scotland. He was received with much joy and attention at Edinburgh, and all over the country. During the four last years of his travels, no certain information had been received concerning him. A report of his death had been circulated, the truth or falsehood of which remained unknown till he arived at Marseilles.

"As he now intended to settle in his native country, he rebuilt his house, and began to regulate the affairs of his estate, which had gone into disorder during his absence. A number of lawsuits, arising from various circumstances, engrossed his attention, and, with other avocations, totally prevented, for a long time, his application to literature.

"On the 20th of May 1776, he married Mary, daughter of Thomas Dundas of Fingask, Esq. by Lady Janet, daughter of Charles sixth

Earl of Lauderdale; an amiable and accomplished woman, whose memory is still revered in that part of the country. The public expected that, after having settled at home, he would immediately proceed to compose and publish an account of his travels; but this he was obliged to defer, for the reasons already mentioned.

"For some time after his return to Scotland, he kept up a correspondence with his friends in France. At the request of one of these, he amused himself with translating the prophecies of Enoch from the Abyssynian; but the subject, as he advanced in the translation, displeased him, and he soon abandoned it. After his marriage, he dropped his French correspondence, and had little intercourse with any literary men, except with such as visited him in the country. In the shooting season, he generally spent some time at a place called Ardwhillery, near Callendar in Monteith, in the Highlands of Scotland. He was engaged during his residence there, in more attractive and peaceful pursuits than those of ambition or controversy. Happy in his family, and satisfied that he had done, or at least suffered, as much as any man then alive, in order to instruct and gratify the public, he allowed his mind an interval of repose between the toils of travelling, and the vexations of appearing before the public as a candidate for literary fame.

"He accordingly made a slow progress in transcribing or arranging his journals, for nearly twelve years after his return. It is uncertain, indeed, whether he would not have suffered them to remain at last unpublished, if a domestic misfortune had not obliged him to seek the consolation of study. Mrs. Bruce's health, which had always been delicate, began to decline rapi ly, in the winter of 1784. She ha been long afflicted with a lingerin disease, which, in the spring of th year 1785, brought her, in very ear life, to the grave.

"This melancholy event depri ed Mr. Bruce of his principal sour of happiness, and left him in so tude. His friends endeavoured sooth his affliction, by recalling h mind to the actions of the form part of his life, and by contrasti his courage and fortitude in the pe formance of these, with his prese dejection. The Hon. Daines Ba rington, in particular, urged hi to undertake a task, to which was called by the duty which owed to himself, and by the si cerest wishes of all who knew hi or who felt an interest in Afric discovery. Flattered by their e couragement, and willing to esca from painful recollections, he beg to enlarge the history of his diffe ent routes, and to translate the a nals of Abyssinia from the origin MSS. The narrative of the trav was first written; the reflections the Indian trade, on the ancient h tory of Abyssinia, and on other su jects, were added afterwards. P of the first sketches were writt with his own hand, and part dictat to his clerk, which last was his usu method of composing.

"Mr. Bruce, when once e gaged in any undertaking, was eag and indefatigable. The greate part of the work was finished b fore 1788, and submitted to t inspection of the Hon. Daines Ba rington, and some other friend alike eminent for their literary t lents and their high station in li It was printed at Edinburgh, a thence transmitted to London, whe it was published by the Robinson in 1790, in five volumes quart

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under the title of 'Travels to discover the Source of the Nile, in the years 1768, 1769, 1770, 1771, 1772, and 1773.'

"In the four first volumes the author gave a view of his journies in Barbary, Egypt, Arabia, Abyssinia, and Nubia, in the order of time in which they had been performed. In the fifth volume he comprised an account of such articles of natural history as he judged most worthy of selection from the numerous notes and drawings he had taken in the East. In an introduction to the whole work, in the first volume, he gave a short account of the motives which induced him to undertake his perilous expedition into Abyssinia, and of his reasons for describing, only in a cursory manner, Barbary and Egypt, countries better known to the learned, and more accessible to travellers than the other. In the second volume he entered into a full detail of the history of Abyssinia, from the earliest times, which he illustrated from new materials collected in that country, and with many important and striking observations drawn from his own experience. This history occupies the third and fourth books; the work itself being divided into six.

"The reception which these Travels met with from the public at large, was exceedingly flattering. The book was universally read, and commended, by persons of the first literary reputation, for the large fund of instruction and amusement which it contained. The only attacks made on the work, or rather on the character of its author, appeared in the anonymous periodical publications of the day, some of which, from mercenary, and others from malicious motives, in their respective writers, were filled with abuse and misrepresentation. It was translated into French by a writer of the name of Castera, in the same year in which it was published in London, and had a rapid circulation on the continent.

"In attempting to estimate the merits and defects of a work so extensive and multifarious, it is necessary to consider the end in view when it was composed. Books of travels are written in order to amuse as well as to instruct; but it is no uncommon thing for literary men to appreciate the value of such works solely by the quantity of information which they afford. Yet long scientific details, however new and valuable, cannot be popular; and those books of travels, which abound in them, may be praised by a multitude, but are perused only by a small number of readers.

"Had Mr. Bruce intended to write merely for the use of the geographer, politician, and natural philosopher, he would have compressed his narrative into a much smaller size, and have divested his observations of every extraneous circumstance. But he wrote to instruct and amuse the general reader; and this is a sufficient reason for his devoting so considerable a portion of his book to the history of his own adventures, and to that of the persons with whom he was connected in the course of his travels.

"His work, therefore, is to be considered as an amusing and instructive narrative of various journies in foreign countries, interspersed with observations on man and nature, not written by a scientific, but by an able, accomplished, and intelligent traveller. He relates his own actions with the same freedom with which he describes those of

others,

others, because they formed a part of his subject, and were interesting enough to merit remembrance.

"The Introduction to his Travels contains the most recent account of the interior of Barbary; and it must be regretted, that the encouragement of the public did not enable him to publish his excellent drawings, along with a fuller description of the ruins found in that country. The cursory narrative which he writes of his voyage up the Nile, and of his journey to Cosseir, is replete with useful and curious information. He was among the first who endeavoured to correct and settle the hydrography of the Red Sea; and, though later surveys have ascertained it with greater precision, his observations are valuable and numerous. On entering Abyssynia, he presents to the view of the reader an empire nearly unknown, exhibiting modes of religion, manners, and government, widely different from those of all European nations. Without some previous knowledge of the language and history of that country, the reader becomes less able to judge of his accuracy; but his abilities in describing characters, and in delineating human nature, strike the most ordinary mind, and greatly excel those of any other traveller. No stronger proofs of this assertion need be mentioned than the intimate acquaintance which, in perusing his narrative, we form with all his principal characters, and the regret with which, on arriving at the conclusion of the account, we leave a country, to which the mind has acquired a kind of local attachment. Above all other writers of travels, he possesses the art of giving a lively, complete, and interesting portrait of those persons with whom he was particularly connected, and of the rude state of society in which he occasionally lived in barbarous countries.

"The journals of his routes in Abyssinia and Nubia were written with the most minute attention and form a valuable accession to geographical science. The Jesuits had sketched a map of these countries, but they had determined scientifically the position of none of the places. Mr. Bruce has ascertained the latitude and longitude of a greater number of places in Africa, than any other traveller, and deserves particular imitation in this respect.

"We are further indebted to him for a recent and copious description of the various tribes which inhabit the eastern coast of that continent, from the 11th to the 24th degree of N. latitude; in short, for an accurate view of the moral and natural phenomena of a most extensive and varied tract of country, nearly inaccessible to discovery, and almost unknown to Europeans. His account of the kingdom of Sennaar is copious and unique; and his journey through the desert of Nubia, on the eastern side of the Nile, is in the highest degree interesting.

"In collecting into one view the principal merits of his work, it may be thought an omission, that no notice has been taken of his discovery of the sources of the Nile. The springs of the Abay, which he visited, were generally reputed to be the chief source of the Egyptian river when he left Europe. The Abay itself is unquestionably one of the principal branches of the Nile, and seems to be considered, by the natives of Habbesh and Atbara, as the higher part of the great river. But the claim of the Abay to this last honour is contested, as well as the discovery of its sources by Mr. Bruce.

Admitting

Admitting both to be well founded, this discovery, whatever ideas of imaginary glory it may have excited, or whatever influence these may have had in promoting his journey, seems, when considered by itself, to be comparatively of very little importance.

"The defects of this work, which bear a small proportion to its merits, arise from circumstances common to most performances of the kind, a love of theory and system, a desire to please the reader, and, in several instances, from a degree of inattention and carelessness, not easily avoided in composing a long narrative of minute transactions.

"In the course of his voyages on the Red Sea, Mr. Bruce had observed many singular phænomena, which, along with the information given by ancient writers, led his mind to reflect on the first establishment of the Indian trade, and the navigation of the Arabian gulf, in the most remote ages. Imagining that the birth-place of ancient civilization lay in Ethiopia, that is, in the country between Azab, or Adel, and Syene, he entered into a theoretical history of the establishment of trade and commerce, and the invention of the arts and sciences, particularly of architecture, astronomy, and writing, by the Shepherds of Azab and Meroe, and by their kindred, the Cushites, who afterwards peopled Egypt. He has executed this undertaking with much learning and ingenuity, particularly that part of it which relates to the triennial voyages of the Jews and Phenicians to Tarshish. But it is easy to see, that his theory, however applicable in a few instances, is liable to powerful objections. He seems to take it for granted, that the Shepherds and Cushites, names of indefinite signification, occupied the whole extent of country already mentioned, without dissention or difference, in the remotest times; and that their posterity inhabits Abyssinia and Atbara at this day. To simplify ancient history in this manner, by leaving out of the account many of the scattered facts which are preserved concerning these nations in their ancient, as well as what is known of them in their modern state, is a dangerous experiment, apt to deceive both the author and his readers. His account of the building of Axum, Meroe, and Thebes, and of the origin of writing, is therefore unsatisfactory; and, when he descends to the history of the modern Abyssinians, who have no authentic annals till a late period, he gives too much credit to their national fables, which deduce the line of their kings from Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, and pretend to derive their government, laws, and institutions, from the Jews. The prevalence of the Jewish religion in Habbesh, before the æra of Christianity, has also inclined him to suppose, that the Falasha, the Agows, and the people of Amhara and Gafat, came originally from Palestine, though most of their languages have not the slightest affinity to the Hebrew.

"The third and fourth books of the Travels, containing the history of Abyssinia, from the year 1293 to the time of his arrival in the country, along with the preceding one, already mentioned, on the Indian trade, form a long episode, which has been considered by many readers as uninteresting, and a clog on the narrative.

"Although it be impossible to give to any national history, much less that of a barbarous country, the attractions of personal adventure, Mr. Bruce has exerted himself with considerable

considerable success to enliven this digression, into which he was led by particular circumstances. He possessed a large collection of original MSS. on Abyssinian history. The information contained in these was entirely new; and, as he was the first who brought it into Europe, he naturally judged himself warranted to give an authentic history of Abyssinia in the course of his work, not in the dry form of a literal translation, but interspersed with his own reflections and observations. He placed it before the narrative of his Abyssinian journey, in order to serve as a key to the characters and events of his own time. Though it interrupts the story of his adventures, and must be, upon the whole, less interesting, it contains much useful and original information, and cannot be passed over without throwing an obscurity upon the rest of the work.

"Another source of defect is owing to a natural desire of rendering his work agreeable and popular. This is remarkable in the rapidity with which he hurries on his narrative. He seizes our whole attention; he delights us by the variety and importance of his characters, his glowing description, and manly sense; but he seldom stops to give any general and collective views of the manners, population, or extent of the country in which he travels. To the same cause must be ascribed, the freedom with which he has translated the conversations which passed between himself and the natives. He perceived, that a literal version would, in many instances, sound harsh and ridiculous, without having the merit of conveying a just idea of the speaker's sentiments and character. He chose the most agreeable alternative; and therefore the speeches appear, to an English reader, too easy and vernacular to be the genuine production of barbarians. It is only a person who is acquainted with the Abyssinian language and phraseology, who can trace their authenticity. Some of his characters have been thought too refined and sentimental for their particular state of society. There are, perhaps, some grounds for this objection: but Mr. Bruce was intimately acquainted with the characters which he describes; and it must be observed, that those very persons, whom, on landing on a barbarous shore, we consider indiscriminately as savages, display, on further acquaintance, much of that variety of character, understanding, and feeling, which we expect only in civilized society.

"The last class of defects in the work arose from inattention, of which it is unnecessary to exhibit instances, as most of them are referred to in the course of the succeeding volumes. His knowledge of the ancient languages was sufficient for the purposes of reading and research; but he had not been trained to the drudgery of verbal criticism and minute classical information. In the heat of controversy, he sometimes mistakes the sense of the author whom he quotes, and this has yielded an imaginary triumph over his writings, to the commentators and critics on the continent, who ridiculously call in question his moral character, and the general merits of his work, because he has misinterpreted a passage of Herodotus or Strabo.

"Though his journals were in general copious, he too often omitted to consult them, trusting to the extent and accuracy of his recollection. At the distance of fifteen years, a part of so many incidents must have been effaced from the most tenacious memory. Before he composed

composed his narrative, his mind had begun to suffer from the indolence natural to his time of life. He was not sensible, that, by relying with too great security on his memory, he was in danger of confounding dates, actions, and circumstances, which might have been easily rectified by his papers. To this inattention must be imputed those particular inconsistencies, which have been unjustly ascribed to his vanity or want of veracity.

"As a writer, Mr. Bruce's style is, in general, simple, manly, and unaffected. If, in some instances, it be deficient in purity, owing to his national habits, and mean opinion of the mechanical part of writing, it has the merit of being his own, an advantage often denied to the narratives of other travellers. He received no assistance from literary men, and imitated no favourite author. He is sometimes diffuse and prolix in the theoretical parts of his work, but his narrative is always well written. His descriptions are animated; his expressions are often much more appropriate and happy than occur, on similar occasions, in the works of writers who have enjoyed every opportunity of study and practice. There are perhaps more sublime passages in his travels, executed under the immediate impulse of genius, than are to be found in any other book of the kind. His character of Râs Michael has been pronounced genuine, because it is such as no writer could have invented since the time of Shakspeare. It may be added, that it requires no common abilities to describe a character, which the imagination of Shakspeare alone could have equalled in the department of fiction.

"In closing these cursory observations on the only work which Mr. Bruce published, it is but justice to observe, that, extensive as it is, it comprehends but a moderate share of his labours. It contains only a sketch of his travels in Barbary, and none of the beautiful drawings which he made in that country. His splendid delineations of the ruins of Baalbec and Palmyra, his large collection of drawings of natural history, and his Arabic and Abyssinian manuscripts, ought to be considered as an accession to the literary treasures of the country, procured by his unwearied exertions and industry.

"After the publication of his travels, Mr. Bruce renewed his correspondence with his friends in England, particularly with the Hon. Daines Barrington. The proceedings of the African Association excited his attention. It was expected that some of the travellers, then on their way through Africa, would reach Senaar or Habbesh; though Mr. Bruce considered both as unlikely to happen. He applied, at intervals, to study, and amused himself with comparing part of the Ethiopic translation of the Bible with the original languages. He undertook this collation at the request of some persons, eminent for their high rank in the church, and equally conspicuous for learning and piety. Three years after the publication of the travels, he was advised by his friends, to print a second edition in octavo, and he had made all his arrangements for that purpose, when his death suddenly prevented the execution of the design.

"On Saturday, the 26th day of April 1794, having entertained some company at Kinnaird, as he was going down stairs, about eight o'clock in the evening, to hand a lady into a carriage, his foot slipped, and he fell down headlong, from about the

sixth

sixth or seventh step from the ground. He was taken up in a state of apparent insensibility, with no marks of contusion, one of his hands only appearing a little hurt. Medical assistance was immediately procured, but with no success. Though, some hours after the accident happened, there appeared symptoms of recovery, these gradually vanished, and he expired early the next morning.

"His remains were attended by a numerous and respectable company, on Thursday following, to the church-yard of Larbert, and deposited in the tomb which he had erected to the memory of his wife and child.

"Mr. Bruce's stature was six feet four inches; his person was large and well-proportioned; and his strength correspondent to his size and stature. In his youth he possessed activity; but, in the latter part of his life, he became corpulent; though, when he chose to exert himself, the effects of time were not perceptible. The colour of his hair was a kind of dark red; his complexion was sanguine; and the features of his face elegantly formed. The general tone of his voice was loud and strong, but his articulation was sometimes careless and indistinct. His walk was stately; his air noble and commanding. He was attentive to his dress, and was particularly successful in wearing that of the nations through which he passed, in an easy and graceful manner, to which he was indebted in part for his good reception, especially in Abyssinia.

"The leading qualities of his mind were courage, magnanimity, and prudence. He was endowed with a large portion of that elevated spirit, without which no enterprize of importance is conceived or executed. He was ambitious to be known as the performer of honourable and useful undertakings, and was equally intrepid and dexterous in effecting his designs. Though he justly ascribed his success to causes which no man can controul or direct, he owed much of it to his own precaution and superior good sense. His mode of travelling was peculiar to himself. He omitted no opportunity of securing the means of safety in foreign countries, by methods which other travellers have sometimes neglected, to their great disadvantage. To use his own expression, he was not to be duped by ordinary letters of recommendation; he knew the style of the East, and always attempted to gain the protection of great men, by some hold on their interest.

"His personal accomplishments fitted him in a superior manner, for the undertakings in which he engaged. His constitution was robust; he had inured himself to every kind of fatigue and exercise. His long residence among the Barbary Arabs, the best horsemen in the world, had enabled him to excel in the management of the horse, and in the exercise of the lance and javelin. His skill in the use of fire-arms was uncommonly great. He knew also how to display those accomplishments to the best advantage among barbarians, and seldom failed to excite their applause and astonishment.

"In qualifications of a different description, he equalled, if not surpassed the generality of travellers. His memory was excellent, and his understanding vigorous and well cultivated. He found no difficulty in acquiring languages of any kind. He understood French, Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese, the two first of which he spoke and wrote with facility. Besides Greek and Latin, which

which he read well, though not critically, he knew the Hebrew, Chaldee, and Syriac; and in the latter part of his life, compared several portions of the Scriptures in those related dialects. He read and spoke with ease, Arabic, Ethiopic, and Amharic. Necessity had made him acquainted with these last, and impressed them deeply on his mind. He had applied, during the greatest part of his life, to the study of astronomy, and other practical branches of mathematical learning. His abilities in drawing must have been considerable, as his taste in this particular was acknowledged to be excellent. Though the attempts which were made to depreciate his character after his return, prevented him from mentioning the exact share of assistance which he had in executing his beautiful collection of drawings, it is certain that he received occasional help, and used it to much advantage.

" Mr. Bruce's temper, as he candidly confesses, was irritable and passionate; but his heart was warm; his affections ardent; and his moral feelings extremely acute. His friendships were sincere, and, in general, permanent, though sometimes interrupted by suspicion. He enjoyed the esteem and regard of almost every eminent literary character in Britain and France; of the Comte de Buffon, M. Guys, M. Daubenton; of the Barrington family, of Drs. Douglas, Blair, and Herschel; and of many others of the very first ranks of virtue and science. He was an easy, cheerful, and instructive, companion. As he had a fixed regard for honour, justice, and integrity, he could not bear the slightest insinuation against his character; and, to relieve himself from the vexations of anonymous abuse, he publicly declared his resolution of never paying the smallest attention to any criticisms made on his writings by persons who concealed their names.

" When he observed other men deficient in moral conduct, he usually expressed his contempt of them in the most open unqualified manner. This procured him many enemies. Persons of a doubtful character avoided him, and declaimed against his haughtiness, vanity, and other vices of their own creation. Like most men of high spirit and superior knowledge, he was a jealous neighbour to such as assumed to themselves claims of pre-eminence in the country, to which he did not consider them as entitled; to others, who pursued a different conduct, he was friendly, affable, and attentive.

" He discharged the public duties of society with superior ability and judgment. In private life he was, if possible, still more respectable. As a husband and a father, he deserved the highest praise. He entertained his friends, and strangers, with elegance, hospitality, and the most affable politeness. He loved to display, as far as suitable, the magnificence that had long distinguished the name which he inherited. He was kind and indulgent to his servants, and pleased to see every one around him prosperous and happy. He used to celebrate, with his tenants and domestics, the stated festivals observed by his forefathers, in the feudal times, and always enjoyed, in the highest degree, the common happiness on these occasions. He was fond of rustic pleasantry and humour; and this will be readily observed, from the histories of Aboucouffi, Strates, Woldo, and others in *the Travels*, constituted a particular feature of his mind.

" There was nothing peculiar in Mr.

Mr. Bruce's habits of life. He neither rose very early, nor sat late, except on particular occasions. His journies in the East were generally made in the morning, for obvious reasons; and, in warm climates, he took much exercise, and paid great attention to his health. He was moderate in his use of liquors of all kinds, but not abstemious beyond the usual practice of society. He was a hard student when engaged in any literary pursuit, and eager in the prosecution of every design which he had begun to execute.

"The most defective part of his character arose from his constitutional temper, which disposed him to be suspicious, and hasty in taking offence. His enmities therefore were sometimes capricious, though, in general, well founded. His love of ancestry, and practice of telling his own exploits, though magnified into vices by the weakest of his enemies, scarcely deserve notice as imperfections, though they certainly were prominent features in his character. A brave and virtuous man must always feel a pleasure in remembering that he is like such of his forefathers as most deserved to be imitated and remembered; and no satisfactory reason can be assigned why a traveller should not relate his adventures. The pride of ancestry is ridiculous only when it is substituted for personal merit; and the practice of telling one's own actions, is reprehensible only when these are well known, trifling, or exaggerated.

"Distinguished by his regard for the memory of ancestors who had been eminently loyal and patriotic, it is not surprising that Mr. Bruce loved his king and country with the warmest affection. He would have been among the first to support either of these on any dangerous emergency. He considered the French revolution, and all such violent attempts at reformation, merely as a subversion of society, for the purpose of filling the places of the great with new adventurers. He knew the French nation well, predicted the consequences of its republican frenzy, and shed tears on receiving an account of the fate of the king.

"His religious principles were founded on the best basis, the Scriptures, and a firm belief of an overruling Providence. He was not attached to any sect; he detested fanaticism; and frequently took occasion to expose it. He used to recommend a diligent perusal of the Scriptures, as preferable to that of all other theological writings. His mind, accustomed to dangerous situations, from which Providence alone could deliver him, had contracted a slight and amiable tinge of superstition; sometimes an attendant on warm unaffected piety, though never arising, in understandings like his, from its ordinary causes.

"On estimating, therefore, the various merits of Mr. Bruce's character, the superior and numerous endowments and accomplishments which he employed in executing undertakings useful to society, and the uniform regularity with which he combined the practice of morality and religion with the ease and active life of a gentleman, it will not be considered as presumptuous to affirm, that his name is justly entitled to a place in the list of those, who have been eminently conspicuous for genius, valour, and virtue."

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF NATIONS.

Description of Stabroek on the River Demerary.

[From Bolingbroke's Voyages.]

"STABROEK, the political metropolis, and principal seat of exchange for produce, of all the countries adjacent to the Demerary and Essequebo, is situated on the east side of the river Demerary. Its site is low and level. It has an oblong form, being about one-fourth of a mile broad and one mile long. The principal streets are quite strait, with carriage roads. The middle street, leading from the King's stelling, is paved with bricks, and has lamps on each side: another public stelling, or wharf (besides several that are private) is kept purposely in order for landing and shipping goods. A navigable canal on each side of the town, which fills and empties with the tide, affords the same convenience to those houses which are not situated near the water-side. The population in Stabroek consists of about fifteen hundred whites, two thousand free people of color, and five thousand negroes.

"There are no taverns, or lodging-houses, wherefore a merchant's house is more like an inn than any thing else.—People coming from England generally bring letters of introduction which are always attended to, and secure to the bearers a hospitable reception—a knife and fork is laid for them, and a hammock prepared, which they occupy as long as suits their convenience. Planters residing in the country, always put up at the merchant's house with whom they do business.

The way of living differs materially from that of England. The general hour for rising is six, far the pleasantest part of the day, by which time coffee, and often chocolate, is prepared. Breakfast is delayed untill ten, which is in fact more like a dinner, from the introduction of animal food, wine and water, and sometimes fruit. By four in the afternoon all business is over for the day. Five is the hour of the principal meal, which is served up by a profusion of attendants: Madeira and Claret are the wines most in request. In the houses there are no bells; every gentleman carries in his pocket an ivory whistle, which when used assembles the servants. The evening is generally passed at the coffee-house, which is situated near the American stelling, and denominated the Exchange, from

from its being so much frequented by the young merchants as a lounge. Here the news of the day, the list of arrivals and importations, the prices of produce and the departure of vessels, are always to be known. Draughts, backgammon, chess, whist, and billiards, share the attention of the guests. A walk to the camp is usual and pleasant, where the band plays after the troops are marched to the barracks. Few weeks pass without a ball, or a concert, the attending of which is however, very expensive. A ball and supper cost to each of the gentlemen subscribers eight dollars, a concert and ball twelve dollars. His ticket also introduces two ladies of color.

"Strolling players from North America occasionally visit the West Indies. Twice during my six years stay they came to Stabroek, having previously made a tour among the islands. The company consisted but of four or five persons; they had chartered a vessel at New York; they had embarked a cargo of canvas palaces and painted forests, of crowns and daggers, sceptres and chains, of the purple attire of majesty, and the motley foppery of folly. At Grenada and Barbadoes, they had unpacked their portable theatre, and had been received with an applause, which was re-echoed from the continent. The admission was two dollars for each representation, and public curiosity detained them nearly three months. The plays of Shakspeare require so much show and so many actors, that we had often to be content with select scenes. The simplicity of the ancient drama was restored by the economical criticism of the manager. It might be wished that plays like those of the Greeks and French, were written for the service of these cruizing players: such simple compositions would better suit the rude state of their dramatic system, than the complex works of English art and refinement. In the French islands, negro performers have been enlisted to take parts in the maritime companies; but there are few Moorish characters on our stage, except Othello, Juba, and Oronoko, which they could personate with propriety. In an illiterate community, which can only learn through the ear, the drama is an important engine of instruction, and might be rendered essentially conducive to historic and moral information, and even to the civilization of the vulgar and undisciplined.

"When an European arrives in the West Indies, and gets settled or set down for any length of time, he finds it necessary to provide himself with a housekeeper, or mistress. The choice he has an opportunity of making is various, a black, a tawney, a mulatto, or a mestee; one of which can be purchased for 100*l.* or 150*l.* sterling, fully competent to fulfil the duties of her station: some of them are so much educated as to be able to read and write. They are tasty and extravagant in their dress; but when once an attachment takes place it is inviolable. The strictest scrutiny of their conduct in general cannot glean one particle of impropriety, by which their fidelity or constancy can be brought into question. They embrace all the duties of a wife, except presiding at table; so far decorum is maintained, and a distinction made. They employ themselves in needle-work, and other domestic affairs. Their usefulness in preserving the arts and defusing the habits of cleanliness is felt and allowed by all, there being a lack of civilized European women. If a young progeny of coloured children is brought forth, these are eman-

emancipated, and mostly sent by those fathers who can afford it, at the age of three or four years to be educated in England. Some remain in the country as free subjects, and preserve the stock for a future generation. In these colonies, where the population of females of this description is so small, and the demand for them so great, the common method of supplying the deficiency, or the wants of individuals, is to send orders to Barbadoes and other fully peopled islands, for ladies, who are always to be procured either by purchase, or by inducing those that are free to come and settle among the Demerarians. Indeed, there are coloured women residing in Stabroek, who have of late years made a traffic of feminine importation, and receive a premium for whatever ladies they introduce, beside the expences, from the gentlemen with whom they afterwards cohabit. The French islands of Martinique and Grenada have not contributed a little towards populating these infant colonies with free women of color. Perhaps it would be a more useful fashion to make these purchases, which is not impracticable, among the indigenous Americans: the mestees are a more beautiful race than the mulattoes, and the continental savages would gradually be attracted by their own kinswomen into habits of intercourse and civilization. Young men, who have not regular establishments, hire small houses in the suburbs of Stabroek and Cumingsburgh, where they invite their friends in an evening to smoak segars, and are enabled to indulge in the customs of the colony.

"As Dutchmen and other foreigners in the colonies differ in some points of their living and household economy from the English, a short sketch of them may not prove unacceptable.

"Their general hour of rising is with the sun, about a quarter before six, when they make their appearance in a morning gown and slippers, in the portico or piazza of the house, where a female negro is in waiting with the coffee equipage. After a Dutch planter has taken a dish or two of strong coffee, with little or no sugar in it, the younge or boy, brings him his pipe, tobacco, and flask of gin: with these he enjoys himself till between nine and ten o'clock, when he is visited by the baass, or overseer of the estate, who reports progress, and receives orders as to preparing produce for sale or shipment, and any thing else which is needful to be done on the estate. He then dresses himself, calls for a glass of water and a napkin to wash his face and hands with. I scarcely ever saw a hand-bason in any of their houses, even where there are white females. This is a strange inconsistency when compared to the cleanliness of the interior of their houses, in which they are nicer than about their persons. Their rooms generally undergo a thorough scrubbing with lemons every morning, which diffuses a beautiful odor, in opposition to the no less regular fumes of tobacco. The excuse which is given for their attachment to smoaking is that it has a sedative quality, which corrects the effect of strong drink, and preserves them from the colds and damps, that so often prove fatal in this moist atmosphere. If a Dutchman gets wet, the antidote he takes against cold is two or three glasses of gin and a pipe; he allows his clothes to dry on him. This idea, perhaps, constitutes an apology for the use of tobacco in Holland, though I cannot

cannot but think the stupifying or intoxicating effects it produces, have more share in it. Of its efficacy as a remedy I cannot pretend to say much, but I know many of the English colonists, who adopted the usage, were always ready to shelter themselves with their neighbour's excuse. A luxurious calm of mind, a mild gaiety and pleasing chearfulness, unlike the boisterous hilarity of wine, but fitter for a climate which compels to sedentary habits, really accompanies the absorption of tobacco-fumes. The smoaker appears only tranquil, but he feels happy. Nor is our tobacco deprived, like the Virginian, of its native fragrance, by aspersions of urine, by fermentation and pressure; it has an odor as of incense, and is used in token of reverence. It is a rarity in Stabroek to meet a person in the streets at evening without his pipe or segar, and it is always considered a mark of attention, when two people meet smoaking, to discharge a mouthful of smoak at each other.

"But to return—we are leaving my dutchman without his breakfast, which from its substantiality, will prove to be the best meal he makes in the day. About eleven o'clock he sits down to a table covered with various kinds of animal food, vegetable soups, and fruit. Pepper-pot, a soup flavoured with the juice of the bitter cassada, and made pungent with red and green pepper, is a constant concomitant. Madeira wine and water, and malt liquor, are substituted for tea: they are considered more strengthening and better adapted for the heat of the climate than the other, which generally overheats and is productive of bile. An hour is appropriated for the gentleman to break his fast, after which he orders his horse and pays a visit to some of his neighbours, or rides round the estate to see the negroes at work, in either of which cases a negro boy follows him on foot, with a pouch of segars and a stick of fire. It is his constant practice whether on horeback, walking, or riding in a carriage, to smoak, and be supplied through the medium of a servant. He dines about three or four o'clock, and after taking a portion of claret, retires for his afternoon's nap, where he sleeps away the fatigues of the day. He grows tired of the hammock towards evening, when he comes down and takes his coffee, after which, a walk round the buildings to enquire the state of the negroes and their work, concludes the day. Dutch overseers treat their principals with the utmost respect: as they approach Mynheer within half a dozen yards, the hat is immediately droffed as a token of their inferiority, and is placed under the arm while receiving his orders, to all of which the answer is, "*Ja, weledele ges-*" "*treenge Heer.*"—"Yes, great and "honoured Sir." Such insignificant and unrestrained flattery as this from one European to another, is truly disgusting, and ought, I think, to be totally laid aside; but such are the failings of human nature, that I have seen sensible and well informed men in other respects, while surrounded by their friends, call up their overseer to give orders and ask questions, merely to display their greatness, and the respect they are held in, by a public repetition of flattery. The negroes belonging to the Dutch estates copy the overseers' humble politeness, and are considerably more respectful to whites than those belonging to English plantations. A certain erect carriage of John Bull imperceptibly introduces itself into the incult address of the

English

English negroes. Or it may arise from their not being kept so strictly, nor considered in so degraded a situation as other negroes are. I am convinced, was it made a general rule among European planters to inculcate into the minds of the negroes proper ideas of their situation, as the English do, it would inspire them with a certain degree of emulation and pride: seeing themselves respected and held in estimation would answer much better than the fear of punishment, in keeping them to their regular employments. This hint, if properly attended to, may in the course of time bring the slaves in the West Indies on a level with the English peasantry of this day: their present situation may be compared to that vassalage in which nobles formerly held the lower order of people throughout Europe.

"The general hour for retiring to rest in the country, is about eight or nine o'clock, the intermediate time between this and sun set, is occupied in drinking gin. Should no neighbour, or traveller, call to spend the evening with the great man, he is sometimes induced to send for the convenient overseer to play cards or draughts, with him, which is considered as a mark of great favor. I should have observed, that sometimes it is the wish of the proprietor, that the negroes, after leaving work, should come and receive their daily allowance of rum before his door, where he sits in state smoaking his pipe, sullenly receiving the reiterated thanks of the negroes in broken English and Dutch, "*Dankee Meester.*" The Dutch planters are vain of a large house and a number of servants, which are mostly female; their garden, curricle, and pleasure boat, engage another part of their attention; they are particularly fond of good horses, and certainly deserve them, from their attention and care for those animals.

"I have often considered with astonishment, the mixture of European inhabitants which destiny has heaped together in this community. Dutch, Germans, Prussians, Russians, Swedes, Danes, Spaniards, French, and Americans, may be incorporated as one-third of the white population, and Great Britain claims the other two. All national enmity seems to be forgotten, while the pursuits of the motley groupe are directed unanimously to climbing the ladder of fortune. Men are seen on all its stages, looking forward with anxious solicitude for the time of reaching the heighth of their ambition. Happily, commercial competition has in it little of envy; for each finds his own account in the success of his rival. The rich man is a better customer, a more liberal creditor, a safer debtor, than the necessitous: every one thrives the faster, because his neighbour has already thriven.

"There is a market-place where the negroes assemble to sell their truck, such as fruit, vegetables, fowls, eggs, and the hucksters expose for sale articles of European manufacture (much in the same manner as the pedlars do in England) in addition to salt beef, pork, and fish, bread, cheese, pipes, tobacco, and other articles, in small quantities, to enable the negroes to supply themselves agreeably to the length of their purses. Hucksters are free women of color, who purchase their commodities of merchants at two or three months credit, and retail them out in the manner described. Many of them are, indeed, wealthy, and possess ten, fifteen, and twenty negroes, all of whom they employ

in this traffic. It is by no means an uncommon thing for negroes in this line to be travelling about the country, for several weeks together, sometimes with an attendant, having trunks of goods to a considerable amount, say two hundred pounds, and when a good opportunity offers, they remit to their mistresses what money they have taken. It is really surprising what a large sum is thus returned by these people going from one estate to another. The permission of the manager on every plantation is always necessary, before the huckster ventures to the negro houses, where the bargains are made. Those that have not money barter their fowls, pigs, segars, for what they stand in need of. The hucksters are provided with such an assortment as to be able to supply the negro with a coarse check, or the manager with a fine cambric, for his shirts. Coloured women of all descriptions are extravagantly fond of dress: but those resident in the country, not having such an opportunity as the Stabroek ladies of seeing every thing new as it arrives, feel a lively sensation of joy and pleasure at the sight of a huckster, and anticipate the pleasure of tumbling over the contents of her trunk; and if it contains any new articles of fashion, their hearts beat high with wishes to obtain them. If a joe or a dollar be still remaining, it is sure to go: should their purse be empty, they make no hesitation in asking for credit: such is the general character and conduct of coloured women.

"There is a certain stage in the progress of civilization in which a country is most conveniently supplied by pedlars. The inhabitants live too far asunder, and are not numerous enough to support stationary shops; yet the probable consumption of each estate is sufficient to reward the journey of a hawker of wares. The European Jews still exercise this division of labor, which Europe has outgrown: they are consequently sinking in utility: their trade is less profitable and less popular than it was some centuries ago. They would do well to come over in large numbers to South America, where they might become efficient agents for the distribution of European commodities throughout the interior. The dialect of the European Jews is admirably adapted for the coast of Guyana, which speaks a medley of Dutch and English softened by negro pronunciation into a *lingua franca*, the very counterfeit of their speech in Europe. It may be added, that at Paramaribo, a large Jew population has been found to thrive.

"Adjoining the market-place are the butchers' shambles. The butchers are mostly free men of color, who have purchased their emancipation, and have acquired a little capital and credit. They commence their career by the slaughter of pigs, after that of sheep; oxen soon follow. They supply themselves from the importations of the Americans, and from those few planters who rear cattle for sale. Unless a butcher clears ten or fifteen pounds sterling by an ox, he thinks it is a bad bargain. He is at no expence whatever, as, on the arrival of an ox in town, it is immediately conveyed to the slaughter house.

"The market is copiously supplied with butchers' meat, but at a most extravagant rate: mutton 3s. veal 2s. 6d. beef 2s. 1d. pork 10d. per pound. With fish the town is not so well provided as the country, no fishmonger has ever yet engaged in the business upon a scale sufficiently

ciently

iently extensive to supply the po-ulation. The utmost endeavour yet nade is that of some negroes, who ire themselves of their masters, t so much a day or month, and go little beyond the mouth of the ri-er in canoes, returning by one or wo o'clock and selling what they ave caught. A very glutinous fish, alled a Paukama, which is esteem-d a dainty, is taken in a curious anner. It finds a principal part f its sustenance in hollow trees, gs of wood, and in the skeletons of d ships, which from laying in mud the water side, soon decay. hese they visit for food during ood tide, but at ebb, are left in the vities of the wood, out of which e negroes draw them by a hook stened to the end of a stick.

" Houses for fire-engines are ntiguous to the market-place, and company of firemen are formed t of the coloured free people, for ing which duty they are exempted m serving in the Burgher militia. here are two engines, but from the gligence of those who have the re of them it is feared they are t in repair fit for use.

" At the King's Stelling, ferry-ats are always in waiting to carry ssengers, horses, chaises, to the her side of the river, where there two high roads, one leading up e river the other cross to the sequebo.

" The public buildings in the vn are the governor's house, and range of offices for conducting blic business.—The secretary's ice is so large as to comprise the urts of police and justice and a ce of worship, in which the tch service is first performed on unday, by an ecclesiastic of that ntry, after which the garrison plain reads the prayers appointed by the church of England. Next comes the receiver general's office for the king's colonial duties: the commissary's or king's stores; the town guard-house: and the exploiteur, or marshall's office; after which the public goal, for the confinement of criminals, debtors run-away, or arrested negroes. In the adjoining town, to the south-east, is the burial-ground, comprising ten acres of land. In the new town, or Cummingsburgh, is the fiscal's office, custom-house, post-office, and a colonial hospital, for the reception of those who are unable to defray medical expences, or being reduced by illness are out of employ. When the writer was about leaving the colonies, the merchants and principal inhabitants were entering into large contributions, for the purpose of building a marine hospital, or Lazaretto, capable of containing five hundred patients. Should this arrangement be carried into effect, it will be the means of adding greatly to the comforts of the seamen employed in this trade, who, for want of such an extensive establishment as this is intended to be, are obliged to linger with the most dreadful distempers in the hold or steerage of a vessel engaged in the hurry and confusion of taking in, or discharging a cargo, without that attendance and rest which are so requisite to people in their situation.

" The houses are built of wood, two and three stories high, raised on brick foundations, which include excellent cellars. The frames and shingles (which are laths of twelve inches long and four wide, laid on the tops of houses like tiles) are the produce of the adjacent forests. Boards, planks, clap-boards, for closing in, are imported from America. No fires, nor even stoves are

in the dwelling houses, the kitchen being always separate; but for their cleanliness little indeed can be said, when compared to those in England. The principal fuel used is wood, and the meat instead of being roasted, is baked. The generality of the cooks are men, and a good one sells for almost any money. Good houses well situated for mercantile concerns, either in Stabroek, or the new town, let with avidity for three, four, and five hundred pounds yearly. This sort of building, if undertaken by a merchant settler, lays a great deal of money fast, which could be much better employed. The gross rents do not pay more than twelve or fourteen per cent: certainly, there are no taxes, but wooden houses are continually wanting repairs, and require a coat of paint every twelve months.

"The premium for insuring this sort of buildings, which is done in England is also very high. At the end of the year, when the landlord receives his rent, and reckons up his outgoings I am convinced he will not have cleared six per cent. on his money, which, if properly employed in other pursuits, where he has the opportunity of returning it two or three times within that period, he would have made cent. per cent. of it. Again, a certain loss attends all buildings when resold, especially these built of so perishable a material. I am so far satisfied on this point, that I would recommend any merchant going out, to hire—not to build; and thereby profit by other men's experience.

"The labor of mechanics is with us extravagantly dear. A negro carpenter, or mason, earns from five to ten shillings a day according to his skill. Perhaps it would answer to send out from Europe a company of practised builders, under the command of an able archi tect, who might undertake, first a Stabroek, then at New Amsterdam the constructions requisite. House could be built by them for hal price, and usually yield so high rent in new countries, that it migh be worth the while of Europea merchants to advance the capital re quisite for their structure: it woul supply, in the form of rent, a secur and liberal interest. The principa material used is North America timber, of which the market valu fluctuates much: it is thought tha down the river Orinoko this mate rial might be fetched at a cheape rate. I have known the price o old lumber vary from six to twen pounds per thousand feet; th demand, indeed, exceeds the quan tity imported, for which reason th latter price is nearer the standar Lime is a vast expence, bein brought to us from Europe: sure a little search in the interior wou discover lime-stone rocks among th mountains. Dutch terras sells f twenty pounds sterling the hogshea A house of 40 feet long and 28 wid to be well finished, with outbuil ings, two stories high with an att and raised on a brick foundati eight feet high, costs here at a m derate calculation two thousand fi hundred pounds, besides the lot land, which if conveniently situat could not be had for less than t hundred pounds. The town w originally laid out in lots of c hundred by two hundred feet, ma of which, small as they may appe have been divided into quarter a half lots. These lots are con nually increasing in value, but th do not form, as in the North Am rican cities, habitual objects of stoc jobbing and of mercantile specu tion. This art of selling the grou on which a house stands, with sell

elling the house, or the right of iving in it, has the merit of rendering circulable a greater portion of he fixed property of a country, nd thus facilitates the obtainal of apital for every sort of enterprise.

" The police is very strict, and s the laws are Dutch, so are the names of the officers of justice. The Fiscal is the chief magistrate, who has under him the Drossart (sheriff or jailer) and twenty Dienaars (constables or servants of justice). Negroes guilty of improper conduct in the streets, or of being out after eight o'clock of the night without a passport, are committed to the jail, where they remain until liberated by their owners, when they receive such a punishment as their fault deserves. Very exorbitant fees are attached to the jail and jailer. The following is a correct list of the charges :

	s.	d.
Arresting a Negro f. 5 : 10 or	9	6
Admission - - 5 : 10 or	9	6
Seven days maintenance at 10d per day - - - - - -	5	10
Flogging - - - - - - - -	9	6
Discharge - - - - - - -	9	6
	2	3 10

" The law permits only thirty-nine lashes at a time, unless for a capital offence, when the culprit is tried openly by the court, which adjudges and passes sentence if he is proved guilty.

" There are about fifty negroes belonging to the colony, whose houses are at the back of Stabroek. These negroes are for the common good, and their employment is to keep the town, streets, sewers, and canals, in good repair. Several of them are convicted criminals, and instead of being transported to Botany Bay, or any other place, are sentenced to work in chains about Stabroek ; while the owners receive a stipulated sum from the colony funds for them. This is certainly a disgrace to the court of police. To see these poor miserable objects, our fellow creatures, working from morning till night in heavy chains, without regard to weather, destitute of clothes, with only a coarse rag round the middle, and, as I am told, frequently with nothing but dry plantains to eat. About half a dozen pipes are attached to a gang ; when one poor fellow has taken a few whiffs, he passes it to another, and so on. I am not going to object to the punishment of criminals; on the contrary, let them meet their deserts. There is moderation in every thing, and when the court of justice condemned these poor people to labour in chains, it was not intended to deprive them of all the comforts of human life. Therefore I blame the court of police for not making their servant, the scavenger, do his duty in providing for the wants of these negroes, at least suitably to their situations. At all events, suffering chained negroes to work in Stabroek I consider as improper. It is a common saying, that custom familiarizes every thing. Here, however, I must differ ; for notwithstanding I was in the habit of seeing them every day, for almost seven years, I never could be reconciled to such proceedings ; my heart and feelings recoiled at them as inhuman. I now suggest the idea to his Excellency Governor Bentinck, to have these negroes, with fifty or sixty more who are employed at the fortification, taken farther into the interior ; let them be well fed and cloathed, and made more comfortable than they are at present. There they may clear the country, cultivate a track

of

of land for the colony, and the proceeds of their industry would not only keep in repair the town, but improve it.

" The only charitable institution supported by the colony is the hospital in Labourgade, which takes in a certain number of patients through the medium of directors. They are people unable to defray medical expences, and principally consist of seamen and free people of color from other parts of the West Indies, and only transient residents.

" The whole face of the country presented a gratifying view of hospitality and munificence on my arrival, and when acts of bounty were necessary, the inhabitants seem to vie with each other in their liberality. I could bring forward many instances of their charitable acts; however a few will suffice. A widow and two children were left destitute by the death of the husband and father, whose only means of supporting them depended on his exertions, while alive; a private subscription was entered into for their relief, and nearly five hundred pounds were raised, which enabled them to return to their mother country. An artillery-man belonging to his Majesty's forces, while bringing a vessel to, at Fort William Frederic, by some mismanagement had his arm broken, and so much shattered as to cause immediate amputation; a purse of two hundred and forty or fifty pounds was made up for him just before his leaving the colony. Some Spanish prisoners taken in one of the picaroon boats from the Orinoko, were brought into the Demerary last war in a most dreadful situation, being in want of shoes and stockings, and clothes of every description. Previously to their being exchanged, a subscription was made among some of the merchants, and fifty joes, nearly one hundred pounds, were collected and laid out for them. Various other acts of benevolence might be adduced.

" A fund, which is daily increasing, called the " *Kirk en arm geldt,*" or church and poor money, is derived from a per centage duty on all sales by auction. As it has been accumulating for a number of years, there are no means of judging of the probable amount, except by an investigation of the accounts of those persons who are the receivers of it. This ought immediately to be done by the court of police, and that amount joined to the overplus of any other colonial fund, would form a considerable capital, which might be lent to new settlers at six per cent. interest per annum, for the express purpose of commencing cultivation in the interior of this vast tract of valuable territory. It would evidently be the means of forwarding three objects—*that of increasing the fund; that of serving individuals; and that of encouraging agriculture, by enabling planters with small capitals to extend their pursuits beyond the sea coasts, or banks of the rivers and creeks.*

" This point merits consideration; and I strongly recommend it to the notice of the governor and council. Should they not attend to it, our present judicious ministers will, I hope, when the colonies are permanently attached to Great Britain, take such measures as to carry so desirable a plan into execution. The sum expended for support of the poor is nothing. *We have none!* at least that are dependant on the colony. The church establishment is very trivial, there is only one English and one Dutch clergyman, and to prove how very tolerant the inhabitants are, they all use the same

same church. The Dutch service is read from ten till eleven on a Sunday morning, when the Dutch congregation retires, and makes room for the English one.

" The high duty on glass bottles in Great Britain is taken off when exported, and from the immense number of them which are imported with malt liquor into these colonies, they become valueless; indeed they accumulate so fast, that people are often glad to get rid of them by throwing them into the ditches and trenches about town. The canals abound with bottles, as if natural to the soil, and the free negroes who make spruce beer, go round the town with baskets to pick them up. Any gentleman who wishes to bottle off a pipe of grey beard Madeira, has nothing to do but send his servants round the town, or a boat alongside any of the shipping, where they may be supplied with bottles in abundance, and have thanks for taking them away, which saves the steward and cabin boy the trouble of throwing them into the river, which they would rather do than land them in England, where the duty would be more than they are worth. On my return to England the other passengers and myself threw into the sea between forty and fifty dozen of bottles, emptied in the course of the passage; it was a fund of amusement on a calm day, after throwing in a bottle first as a mark, to see who could break it first with others.

" The packets are calculated to arrive at Barbadoes twice a month, whence the mails are conveyed to the different islands and colonies in mail boats engaged for that purpose. How anxiously their arrival is expected, is better experienced than described: the merchant and planter desirous of obtaining information of their shipments; the politician wishing to know the state of affairs in Europe; and those of a more domestic turn, solicitous about their families, are all gratified by their arrival, and are alike impatient till the hour is come, which the tardy post-master has appointed for the delivery of letters and newspapers.

" A weekly paper is published here, entitled the Essequebo and Demerary Gazette. The proclamations of government are inserted both in the Dutch and in the English language. Some diverting mixtures of dialect occur in the advertisements: but the English language is constantly gaining ground, as the new settlers all bring that dialect. The European and other news is given in English, and is extracted, as may happen, from the Barbadoes, the Liverpool, the London, or the Baltimore papers. The mass of advertisements respects sales of slaves, of stores, and of estates.

" The state or court house is a large white building, about one-hundred feet long and thirty-five feet wide, and two stories and a half high. It is situated on the side of the river in front of Stabroek, one end facing the river to the westward, and the other one east. On the second floor is the council chamber, court of justice, and secretary's office, where the colonial business is transacted. The business of the secretary's office is done by the colonial secretary and six or eight clerks. All deeds, contracts, wills, letters of attorney, transfers of estates, mortgages, the proceedings of the courts of police and justice, are recorded here. The secretary is also a notary public, and a sworn translator.

" The public offices in Stabroek are

are numerous; but, as buildings, they present nothing very striking in architectural grandeur or beauty; a sameness of wooden houses pervades the whole town. The best is the governor's office, where there are two clerks and a private secretary employed. As is customary, the captain and myself waited on his excellency, accompanied by the gentleman to whom I was addressed, and presented him with a copy of the manifest, after signing which he issued a permission, which was to be given in at the custom-house, authorizing the captain to break bulk. On my being introduced to him, he received me very politely, asked me jocosely if I was a descendant of the famous Lord Bolingbroke, and expressed himself highly pleased with that nobleman's literary works, saying that he had them in his library.

"All official documents and colonial papers pass through the governor's office, and for every time he signs his name his *private* secretary receives two dollars, for which he no doubt accounts to the principal. Evidences given before the courts of justice are in the form of affidavits, which must be made before his excellency. Passports for people leaving the country, permissions for ships to load or discharge, powers of attorney, and various other papers of a similar tendency, must undergo his signature: thus, beside suffering a previous tax from the office, out of which they are first granted, they are burthened by paying for the governors signature. No wonder our West Indian governor's grow rich, when they have such opportunities.

"The office next in importance is the secretary's, where eight clerks are employed in recording deeds, contracts, wills, mortgages, transports, powers of attorney, and notarial protests, in issuing passports and advertising departures. The proceedings of the different courts are also registered here, and translations made from the Dutch to the English language; all the proceedings of the court being Dutch, an Englishman is frequently obliged to have their decrees and sentences translated for him. This is a mortifying, and under the present distribution of property, an inconvenient regulation for the colony. Surely it would be wise to appoint a recorder, graduated in the English inns of law, for the avowed purpose of preparing, in these courts of justice, the reception of the language and forms of proceeding of the metropolitan country. He would know how to select for the especial sanction of his majesty's privy council, those few Dutch regulations which are interwoven with the subsisting constitution of property, and may therefore require to be retained. There are two receivers, whose department it is to receive the colonial taxes and sovereign's fees, duties, and imposts. Our chief magistrate, the fiscal, has his office in Labourgade. He is empowered by the laws to see them put in force and strictly adhered to, with the power of levying fines and committing to prison; he is similar in one point of view to the attorney-general of England, as being advocate for the crown. Appeals can of course be made from his award, to the court, and from the court (if a cause of sufficient consequence) to the king in council. The fiscal has under him, as officers of justice, the drossart and dienaars; the former, as we before observed, acts as sheriff or head jailer, and the latter as constables or watchmen, who have charge of the jail and police.

"We had the honor of paying our

our respects to the fiscal, with whom we left a list of the crew and passengers, with an account of their age and place of nativity. A fine of one thousand guilders being inflicted on the captains of vessels for every person they land without giving in his name and description, and the like fine being levied for every person they take from the colony in any ship or vessel without a passport, this law is very necessary to be known. The consignee of every vessel is obliged to enter into a bond at the secretary's office, for the full performance of these stipulations on the part of the captain.

"I cannot leave the fiscal's office without relating a ridiculous anecdote of Mynheer Van den V———, when that gentleman filled the employment. A planter one day meeting him on the public road between Stabroek and Mahaica, who had a private pique against him, accosted and requested to know what the amount of the fine would be to give a man, who had treated him ill, a good beating. The fiscal replied it would be one hundred and fifty guilders, for which sum he would insure him against all law proceedings. The planter immediately paid him down the stipulated amount, and requested the astonished fiscal to alight that he might take his revenge; which he refusing to do, the planter held the horse's bridle with one hand, while he horse-whipped the fiscal with the other. Mynheer Van den V——— was so completely ashamed of his disgrace, that he pocketed the affront with the fine, without taking any steps to gain redress. It happened in 1798, and the planter who performed the achievement was a creole of Barbadoes.

"The business of the exploiteur's, or what I believe is termed in English the marshal's or bailiff's, office is to serve citations or summonses, execute arrests, levy executions, and put in force all sentences adjudged by the courts. There are offices for the colonial book-keeper, harbour-master, colonial surgeons, and branch pilots, as established by the police.

"The post-office is both badly and extravagantly conducted as to charges, and deserves the immediate notice of the court of police, to fix and arrange a proper tariff to guide the post-master for the future.

"As to the custom-house I despair of reducing its exorbitant charges, as the officers who have the conducting of it, reign lords paramount there, uncontrouled by either governor or council. The charges of clearing a vessel are enormous; for British ships loaded and bound to England, from sixty to seventy pounds, in proportion to their tonnage and cargo. To Americans and neutrals the charges are in the same proportion doubled; independently of the duty, they pay, on their inward and outward bound cargo, 2½ per cent. on one, and 5 per cent. on the other. The comptrollers and collectors of his majesty's customs in these colonies are in very lucrative situations, capable of making large fortunes in a short time. But the burthen on commerce greatly transcends, I fear, the profits of the revenue: so that a communication of all custom-duties for a tax on the estimated rent of the cultivated land would probably be found, both to the state and the subject, a profitable change.

"The vendue-master's appointment is also very lucrative. This is an office under government, similar to an auctioneer; there being but one allowed, and authorized, which

makes

makes the place so very valuable. The per centage on sales, according to law, is not more than 5 per cent. but the additional or incidental expences make it ten. The principal people who attend these sales are Dutchmen, and the bottle of gin and glass are handed about so briskly, that the fumes mount into their heads, and give their tongues such volubility, that they scarcely know, or care, or hear what they buy. A drunken man, it is said, sees double; and I believe it is frequently the case with them, after too great an indulgence in gin, and smoaking, which is quite common at all these sales, that they often purchase bargains for twice as much as they are worth. Therefore it answers at all times, and especially at the evening auctions, to provide plenty of drams and segars. The vendue-masters of Demerary are only deputies themselves, yet they employ another deputy to transact their business in the neighbouring colony of Essequebo, who pays them one thousand pounds per ann. as a fee rent of the office.

" The paper money which is in circulation in Essequebo and Demerary amounts to about one hundred thousand guilders. The smallest amount is 5d. sterling, or 1 bit, and the largest 5s. viz. 3 guilders. The notes are curiously denominated with little figures, that the negroes may know the amount, without being subjected to impositions from not being able to read. They are current all over the colonies, and were made to obviate the difficulty of obtaining small change; when a person has got a quantity of them, he may turn them into gold by applying at the receiver's office for colonial taxes, whence they are issued again. The colonial currency is like that of Holland, and consists of pennings, stivers, and guilders, though the coin in circulation is various. Guineas are worth twenty-five per cent. more here than in England.

16 pennings make 1 stiver, viz. 1d sterling.
5 stivers make 1 bit, viz. 5d. sterling.
20 ditto or 4 bits make 1 guilder, 20d. sterling.
12 guilders, which is the par of exchange, make 20s.

" The coins, beside those enumerated above, are dollars 5s. each; gold Portugal coins, called ducats, 9s. each; moidores, 18s.; and johannes, or joes, which are 36s.

" Although the par of exchange is twelve guilders to the pound sterling, it frequently varies according to the demand for bills on Great Britain, or the quantity of specie which is in request. In the former instance I have known government bills on his majesty's treasury, to sell for fourteen guilders the pound, which is equal to 1l. 3s. 4d. and even good private bills have sold at the same rate. In the latter case, when a want of specie obliges the planters to value on their correspondents, their bills have only sold for eleven guilders and eleven guilders and a half.

" Merchants wanting to remit, always prefer shipping produce in preference to buying bills at the high exchange of 14 guilders, as there is some chance of that getting to a good market, and probably giving a profit while the bill transaction incurs a certain loss of sixteen and two-thirds per cent. at the first outset.

" The laws oblige every man from the age of sixteen to fifty, to enrol himself in the burgher militia; they are liable to be called out when the governor thinks proper; the officers are appointed by the court

court of police, they are commanded by a lieutenant-colonel; their service extends no farther than preserving the internal tranquillity of the country, but in the last war, a number of British subjects volunteered their services, and were enrolled to act under the military commandant. On the British taking possession of the colonies this present war, a company of volunteer riflemen were formed, and on the arrival, in 1805, of the combined fleets in the West Indies, between three and four hundred of the Burgher militia stepped forward and offered their services to defend the colony against any attacks of the enemy. Every body now in town and country armed; every estate on the sea-coast provided a trusty negro who was armed with a pike and cutlass; a troop of cavalry was formed, and a company of volunteer artillery was also added to the military force. The garrison is generally one thousand or twelve hundred strong. Four hundred seamen can always be had from the merchant ships in the river, by whom, with about six hundred volunteers, and one hundred pioneers, a good defence might be sustained. But the greatest bulwark lies in the shallowness of the entrances into the river, and the numerous mud banks and flats which run along the coast; and as there are signal staffs from the Berbice to the Demerary (which ought to be continued across the Essequebo to the Pamaroon) the garrison is soon apprized of an enemy being off the coast. It may be fairly asserted, that with the natural and acquired strength of the country, and while the colonists are so favourable to Great Britain, an effectual defence may be made against six or eight thousand men. Such is the advantage possessed by the inhabitants when they wish to preserve the colony to its possessors.

"In the country, every officer of militia, is a justice of the peace, and has under his jurisdiction, a certain division of the country to which he is attached; these divisions are known and distinguished by different coloured banners under which they are arranged. They are termed burgher officers, issue proclamations receive depositions on tax schedules, and are the active men in quelling disturbances, for which purpose they have a disposable force in the embodied militia of inhabitants.

"Since the introduction of volunteering, military funerals have usually been allotted to the whites: but the respect and attention paid at funerals of free poeple, and even of negroes, is very considerable. Not only all their relatives, but strangers feel it an incumbent duty to go. If a coloured free person dies in Stabroek, the remains are followed to the grave by every one in the town. I have seen upwards of two hundred people of color followers. They are either in white muslin dresses, or deep black mourning, according to whether the deceased is female or male. Before the solemn procession takes place, the company refresh themselves with scalt wine and cake. The coffin, which though merely covered with black cloth and lined with linen, costs twenty-five pounds sterling, is conveyed in a hearse, attended by twelve bearers, then the clergyman, mourners, and followers."

Banks of the Mississippi.

[From Mr. Ashe's Travels in America.]

"In many respects the Mississippi is far inferior to the Ohio. The Mississippi is one continued scene of terrific grandeur; of unmixed sublimity, impressing a veneration and awe, which are adverse to satisfaction and enjoyment, whereas the general magnificence of the Ohio is chequered every here and there by a profusion of local beauties, on which the mind can relax and repose in safety and comfort. However, I am too far advanced to recede; and shall continue on to the end of my destined voyage, though I see it pregnant with sufferings and danger.

"On the Indiana side above the Ohio, I discovered a remarkable fine plane tree, not of the common species, as I perceived from the certain characteristics it possessed, and from being informed that it never in winter sheds its leaves. This tree has never been noticed as a native of America that I know of, notwithstanding its utility, being of great bulk, and permanent beauty and foliage.

"I went in pursuit of a cave, which I heard much celebrated by the hunters I had met with in the upper country. I found it after infinite labour, for there is no penetrating the woods without groping the way through reeds and vines, and hesitating at every step for fear of vipers and snakes. I was only accompanied by Cuff, having to leave the other man to guard the boat, and ward off floating trees which would otherwise make her drift from the bank. On discovering the mouth of the cavern we each lighted a large flambeau of gum-wood, and entered a passage which wound about like a labyrinth for more than fifty yards, and at length led to a spacious apartment of one hundred and fifty paces in length, and upwards of one hundred feet high; the form irregular, and the floor uncommonly rough; the roof arched, and in several places rising out into large round knobs, some bristling with bright points, and others regularly dented, representing bunches of grapes, festoons of flowers, and lances of considerable length. The vault, and sides also, were covered with innumerable productions which represented the root, branches, and heads of various shrubs, executed with as much perfection as if nature meant to shew the extent of her power, by operating in the vegetation of stones. The figures are all white, transparent, chrystallized, and generally aslant, and in different beds like the Judaic stone. The splendor of the place when illuminated by torches is indescribable. At the extremity of the cave I entered another passage, which had so many turnings and intricate windings, that I feared to be entangled, and made the best of my way out. In the mouth or entrance, which is six feet high and nine wide, my attention was struck by several names and dates engraven on the sides. Two of the dates were very far remote, they were 1699 and 1714. I had no conception that the river had been explored at such periods. The engravings are made out with great facility, though the letters are no longer sunk, but swelled out, either from the

the vegetation of the rock, or from some adventitious or external cause. When the persons were engraving their names on the walls of the passage to the cavern, little did they imagine that the furrowing wrought by their knives, would be insensibly filled up, and in time advanced with a kind of embroidery, about a line high in some places, and near three lines in others: so that the characters, instead of being hollow and concave, as they were at first, are now turned convex, and come out of the rock like *basso-relievo*, or embossed work. The matter of them is white, though the stone they issue from is grey. Perhaps this *basso-relievo* may be a kind of callosity formed by the nutritious juice of the stone, extravasated insensibly into the channelings made by the engraver.

"Two miles below the iron red-banks, I came abreast of a large island called Wolf Island, and put in shore to examine a place called the Chalk Banks. I am of opinion that the bank is formed of a substance highly esteemed by the ancients, and known to us by the name of Terra Cimolia. The substance is a white chalk, very heavy, without taste, and abounds with a small grit, which sets the teeth on edge: it is easily crumbled, but it does not ferment, nor has it the least effervescence when put into water; it only melts away and becomes soapy and adhesive. Being much at a loss for soap, I took several pieces of the chalk into my boat, and found it answer all the purposes of that necessary article. It is very cleansing and pleasant to the hand, and my man has made a lye from some of it, with which he washes the linen, and esteems it preferable to soap. There is one good use of it, and I believe the ancients employed the same material (if it be the Terra Cimolia) medicinally, and attributed to it the virtue of discussing tumours, and assisting to remove other sources of disease. I believe Pliny mentions it, and says that it is successfully employed in cleaning silks and stuffs.

"Four miles below the Chalk Banks, I passed by the mouth of *Bayeau de Shé*, on the left hand shore. As there is nothing more formidable to the navigator than a *bayeau*, I must endeavour to give you some faint idea of its character and power.

"As the Mississippi for the most part, flows through an excavated ridge, like an artificial canal, whose banks are elevated above the adjacent country, it is subject to extraordinary inundations, when in the highest state, which form those extensive swamps, that occasion the nuisance of myriads of musquitoes and other insects, and also supply streams called bayeaus with a body of water, which, issuing from the main river with astonishing rapidity, causes a violent vortex, whose action extends a considerable way into the river. Boats once dragged into a bayeau are next to lost, it being almost impossible to force so unwieldy a machine as a flat-bottomed boat against so powerful a current.

"After a run of four miles, I put into a cove in a small willow-island for the night, and a dreary one I passed at it. The musquitoes attacked me with unusual ferocity, and the soil was too rotten to suffer me to sleep on shore. My only amusement was fishing, and firing at some pelicans which floated past me in the stream. I could get no manner of rest from the musquitoes, till weary with their repeated attacks, I lay down on the roof of my

my boat covered over with bears' skins. This expedient succeeded, but caused as violent a sudation as I experienced in the Shawanee bath. It relaxed me so much that I had to throw myself into the river to recover strength and energy sufficient to steer my boat. I left this island by dawn of day, and after having passed three other islands in the course of sixteen miles, arrived here to breakfast.

"This town, which is situated on the west bank of the river, and in lat. 56. 30. north, contains about forty log and frame houses, a prison, and a church. It owes its origin to a Colonel George Morgan, who conceiving the site favourable for the establishment of a town, applied for a grant, and obtained it from the King of Spain, then lord of the soil. Furnished with the grant, the colonel repaired to the Eastern States, and there propagated so exalted an opinion of his new possessions, that he soon prevailed on numbers to embark with him in the speculation, and to erect a town and dignify it with the name of New Madrid. In the first instance the society were delighted with the situation, in a beautiful rich plain; but experience soon taught them that it did not run two miles back, that the front was limited to a mile, and that the vicinity of the swamp would render it periodically unhealthy. Add to this, that an inundation occurred, which swept off the greatest part of the new town, carried off the government-house, and laid a foundation for a belief that the entire plain will, in process of time, be consumed by the river. In the last ten years, the plain has lost one hundred yards along its front, and in ten years more, there is no moral probability that the town will be in existence; the bank on which it stands being a fine mould of fifty feet deep, can make no resistance to the body of water which beats against it. It every hour gives way, and though the inhabitants recede, and build their houses nearer the swamp, they find the river gain on them, and that they must one day perish in some untimely flood, or abandon the establishment of the town according to their original intention. It would appear to me, that as soon as the river subsides, the banks, against which it now beats with such unremitting impetuosity, that it must change its bed, and water the immense regions of North Mexico.

"I must give you an unfavourable account of the inhabitants. A stupid insensibility makes the foundation of their character. Averse to labour, indifferent to any motive of honour, occupied by mean associations, without solicitude for the future, and incapable of foresight and reflection, they pass their lives without thinking, and are growing old without getting out of their infancy, all the faults of which they studiously attain. Gaming and drinking at times rouse them from this supine state into a depravation of manners, and furious spirit of outrage, which debase still more the distorted features of their mind. They are composed of the dregs of Kentucky, France, and Spain, and subsist by hunting and trading with the Indians, who exchange with them rich furs for whisky, blankets, ammunition, and arms. Gardens succeed well: there are several about the town, and some peach-orchards of great promise. Agriculture is entirely neglected. I could not get a loaf of bread in the town, nor any kind of provisions whatever, though I offered any price.

The Roman church is yet sustained and service performed, though the

the revenue allotted it by the government of Spain is withheld by the United States.

"The Mississippi affords so little subject for anecdote or interesting description, that I have made a run of three hundred and fifty miles since I last wrote to you, in search of materials for your information.

"On leaving New Madrid, the first settlement I perceived was that of Little Prairie: it consists of from twenty to thirty houses, built on an elevated plain, whose extent is limited by a swampy boundary. It is a wretched sickly place, and would be evacuated, were the inhabitants not encouraged to remain by the trade with the Indians, which they find profitable, though attended by periodical, or rather perpetual attacks of sickness.

"The next and only settlement after the Prairie, is the third Chickassaw Bluffs, making a distance of nearly 100 miles without a habitation. The Chickassaw Bluffs are one hundred and fifty-one miles from the mouth of the Ohio. I should have found it a very lonesome stretch, had I not been incessantly employed in preserving the boat from danger: from rocks, sawyers, and snags; and from the eddies, gulphs, bayeaus, points, and bends in the river.

"The attention is also kept awake by the necessity of looking out for islands, in order to choose the proper channel, and to pull for it in time, or before the boat falls into the race of a wrong one. Numbers of boats are lost annually on account of not paying attention to this important point.

"The Chickassaw Bluff is a very high red bank on the eastern side of the river. On it are erected a fort, barracks for a company of soldiers, and a few artillery-men, and houses and stores for two state commissioners, who reside there for the purpose of conducting the public trade existing between the American government and the Choctaw and Chickataw nations, who live, by permission, in the country east of the fort. The high plain on which the buildings are erected, is very beautiful; but, like the other settlements on the Mississippi which I have mentioned, is limited, and subsides into ponds and swamps. It maintains about a dozen families, who raise corn, breed poultry and pigs, and supply boats descending the river with what common provisions they may want. Neither the settlers nor the garrison consider the Bluffs unhealthy, though they are visited by intermittent fevers, and various other periodical attacks. The land is as rich as possible; and in a garden belonging to the garrison, all kinds of fruits and vegetables succeed to a perfection seldom attained elsewhere. The view from the fort is one of those grand ones which nature occasionally gives to excite admiration and wonder. Over the Louisiana shore, the sight has no limit; but rushes unrestrained over an immense expanse of forests. To the right it is arrested by a fantastic bend in the river, where the banks are embellished with uncommon beauty; to the left it strays amid a cluster of islands, through the channels of which the water meanders; and in the rear it rambles over cultivated fields and pasture lands, of much rural character and extent. The view of the fort, on approaching it from the opposite side, has a very fine and picturesque effect. In consequence of the bend in the river, it is hurried on the view from a very favourable point. In the distance, the principal bluff forms a noble object. Its front is shaggy and broken,

and

and the interstices of soil are filled with trees and shrubs. On its summit, stands a lonely watch-tower; on its brow, the garrison and fort mounted with guns. The gardens and improvements are elevated and extensive; and the officers and commissioners' buildings add greatly to the general effect. You may not conceive highly of a view of this nature; but I can assure you, after a long and dreary voyage, it has charms for the mind which cannot be described.

"In compliment to me, the governor invited all the gentlemen of the establishment to dine; and a very sumptuous dinner we had: it consisted of fish, venison, squirrels, and bear's meat, with a profusion of wine and desert of Illinois nuts, a forest fruit. It was one in the morning before we parted. Some of the party reposed under the table an hour before; for my part, the dangers and fatigues I had gone through made me too dull to get drunk; at least, I could not have been so, or I must have broken my neck in scrambling down one hundred and fifty feet of a steep declivity which led to my boat, in which I lay till roused by the garrison reveillé in the morning.

"There having been no ladies at dinner the day before, I naturally concluded there were none at the fort. I was deceived. On going to breakfast by appointment with the governor, I was introduced to his daughter, a very interesting and fine girl of sixteen years of age. She had lost her mother a twelvemonth before; and was left, in so desolate a place, without a single friend or companion of her own sex to mitigate her sufferings, created by so irreparable a loss. These unhappy circumstances have given her countenance an expression of sorrow and modest confusion, which cannot fail to move the heart of every beholder.

"I was much pleased to discover from her conversation, which was luminous and elegant, that her father takes great pains to improve and cultivate her mind. She has read much, and, I fear, of books which excite more refinement and sensibility, than are necessary for the kind of world in which she is destined to live. When the discourse turned on the virtues and decease of her mother, her fine eyes filled with tears, and she silently left the hall. The father and I soon followed, and found her reclining on a little mausoleum, erected on a tumulus of earth, planted with cyprus and yew trees. "This," said the father, "is the work of her "own hands: the poor girl's mo- "ther lies buried here, and we of- "ten visit it when disposed to sor- "row, or when events bring her "strongly to our recollection."

"I respected such an evidence of affliction and tenderness too much to give it interruption; and, therefore, turned through the garden, and made preparations to depart. In a short time I took a friendly leave of the gentlemen of the garrison, and pursued my voyage, much pleased and refreshed by my stay at the fort. I had not passed some islands which lie immediately below the Bluffs ten minutes, before very strong demonstrations of a hurricane appeared. The wind suddenly died away; the sun assumed a deep red, and glowed with unusual fury; the atmosphere was sensibly discomposed; the spring of the air relaxed to cause a difficulty of breathing; and nature reposed in a calm, in order to gather strength for some intended work of desolation and ruin. I benefited by the fortunate interval, and pulled into the eastern shore, where I secured my boat,

boat, and waited with deep emotion, the event of the approaching storm. A small cloud announced its intention of coming from the west. That cloud soon dilated its volume to an immense expanse, and moved with astonishing velocity towards me. The noise it made in the woods was like that of the sea in its utmost rage; and the havoc it made was dreadful. The beasts of the forest rushed howling to the water's edge; and the birds flew agitated and screaming over it. The trees were heard to crackle and fall; and as the storm reached the river, I could plainly perceive that it travelled in a direct line, leaving after it a straight avenue of several miles extent, in which nothing could be seen but prostrate trees, and stumps and scattered limbs of those it had broken. On striking the water, into which it hurled every tree on the banks, it made it labour like a vortex in commotion; and as it passed over the eastern shore, it again resumed its dreadful operation, driving all before it, rending up the heaviest timber by the roots, and carrying in its convulsed bosom birds, plants, and shrubs. The effect on my boat was terrible: it drove her into the mud banks, half way across her breadth, filled her with water, and covered her over with branches and wood, propelled from the opposite side; in fine, she appeared no better than a wreck. During the action of the tempest on the river, the men and I had to jump in the water, not being able to hold on to the boat. The cloud, rapidly moving, having arrived at its destination, or having performed its office of decomposing the air of such places as occasioned it to possess most gravity, varied its course, and rushed to the southward with increased violence and velocity. After varying from point to point, it ascended the river, and forced its way northwardly; in which direction I perceived another cloud forming of equal magnitude, and as capable of filling the mind with solicitude and terror. This latter cloud descended the river. However, as the first hurricane had restored to the air between the two clouds its elastic and repulsive power and true gravity, they could not approach each other but by very slow degrees, subject to pauses of considerable length, silence, and terrible solemnity. Two hours elapsed before they came into contact. The awful event was announced by vivid flashes of lightning, unceasing peals of thunder, and the precipitation of the watery parts in streams and torrents of rain. But when the two clouds rushed into the same circle, and formed but one immense globe, in the dark bosom of which the electric fluid began its direful operation, my reason stood apalled, and I thought the gates of chaos, hell, and confusion were opened wide above me. The lightning which before flashed in fine lambent flames and intermittent flakes, now took eccentric, hostile, and zig-zag shapes, which perpetually traversed and opposed each other, or else it formed balls of fire which shot in all directions through the air, rolled along the ground, or hissed over the surface of the water; and the thunder which commenced by single peals, continued with constant and dreadful clamour. The explosions never died, and the reverberations appeared to vie with them in impetuosity and power. After an hour's contest, disputed in a style of sublime greatness, the northern cloud proved victorious, and descended the river, fertilized its burning banks, and reanimated a droop-

ing people with the refreshment afforded by its accumulated fluid.

"When the storm was over, I found I had sufficient to do without investigating meteorological appearances. My boat was water logged, and so sunk in the mud, that I despaired for a long time of ever righting her. I at length succeeded, but not without a labour which rendered us incapable to depart: independent of fatigue we had abundance to do to dry and clean our clothes and provisions, great part of which was entirely spoiled. Fortunately the gum-tree and cotton-tree are inflammable, and soon made an excellent fire, notwithstanding the late drenching wet. I found the storm productive of one good consequence; it annihilated the musquitoes within its range, and allowed me to pass the remainder of the day in comfort and ease."

Banks of the Orkansas.

[From the same.]

"FROM the situation in which I was last left, I made a run of one hundred miles without meeting any remarkable event. The whole course was destitute, nor had it on either side as much dry ground as was eligible for the safe and comfortable residence of a single individual. At the conclusion of this dismal range, I passed the mouth of the river St. Francis, and came to a beautiful prairie a little below it, on which I found one solitary dwelling, inhabited by a family who traded with the Indians up the river, and occasionally dealt with the boats which descended the Mississippi.

"The St. Francis enters on the right or Louisiana side; is about three hundred yards wide at its mouth, and is navigable two hundred miles upwards. Near its confluence with the Mississippi, it is subject to inundations, but towards the head of its navigation, it has high and fertile banks, which are thickly occupied by Indian nations, of whom nothing is known, as there are no white settlers among them, and as they have never been visited by any person disposed to discover their character and history.

"I purchased some dried venison, and a few fowls, at half a dollar a piece, from the solitary settler at the prairie, four miles below St. Francis, and proceeded three days more without objects to amuse or interrupt, to the mouth of the White River, which is one hundred and twenty-two miles from that of the St. Francis. The whole of that run is also destitute of man, and exhibits nature in disorder, on a large and gloomy scale. It appears to be the favourite theatre for the exhibition of hurricanes and storms. The woods are perforated in a hundred places by their destructive career, and present avenues whose termination is far beyond the sight. The avenues made by such sweeping currents of air are so very direct, perfect, and narrow, that they appear the effect of art, and made as a road of communication from town to town, or state to state. Some are so narrow as twenty yards, and others as broad as two hundred. They are very magnificent, and produce

duce sensations of astonishment and terror.

" The long portion of water to which I allude, also exhibits certain characteristics which distinguish it from the river above the Chickassaw Bluffs, and particularly from the Ohio, and all its tributary streams. The trees, plants, and shrubs, are for the most part different, and consequently present a figure, foliage, and *coup-d'œil* which not merely strike the sense as a change of decoration and scene, but as another theatre and country. Cypress swamps of several miles extent, oak of great beauty and magnitude, cotton trees embellished with their rich produce festooned from bough to bough, floating in the air, or drooping to the ground; quinces, hazels, bending under a profusion of fruit, and catalpas, cedars, and magnolias, diffusing perfume over immense waters, are common to the Mississippi from below St. Francis; rare between that river and the Bluffs, and are seldom to be met with further north. The animal as well as the vegetable kingdom, in the same situation, experiences a change. This was announced to me in a very remarkable manner; I was steering down the river in a water extremely deep, and free of all impediment whatever, when all of a sudden the boat refused to obey the helm, heeled considerably, and turned her head to the right shore. At the same moment some ducks, which were confined in a coop, firmly attached to the outside head of the boat close to the water's edge, made an uncommon noise, and fluttered in the extreme of agitation. Though much alarmed and perplexed, I opposed the helm and one oar to the resistance, whatever it might be, but all in vain; the boat wheeled entirely round, and stood down the current stern foremost. Hearing the ducks continue their clamour, I passed to the bow, and stooping suddenly over, nearly thrust my head into the mouth of a monster, who held on to the boat with one paw, while he was employed in rending off the coop with the other. I started back with precipitation, yet soon recovered, seized a boat hook, and followed up by my two men, attacked the monster before he carried off his prize. I struck him several times without making the smallest impression on his senses, or in any manner injuring his frame. The iron glanced from him as if resisted by polished steel, but on one of the men cleaving the claw with which he sustained himself, he made a dreadful flounce, uttered a tremendous cry, beat in the upper plank of the boat, knocked us all three from our situation, and carried off the coop as the reward of his victory. The whole of this was effected in a manner so instantaneous, that it renders it completely indescribable.

" When recovered from our consternation and fall, I again took the helm, and ordered the men to *back water* with all their might, to afford me an opportunity of seeing the monster that occasioned us so much alarm and difficulties. He soon rose about fifty yards from me, and made into shore with the coop across his mouth, and his head, of more than four feet in length, considerably out of the water. I steered as near as I could with safety after him, and fired several balls, which struck and glanced off his body and along the river. He landed, and to appearance, in one crush mashed the coop in pieces, and gobbled up my favourite ducks, one after another, as fast as he could catch them; for on breaking the coop I could perceive that several

birds escaped abroad, and even took to the water, out of which he soon drew them. During his repast, I had full leisure to examine him. He was a huge alligator, at least twenty feet long, of proportionate circumference, and with a head containing one-fourth of the length of the body!

"The White River, which also empties on the right or Louisiana side, is navigable two hundred miles up, and is said to wind through a fertile and delightful country. At its mouth there is an excellent landing, where boats may be moored in safety. It is but thirty-five miles from the mouth of the White River to the post of Ozark on the Orkansas River. The best and nearest route is to go up the White River about four miles, then across to the Orkansas through a navigable creek between the two rivers, and to keep up it about thirty miles, which brings to the village of Ozark. Being incumbered with two heavy a boat, I could not pursue this route, but dropped down twenty miles lower, and moored at the mouth of the Orkansas, whence I date this and a former letter. I here had the good fortune to get a passage in a trader's canoe to the village of Ozark, where I passed two days with much satisfaction and advantage. I shall give you the substance in a few words.

"The Orkansas is on the same side with the St. Francis and the White River; that is, on the Louisiana, right, or western side. It is said to be navigable eight hundred miles up, and to water a country of great fertility and beauty. These accounts must be received with much caution, and ought to be qualified by the facts of an unbiassed observer. For the truth is, that the immediate banks of the Louisianean western rivers from half a mile to from two, three, and four miles back, are alone the parts which merit to be described as delightful and eligible for agricultural pursuits. All the vast remainder is nothing more than a swamp, subject to periodical inundation, which supply ponds and lakes, and send forth exhalations so malignant and active, that they contaminate the climate of the whole region, and shed over the most distant parts the seeds of disease and death. The reason that the banks alone are profitable and pleasing is, that the western waters flow in a ridge above the level of the country, and remain dry, when the general face of the adjoining land is flooded through the means of the bayeau and sluices, which are formed in the banks of all the rivers by the periodical excess of their water.

"I reached the village of the Ozark on the second day. I found the current of the river very gentle, and the banks clothed with a profusion of the finest timber and shrubs, but so choked with cane that there was no possibility of ascending them, or of ascertaining their extent, except through buffalo-paths, and avenues made by thunder gusts and partial currents of air, as before described. Through these it was easy to discern that the river, like the Mississippi and others, flows through a ridge, and that the banks, for the most part, subside in a swamp on either side.

"The village consists of sixty houses inhabited by persons of several nations, and who reside there for the purpose of conducting a very lucrative trade with the Indians, who resort to the village from the high country, and from the Mexican plain, with furs, for which they take in return, arms, ammunition, spirits, blankets, and tools and utensils

utensils of every kind, which the traders bring from New Orleans with great difficulty and expence, the distance being six hundred miles, and the current not allowing a boat to gain more than twelve or sixteen miles a-day, though worked with sixteen oars.

" I arrived at the village at a very fortunate period; at a time when it was filled with Indians, and surrounded with their camp. They amounted to about nine hundred, and were composed of the remnants of various nations, differing in dress, habits, and manners so little from those I have already mentioned, that I have no occasion to go into any tedious detail, but confine myself to a subject of high interest, and in which they differed—the Indians assembled at Ozark were worshippers of the sun. And the second day of my arrival being a grand festival among them, I had the most favourable opportunity of witnessing their adorations at the three remarkable stages of the sun's rise, meridian, and set. Take the proceedings as they occurred.

" The morning was propitious, the air serene, the horizon clear, the weather calm. The nations divided into classes; warriors, young men and women, and married women with their children. Each class stood in the form of a quadrant, that each individual might behold the rising luminary, and each class held up a particular offering to the sun the instant he rose in his glory. The warriors presented their arms, the young men and women offered ears of corn and branches of trees, and the married women held up to his light their infant children. These acts were performed in silence, till the object of adoration visibly rose, when, with one impulse, the nations burst into praise, and sung an hymn in loud chorus. The lines which were sung with repetitions, and marked by pauses full of sublimity and judgment, have been construed by an excellent interpreter into these.

" Great Spirit! Master of our " lives!

" Great Spirit! Master of every " thing visible and invisible, and " who daily makes them visible and " invisible!

" Great Spirit! Master of every " other spirit, good or bad, com- " mand the good to be favourable " to us, and deter the bad from the " commission ef evil!

" Oh! Grand Spirit! preserve " the strength and courage of our " warriors, and augment their num- " ber, that they may resist the op- " pression of their Spanish enemies. " and recover the country and the " rights of their fathers!

" Oh! Grand Spirit! preserve the " lives of such of our old men as " are inclined to give council and " example to the young!

" Preserve our children, multi- " ply their number, and let them be " the comfort and support of de- " clining age!

" Preserve our corn and our ani- " mals, and let not famine desolate " the land!

" Protect our villages, guard our " lives! O Great Spirit! when you " hide your light behind the west- " ern hills, protect us from the " Spaniards, who violate the night, " and do evil which they dare not " commit in the presence of thy " beams!

" Good Spirit! make known to " us your pleasure by sending to us " the Spirit of Dreams. Let the " Spirit of Dreams proclaim your " will in the night, and we will " perform it through the day! And " if it say the time of some be closed,

" send

" send them, Master of Life! to " the great country of souls, where " they may meet their fathers, mo- " thers, children, and wives, and " where you are pleased to shine " upon them with a bright, warm, " and perpetual blaze!

" Oh Grand, oh Great Spirit! " hearken to the voice of nations, " hearken to all thy children, and " remember us always, for we are " descended from thee!"

" Immediately after this address, the four quadrants formed one immense circle of several deep, and danced, and sang hymns descriptive of the powers of the sun, till near ten o'clock. They then amused and refreshed themselves in the village and camp, and assembled precisely at the hour of twelve by my chronometer, and formed a number of circles, commenced the adoration of the meridian sun. The following is the literal translation of the mid-day address.

" Courage! Nations, courage! " the Great Spirit looks down upon " us from his highest seat, and by " his lustre, appears content with " the children of his own power and " greatness.

" Grand Spirit! how great are " his works, and how beautiful are " they!

" He is good; is the Great Spi- " rit! he rides high to behold us. " 'Tis he who causes all things to " augment and to act. He even " now stands for a moment to heark- " en to us.

" Courage! Nations, courage! " The Great Spirit now above our " heads, will make us vanquish our " enemies; he will cover our fields " with corn, and increase the ani- " mals of our woods. He will " see that the old be happy, and " that the young augment. He " will make the nations prosper, " make them rejoice, and make " them put up their voice to him " while he rises and sets in their " land, or while his heat and his " light can thus gloriously shine " out."

" This was followed by dancing and hymns, which continued from two to three hours, at the conclusion of which, dinners were served and eaten with great demonstrations of mirth and hilarity. I dined in a circle of chiefs on a barbecued hog and venison, very well stewed, and was perfectly pleased and gratified with the rural repast. The dinner and repose after it continued till the sun was on the point of being set. On this being announced by several who had been on the watch, the nations assembled in haste, and formed themselves into segments of circles in the face of the sun, presenting their offerings during the time of his descent, and crying aloud,

" The nations must prosper; they " have been beheld by the Great " Spirit. What more can they " want? Is not that happiness " enough? See how he retires, " great and content, after having " visited his children with light, " heat, and universal good!

" Oh! Grand Spirit! sleep not " long in the gloomy West, but re- " turn and call thy people once " again to light and life; to light " and life; to light and life!"

" This was also succeeded by dances and songs of praise, which lasted till eleven o'clock, at which hour they repaired to rest, some retired to the huts that formed their camp, and others to the vicinity of fires made in the woods and along the river's banks. I took up my abode with a French settler in the village. I could understand that the Indians have four similar festivals in the year; one for every sea-

son.

son. They distinguish them by the name of "Days of Adoration." When the sun does not shine or appear on the adoration-day, an immense fire is erected, around which the ceremonies are performed with equal devotion and care."

Account of the Alligators of the Mississippi.

[From the same.]

"AFTER leaving the mouth of the Orkansas, I had nothing to remark but the great number of islands which continued to interrupt the navigation of the Mississippi, till I came to a place known by the name of "The Grand Lake," which is ninety miles from the Orkansas, the point of my last departure.

"The Grand Lake, to my astonishment, I found destitute of water. It was formerly the bed of the river; but, being abandoned by it from some incomprehensible cause, it is now filled with willows, makes a very extraordinary appearance, which is considerably heightened by an island standing in the centre, ornamented with trees. The island and trees stand so much above the willows growing in the bed of the lake, that the character of the lake and island are as conspicuous as if the one still received the contents of the river, and the other was actually surrounded by water. The willows mark all the limits of the old flood; discover all the ancient insinuosities and heads of the banks, and shew the figure, extent, and height of the island to the most minute perfection. Before the morning fog was dissipated, I was witness of a very fine phenomenon. The willows not being higher than the surface of the former water, perhaps not so high, retains the fog in the original channel, giving it the exact resemblance of the New River, and making it doubtful what course to take.

"The entry to "The Grand "Lake" is now a sand-bar, in which are firmly fixed trees, beams, stumps, and logs, and the sortie is in like manner choked up and covered with willows and shrubs. It is several miles in circumference, and three directly across.

"Below the Grand Lake, and after passing several islands clothed with cotton-wood, I found the river perfectly straight for a stretch of thirteen miles, and of a very majestic appearance. At the extremity is an island worn to the compass of a few acres, by the constant attrition of the current against both its sides. It is ornamented by about a dozen trees. The time cannot be far-remote when this little interesting miniature will be obliterated from the face of the earth, and sink under the surface of the water which it once embellished with so much grace and picturesque beauty. Throughout this great water, this Father of Floods, as the Indians calls it, in some places, islands are seen sinking into annihilation, and in others they are exhibited through all the stages of their rise, expanse, verdure, and formation. Of the three hundred islands in the Mississippi, fifty have been created by nature since its first discovery by M. La

M. La Salle, and others are forming in a manner as perceptible as any work can be to the eyes. The system pursued is, simply this: when the river is in a low state, the sand-bars take up and retain the trees, logs, roots, branches, and shrubs, which float continnally down the current. Among these, the water deposits a quantity of mud, in which seeds wafted by the wind, and plants conveyed by the stream, germinate and assist in binding the infant soil. Succeeding years perform the same operations with similar effects, till the bars assume the rank of islands, and grow to several hundred acres extent. The river then contains islands of two distinct kinds, and formed from different intentions, and in a widely different manner. The first I have just described, and the second owe their origin to the sudden convulsions which rent upon the bed of the river, and left insulated spots every here and there standing, or else to their being separated from the main land by a division of currents which often occur, to force a passage through the land, and thereby form islands, and effect their own union. The meanest observer can distinguish the one description of islands from the other. Those that proceed from the gradual deposit of foreign matter on sand-bars, have a deep mould, composed of river sediment and decayed vegetable substances, which seldom produce wood of any other growth than cotton, aspen, poplar, and willows; whereas those which have been suddenly rent from the main land, or separated from it by the continued action of the water, or successive inundations, have a fine soil over a stiff blue clay, and are richly clothed with forest timber of the greatest magnitude and most valuable character; these latter islands are sensibly wasting away while the others are increasing in extent.

"A few miles below the little island, at the sortie of the long reach, I passed a cypress-bend of sixteen miles sweep. Such is the disposition of the river to find a passage through some portion of it, that my boat had to be worked the whole way to keep her from dragging along the shore. It is the most laborious piece of navigation I have yet experienced on the river. Weary with excess of toil, I had to put to under a willow bank before the day was quite expired, as I durst not cross the mouth of a bayeau, the vortex of which I heard roaring at no great distance, till we were all refreshed and restored. Having moored the boat in security, taken a repast, and guarded ourselves as well as we could against the attack of musquitoes, bugs, ants, spiders, and flies, we lay down to rest soon after sunset, and fell into a sound refreshing sleep. I had enjoyed it for two or three hours, when I was started up by the most lamentable cries that ever assailed the human ear. The men and I instantly assembled on the roof of the boat, to distinguish whence the accents came, and to afford assistance if in our power. But they issued from so many directions, and expressed such a variety and number of persons afflicted with the deepest grief, that our reason and judgment were dissipated in wild conjecture, and we remained ignorant of the wretched sufferers, and of the dreadful cause of their complaint. It could not be Indians affecting distress, to seduce us on shore, and there be put to death · it could not be the crew of wrecked boats weeping and wailing their forlorn fate! repeatedly we demanded of each other what it then could be? We hearkened. At times the cries

sunk

sunk into the feeble plants of expiring infancy, and again gradually rose into the full and melancholy swell of an adult tortured by fiends destitute of mercy and humanity. The lamentations turn by turn touched every string capable to vibrate excess of misery, and denoted the variety of sorrow incident to individuals from the loss of health, friends, fortune, and relatives. Above all, they denoted calamity in the act of supplicating relief in the strong language of sobs, sighs, and tears, and modes of inexpressible anguish and length. What were we to judge of such proceedings? How were we to act? No assistance could be afforded to distress so unknown, and so diffuse. To fly the place was impossible, and to remain in it as tremendous as death. To attempt to sleep still more absurd. We walked on the roof of the boat till the cries multiplied and increased in a manner at once to shock the senses and deafen the ears. This violent outcry was followed by plunges in the water and a rustling among the trees, which at length explained the objects of our dismay and apprehension. They were a host of alligators. We discovered them plainly, swimming along-side the boat, and running along the shore, where they uttered the piercing cries and heart-rending moans which originally excited my attention and terror. Having given up all thoughts of rest, I prepared arms, and watched for a favourable purpose of killing one of the creatures. It soon presented itself. A large animal, attracted by the scent of the living objects in the boat, swam repeatedly round it, as if searching for means of access, and had the audacity to raise his head considerably above the water, in order to make his observations more true. At that propitious juncture we all three fired in the direction of his under jaw and throat. He made an immediate flounce in the water, roared as loud as thunder, and rushed ashore directly below my boat. He there expired in dreadful agony, as could be understood from hideous bellowings and the violence with which he beat himself against the banks. After his monstrous death, the noise of the other animals ceased, and I heard none but very low and plaintive cries issuing from several voices in deep distress; so low, that they with difficulty reached the ear, and so plaintive, that they could not but reach the heart. The dawn disclosed the cause of this lamentation, which never ceased throughoutt the night. On going on shore, I found the alligator I had killed attended by sixteen or seventeen young ones, who were solicitously engaged about the dead body, running over and around it in great agitation, and whining and moaning, because they discovered it without animation, and destitute of all symptoms of life. Though somewhat affected by such a spectacle, I ordered the men to assist and to secure me, if possible, some of the young ones, and convey them into my boat. We succeeded in taking three. They are about two feet long each, and have beautiful blue eyes with an expression extremely soft and sensible. The mother, for it seems it is a female we killed, is nineteen feet in length, counting the head, which is three feet long, and five feet in circumference. The jaws, which extend the whole length of the head, are furnished with two large conical tusks as white as ivory. The upper jaw only moves. The scales are as hard as iron. The shape is that of a lizard.

"Speaking generally, and from the best authority, the alligators of the Mississippi are from twelve to twenty-four feet in length; their bodies are covered with horny plates or scales, which are impenetrable to a rifle ball, except about their heads, and just behind their fore legs, where they are vulnerable. The head of a full-grown alligator is more than three feet long. The eyes are small, and the whole head in the water appears at a distance like a piece of rotten floating wood. The upper jaw only moves, and this they raise so as to form a right angle with the lower one. They open their mouths while they lie basking in the sun, on the banks of rivers and creeks, and when filled with all manner of insects, they suddenly let fall their upper-jaw with surprising noise, and thus secure their prey. The tusks, which are not covered by any skin or lips, give the animal a frightful appearance. In the spring, which is their season for breeding, they make a most hideous and terrifying roar, resembling the sound of distant thunder.

"The alligator is an oviparous animal: their nests, which are commonly built on the margin of some lake, creek, or river, at the distance of from fifteen to twenty yards from high water, are in the form of an obtuse cone, about four feet high, and from four to five in diameter at their basis. They are constructed with a sort of mortar, blended with grass and herbage. First they lay a floor of this composition, on which they deposit a layer of eggs; and upon this a stratum of their mortar, seven or eight inches thick, then another layer of eggs; and in this manner one stratum upon another, nearly to the top of the nest. They lay from one hundred to two hundred eggs in a nest. These are hatched by the heat of the sun, assisted by the fermentation of the vegetable mortar in which they are deposited. The female carefully watches her own nest of eggs till they are all hatched. She then takes her brood under her care, and leads them about the shores as a hen does her chickens, and is equally courageous in defending them in time of danger. When she lies basking on the warm banks with her brood around her, the young ones may be heard whining and crying in the manner of young infants. The old feed on the young alligators till they get so large that they cannot make a prey of them; so that, fortunately, but few of the brood survive the age of a year. They are fond of the flesh of dogs and hogs, which they devour whenever they have an opportunity. Their principal food is fish. They retire into their dens, which they form by burrowing far into the ground, commencing under water and working upwards, and there remain in a torpid state during the winter. The carrion-vulture also destroys multitudes of alligators, which would otherwise render the country uninhabitable.

"Much has been said of the *crocodile lacrimæ*, or deceitful tears. Returned to my boat and departed, I carefully watched to discover whether the melancholy cries of my young alligators were accompanied with tears. I can assert they are not—nor does any moisture whatever fill the eye, though the plaints are piteous to the most distressing degree. Food appeases their distress. When they lament aloud I give them the entrails and livers of fowls, which they are most fond of, and they immediately cease. They are very vicious; they at times make a sudden snap at my fingers, and once bit

bit the leg of my dog, since which time he keeps at a good distance from them. Perhaps he sets an example which I ought to imitate; but I am determined to rear them up, and bring them with me to England."

Country and Customs of the Abyssinians.

[From Mr. Murray's Life of James Bruce, Esq.]

"YASOUS TALLACK, (the Great) subdued Lasta, and obliged it to pay 1000 ounces of gold per annum in tribute. It continued to pay till the war between Mariam Barea and Râs Michael, when each pretending to it, it became independent, and continues so at this present day, April, 1770.

"Harar is four days journey from Shoa, and seven from Aussa. It is farther inland, and a plain country. The chief has the title of Emir; and is frequently at war with Amha Yasous in Shoa, who is independent. The people are all Mahometans, called Turks by the Abyssinians.

"Gold is found in the Shangalla's country in small lumps, is by them put into quills, and carried to Damot fair. This, at least, was the ancient custom when these barbarians sold their gold as necessity required. Since that time they have got scales and weights, and know, in general, the value. The Agows are the purchasers, and adulterate it with silver; one ounce to ten of gold, which gives it a very pale colour.

"N. B. This observation is sufficiently confirmed by the colour of those links that still remain of the honorary gold chain conferred on Mr. Bruce by the king of Abyssinia. These links are of a paler hue than a common guinea, rather coarsely made, and unpolished. Gold chains, called in Habbesh sunsulé, are a mark of dignity bestowed by the sovereign on the most meritorious persons in his army. It is usual to give a splendid suit of clothes at the same time, an Egyptian and Persian custom; vide Genesis, xli. 42. and Esther, viii. 15.

"Wechne, in Blessen, is about 34 or 35 miles, a long day's journey from Emfras. There is paid, to maintain the royal family on the mountain, 250 ounces of gold, and 730 cloths (this means webs of cotton cloth called shuma). This is an old establishment. None are permitted to go up but the women carrying water. There was formerly a cistern, but it is now ruins, and useless. There are near 300 persons there; and all the exiles are allowed to marry. Bacuffa escaped by help of his sister.

"Extreme unction is unknown in Abyssinia; that is, the anointing with oil. However, when a person is attacked with sickness, which threatens death, he often puts on a monk's hood, as a token that, in case of recovery, he will abandon the world, and then receives the last sacrament, or rather he does so before putting it on; and it is generally the custom to distribute all his moveables to the churches, which the priests appropriate. These are traces of extreme unction. The great men often renounce the hood, and return to their former life.

"N. B.

"N. B. The Abyssinian MS. histories are full of these instances, in which the great men, when disappointed in politics, retire to Waldubba, or other deserts, to live as monks. The distribution of goods and money made by the kings, when sick, to the churches, occurs in almost every reign. Before Yasous II. died, the Chronicle says, that he had given away every thing he had, in this way, except the crown on his head. When Joas was proclaimed, the Iteghe his grandmother wished to give a present to the poor, as usual at the beginning of a reign, which she could not do, until one of the nobles supplied her with a sum of money. There were only a few derims left in the treasury.

"*Abyssinian Harvests.* They first sow barley from the end of April to the beginning of May, or later; that is, towards the first rains. This ripens in the rains in June; and is carried off the fields into the house, that it may not rot. Then they sow fitches, which likewise ripen in the rains after. In September they sow wheat, or teff, which is cut down in December; and, if they have water, they sow barley, or fitches, again in January. In Woggora (a very fertile province), there is seed-time, and harvest, and ploughing, in every month in the year; water being easily diverted to the grounds. The rent paid to the king for the ground is one-tenth of what they reap, yet, with all this, they are all poor; for a harvest, at a medium, is about twenty after one; and they sometimes, nay, very often, scarce reap the seed. They never manure the ground; and there are great quantities of rats and innumerable ants, that consume their corn at different, nay, at all periods of its growth. All their five harvests do not, in produce, equal one Egyptian one; and they are at five times the labour. In the several villages, living, in general, is very miserable; and, in general, people of consideration scarcely know any other diet than teff bread and bouza. Whether this teff is black, or white, is the whole difference between the diet of master and servant.

"*Abyssinian Dress.* The principal part of the dress of the natives is a large cotton cloth, 24 peek (cubits) in length, and one and a half in breadth, with a blue and yellow stripe round the bottom of it. This blue is not dyed; but the Surat blue cloths are unrivalled, and woven for this purpose; and the yellow they dye with suf, the yellow thistle. The best for ordinary wear costs 10 salts, or $1\frac{3}{4}$ pataka, about 6s. 6d. English. It is called Kuara, as probably coming from that province. They are very beautiful and light. The other pieces of dress are breeches, which reach to their mid-thighs; and girt with a white girdle of cloth to the common people; but the better sort have red Indian cotton cloths for breeches; and silk, or worsted coloured girdles from the Levant. When they ride, they only hold their stirrups between their great and second toes. Even the king rides barefooted; and being used chiefly to mules, they are far inferior horsemen to the Arabs.

"*Price of Gold.* Gold, at a medium, sells for 10 pataka each wakea; or 10 derims, salt, at a medium 8 per pataka. The piece (of salt), speaking of identically, is called Kourman, but in estimation, or such a thing costs so many salts, they are called Amooli. These are the ordinary currency for the necessaries of life. For considerable purchases, gold is used; and there is great loss in cutting the wakea into derims, at least one in ten. The

The gold is got by washing the earth in water, in wooden dishes. The grains that remain behind are put into a quill, melted down, and alloyed, probably by the Shangalla; for it is pale, and is never brought to market in its first form, but melted down into small rods, or ingots. In Joa's time a wakea was valued only at 8 patakas. Yasous Tanush, or the II. turned round, and reduced the Sennaar Shangalla; but they are now quite independent of Habbesh. Their fair is held at Buré in Damot.

"*Weights and Measures.* The wakea (or ounce), in Abyssinia, is considered as 10 derims, or drams, and 12 ounces make a litir, or rotal (pound). At Gondar, the capital of all Abyssinia, the wakea is 6 drams, 40 grains, Troy weight English, and divided into 10 drams of 40 grains. The small money is salt bricks, dug out of the mines at Dancali, near the myrrh country. Every wakea, in ordinary times, gives from 72 to 76 salts. In 1769, the wakea was 80 salts, and June 15th, 1771, the wakea sold at 34, but there was a great difference in the size of the bricks. These are little or not at all liable to waste, as M. Montesquieu supposes. Abyssinian gold at Mocha is 15 or 16 patakas when the Sennaar gold is 22, because the Agows, &c. alloy it with silver.

"At Masuah, the current money is the Venetian sequin, the pataka, or queen's dollar, and half dollars. For small money are used grains of glass, called borjook, three of which make a chebir (Vid. Travels, Book V. Chap. ii.)

"Corn sold at Masuah for four patakas the ardeb, which contains about 24 measures of the country. Coffee, six rotol per pataka, sometimes ten or even 15 rotal. Honey, four cuba for a pataka, each cuba about two rotol, or somewhat less. Butter 20 rotol, for $1\frac{1}{2}$ pataka, and $3\frac{1}{2}$ harf. Civet, $1\frac{3}{4}$ pataka the wakea. Wax, 4 patt. the franzola. Elephants' teeth, 35 rotol for 18 patt. Water, $1\frac{1}{2}$ paras the smallest jar, and 3 paras the largest. Abyssinian gold dust, 15 patt. per wakea, at Mocha. Dora, 12 measures for a pataka. The Venetian sequin goes for $2\frac{1}{4}$ patakas.

"The Abyssinian grain measure is the ardeb, which, at Gondar, contains 10 measures, called Madega, each equal to 12 ounces, Cairo weight. An ardeb of grain costs 2 derims, or 2 patakas; an ardeb of teff, the same; 6 or 8 ardebs of tocuso pay an ounce (wakea) of gold, or 10 derims.

"*Servants Wages at Gondar.* At Gondar a maid-servant receives 15 salts per annum, and is fed in the house. A man-servant is paid 4 pataka yearly, which correspond to 4 wakea, or ounces of gold, Abyssinian weight, and receives besides two loaves, or cakes of teff, for his support daily. If his master is good, he sometimes gives him a little flesh, lentiles, or vetches. He is not obliged to clothe him, but he sometimes gives him a pair of trowsers, which consist of about one-fourth of a yard of white cloth.

"With respect to carriage, &c. three bundles of wood, which are brought from Techagassa, three hours walking, cost a salt. The carriage of a jar, or manteca, full of wine, or honey, from Emfras, eight hours journey, pays a salt, of the weight of 3 faranzala, or so.

"Thirty-three teff bread cost a salt; the loaves are about three lines thick, and 18 inches diameter. A pair of shoes (pantufle) cost a salt. Eight and a quarter peeks of cloth is the least gift that can be offered in the country.

"*Bouza.*

" *Bouza.* Manner in which the Abyssinians make a kind of beer, that, in their language, is called bouza.

" To make this, they use tocusso simply; but sometimes they mix it with grain (wheat), or dora, or all three together; but in ordinary tocusso is best. A jar of tocusso, or of the three sorts of grain, contains as much as is sufficient to make two loaves, that are a tenth part of the whole jar; besides which, they use about half a rotol of Ghesh leaves.

" The first part of the process is to grind the tocusso, after which they take a fourth part of it, and knead it with water and leaven, as if to make bread. This they put in a jar to ferment for two days, at the end of which they make a good many thin large cakes, and dry them on the fire till they become as hard as a stone, then break them down into crumbs, and put them in a large vessel full of water, capable of holding six times the volume of the grain; or for one jar of grain, the vessel holds five of water, and one for the quantity of grain. At the same time that they put in the bruised bread, as above mentioned, into that quantity of water, the other things should be got ready to go in also. The grain ought to be fermented for two days, then dried in the sun, and afterwards ground into meal. The Ghesh leaves are ground likewise. The remainder of the meal, or those three-fourths that were not used to make the bread, must be put into a hollow oven, over a fire, with a small quantity of water, and constantly stirred with a stick, until it become a paste; and when the water is dried up, more is put in, constantly stirring the mass until it become black like a coal. The whole so prepared, the crumbs, the mass, and the leaves are put together into the large jar, and let alone for a day, after which it is poured off, and preserved in jars, well stopped. At the end of seven or eight days, this liquor begins to be too strong, and is best when fresh, two or three days old.

" *Marriage.* Marriage is not considered in Abyssinia as a sacrament, yet the church ordains some rules to be observed, in order that the man and the woman may be faithful towards one another. The ordinary method of marriage among people of condition, and among those who most fear God, is the following: The man, when he resolves to marry a girl, sends some person to her father to ask his daughter in marriage. It seldom happens that she is refused; and when she is granted, the future husband is called into the girl's house, and an oath is taken reciprocally by the parties, that they will maintain due fidelity to one another. Then the father of the bride presents to the bridegroom the fortune that he will give: it consists of a particular sum of gold, some oxen, sheep, or horses, &c. according to the circumstances of the people. Then the bridegroom is obliged to find surety for the said goods; which is some one of his friends that presents himself, and becomes answerable for him in case he should wish to dismiss his wife, and be not able, through dissipation, or otherwise, to restore all that he has gotten.

" Further, at the time when they display the fortune of the bride, the husband is obliged to promise a certain sum of money, or an equivalent, in effects, to his wife, in case he should choose to abandon her, or separate himself from her. This must also be confirmed by an oath of the future husband, and of his

his surety. A certain time, of twenty or thirty days, is determined also by a reciprocal oath, that on the last of these they will go together to church, and receive the sacrament. When all these matters are concluded, the future spouse appoints the marriage day, and then returns home. When that day arrives, the intended husband goes again to his bride's house, where she appears, and shews him her moveables (mobiglia), or clothes; and he must promise and swear anew the forementioned articles; and that he will use his wife well; never leave her without meat or clothing; keep her in a good house, &c. all which his surety must confirm. When this is over, the bridegroom takes his lady on his shoulders, and carries her off to his house. If it be at a distance, he does the same thing, but only goes entirely round about the bride's house; then sets her down, and returns her into it. After this ceremony, a solemn banquet takes place, consisting of raw beef and bread, and honey-wine, or hydromel, or another beverage from grain, called bouza, a sort of beer very sour and disgusting. The feast being ended, the parties mount each a mule, and ride to the bridegroom's house, where is concluded all the ceremony necessary to marriage before they live together. When they have lived together during the appointed term of twenty or thirty days, they must both appear at church, and declare before the priest, that they are husband and wife, and that they are come to receive the sacrament. The priest, without more ado, celebrates mass; they communicate, and return home.

"After some time, although both have sworn to live all their life faithful to one another, they take the liberty to separate; if it is the husband who wishes to get off, he, or his surety, must pay the wife that which she brought, and likewise the sum stipulated in case of separation. If they have had children, the boys always go with the mother, even if there were but an only child; if there be no boys, she takes none of the girls. When the separation comes from the lady, the husband is liable to no restitution, provided he has been always faithful to the married state, as promised; but if it is on account of his bad conduct, or irregular life, that she forms this resolution, he is always subject to his promise and the above mentioned articles.

"It sometimes happens that the husband and wife, mutually, without any cause of ill-will, agree to part; in this case, the effects brought by the wife are united with the sum stipulated by the husband; then divided into equal shares, of which the parties take each one, and return to their former places of abode.

"This is the established form of those marriages which are said to be celebrated justly, and according to the church. But with regard to inferior people, these seldom take place; in proof of which I can mention what a person of credit asserted, who had lived twenty-five years in this country. He affirmed, that in all that time he had not seen, nor known, of a marriage at the church, in the places where he lived, except one single instance. I may add to his the testimony of a priest in Tigré, who swore solemnly, that in all Addua, the capital of that province, he was the only man who was married according to the church, that is, in the fore mentioned manner.

"The ordinary way of marrying is this: When two persons *****.

Here

Here the MS. breaks off; L. Balugani having been either interrupted, or weary of the subject. It is to be regretted, that he has not given the manner in which the bulk of a nation, very little influenced by Christianity, perform one of the most essential ceremonies in life. His account of the marriage of the church is confirmed by Gregory of Hagaro-Christos, in Ludolph's Abyssinian History and Commentary.

"It may be gathered from various hints in Mr. Bruce's papers, that the Abyssinian peasants and soldiers marry in a few minutes. No settlement, portion, or surety, being necessary, they eat an ox, or two or three sheep raw; the favourite method of cutting pieces from them, while alive, being preferred; a great deal of bouza is drunk on the occasion; dancing, shouting, and various kinds of licentiousness, are practised; if a priest be near, he sprinkles them with holy water, and repeats a hallelujah. The company join in the benediction; and no delicacy of manners constrain either the parties, or the guests. The bride does not appear abroad till about ten days after her marriage. These connections are easily dissolved; but the king's judges, and the governors of provinces, take care that the children shall be maintained by their parents or others. Judgment is given in all matters by the civil courts; nothing being left to the clergy but the decision of matters fixed by the canons (kanoun), or positive law of the church.

"The sons of the royal family confined in Wechne are allowed to marry, but it is only by connivance. No persons of rank give their daughters to these exiles. On the other hand, the Ozoros, or princesses, are given away to every great man in the kingdom, and their marriages and divorces are scandalously frequent. The ceremony at the marriage of a prince or princess is as follows:—The match having been settled previously, according to the views of the court, preparations are made for the festival, which is generally held during the rainy season, while the country is secure and abandoned to pleasure. The king being seated on the throne, in the large hall of audience, the parties are introduced before him, with their respective attendants. After kissing his hand, they are all magnificently clothed in dresses of brocade, or other rich stuffs, with presents of knives, &c. corresponding to their habits. The crown is sometimes set on their heads; they receive the benediction of the kees hatse, or king's almoner; after which they retire clothed with the caftan, and mount horses given them by the king, on which they ride in great state, in the midst of acclamations of joy and prosperity, to the house of the bridegroom. A banquet or dinner is prepared there; in the course of which, many oxen are slaughtered at the door, in order to furnish *brind*, which is served up reeking from the animal. Deep drinking then commences; in which the ladies and gentlemen indulge together to a degree incredible, because it is unknown in Europe. These marriages are by no means permanent: many of the Ozoros, who always rule their husbands, marry as often as they please; dissolving the marriage preceding at the dictates of convenience or fancy. But notwithstanding the general licentiousness, there are found several faithful wives and mothers, who are content to deviate from the common example.

"When any of the king's children

dren dies, it is the custom to hang the audience-chamber with tapestry and curtains, and spread carpets on the floor. The king having entered sits on the throne, and the *iteagerd*, a set of professed mourners of the female sex, along with the nobles and household servants, attend. One of the Licaonte, a priest, reads over a list of the former kings with great solemnity, adding after every name, "May the Lord have "mercy on his soul, even to the "fifth generation." The assembly reply, "Amen, ycoune, so let it "be." At last he says, "Greatly "may the Lord have mercy on the "soul of ****, who died this day;" on which the Ozoros and their women, the mourners, the household, and the nobles, all set up a loud and general cry of lamentation, and weep for some time. If the person has died in the camp or city the coffin is brought before the king; but if not, he performs the ceremony without it. It is afterwards carried out with sendic and nagareet, and buried by the Betwudet, or Billetanagueta dakakin, in the manner which shall be afterwards mentioned.

"Koscam is the richest church in Abyssinia; it is situated on the banks of Kahha, below a ruinous palace or house of the king. There are about forty houses in the village, all belonging to the principal Kuaragna, the party of the queen. All the Kuaragna, Eshte, Eusebius, and the rest, had their troops drawn up to attack Michael when called to Gondar by Joas, at the advice of Lubo. They designed to engage him on the Angrab, but failed completely. The residing people at Koscam, after Joas's death, were in great fear of Michael, and wore a hood or cowl, like the monks. Gondar is 2¾ miles, perhaps three, at its greatest length, and no where above a mile broad. The palace is in the centre. Below the town, on the S. W. at the conflux of the Angrab and Kahha, is the Mahometan town. These rivers inclose the town on its N. and S. sides, and join on the W. On the S. E. part of it is the church of Debra-berhan. On the N. E. is Kedus Gabriel. Two suburbs above Kedus Gabriel, is Anta Naggar, the hill where, till Yasous's time, the Tigre, in consequence of a proclamation, were obliged to halt, and not allowed to enter Gondar.

"In Abyssinia there remains not a shadow of the hospitality which is said to be a trait in the character of barbarous nations.

"They divide the day into five parts (humisi). From the twilight, which is here short, it is nagga; about nine it is called selest, or the third hour; mid-day is kutter; three o'clock, tessaat; and sun-set, serk. They judge by the height of the sun, having neither clocks nor watches. The other hours mentioned in their books are counted 1, 2, 3, &c. after dawn, sun-rise, or sun-set.

"There are two kinds of monarchy; one is absolute, where there are no written laws, but the will of the prince carried into effect by his command and force; another is, where there are laws and restraints, but these occasionally broken through. The Abyssinian government is neither of those. There are no laws: the lives of the king's subjects and their lands are *de jure* his; he is absolute and sole master of their lives and property: yet he has no military force; this is all in the hands of the governors of provinces, whose safety lies in keeping the prince in want of every thing. It is a monstrous kind of monarchy, and to this are owing the

continual wars and rebellions. While the districts were small, these were prevented; but minorities, weak reigns, &c. have united them into great ones, each of which are more than a match for the sovereign; indeed the forty-four nagareets of Tigre united, are more than a match for all Abyssinia. Damot and Agow-midre, joined to Maitsha, when they please, starve the capital, and leave the king not only without army and provisions, but even meat and clothes for himself. The Turkish and Galla wars have accelerated this state of affairs. Each of the governments have become a kind of fiefs, very rarely not granted to the family of the deceased, and that one of it most likely to be serviceable.

"*King's Household.* The Serachmasery is Yesous Alaka; he anoints the king at the coronation, and has ten ounces of gold for his salary. The Licaonte vote standing before the King and the Ras, but before the Billetana-gueta dakakin, and other meconem, sitting. Four Licaonte and four azajes only vote before the king. The Palambaras was of old, in Tigre, called Lik-sof. The Baal-magwass goes immediately before the king, dressed as the king, and his face, as the king's, half-covered. All his actions are imputed to the king; and when he kills an enemy in fight, it is said the king killed him. Shalaka are the heads of the king's soldiers, who are called by respective names, Gimja-bet, Werk-saccala, &c. Azaje are officers over the king's household and revenues. The servants of the Licaonte are called Firaje and Baalheg; they vote with the Licaonte, and before them in civil causes. Rakmasery is superintendant of the bread, and the Shumines of the wine, or hydromel. The Tersemba Azaje is the judge, or, as it is called, Dabna of the Wezizir, or nobles; Dimshas is an officer under him. Of the officers called Hadug, there are two; these are the king's wakeels, in the Abuna's house, and have one-third of his revenues.

"Gera and Kanya wust-Azaje. He is the person, who, in capital crimes, accuses for the king; and is always one of the Licaonte, the most remarkable for his experience and discernment. Debena-bet haits is the person that executes, by his servants, all criminals at Debabay; he has the guard there at night, and, about three in the morning, gives the signal of the approach of day to the officers of the king's house, by about 30 smacks of a whip, to drive away the hyænas and beasts of prey, that come to Debabay, the place of execution, in search of carcases. He has also the right of sending expresses to Gondar of the king's victories, and brings with him the heads, pudenda, &c. of traitors, which are exposed on the tree at the place of execution; at which time the merchants, both Mahometan and Christian, give presents, which, on great occasions, amount to 10 wakeas from each Moslem, and the same from the Atary, or Christian merchants. The viceroy, or kasmati of Tigre, drinks out of a golden cup, as keeper of the law at Axum. There are twelve nagareets in Tigre, and forty-four persons are invested with the Ras-werk.

Church Affairs. The Abuna is appointed by proclamation of the king, and is deposed at his pleasure. He holds of no other person. He ordains priests and deacons within the kingdom, consecrates churches, altars (tabot), &c. His revenue was once very considerable, esteemed one-third of the revenues of the kingdom;

kingdom; but as those princes who made the grants resided in Shoa, or in the south of Tigre, the principal lands are in those provinces adjoining to the royal residence. Now, the southern provinces are all in the hands of the Galla, as well as part of Tigre, and the governor or Ras has assumed the rest; so that of 400 ounces of gold once paid by Tigre, the Abuna, in my time, got only twenty-five, one-third of which went to the king's wakeel in his house. The Abuna appoints no officer, civil, or ecclesiastical: the king or governor does all. The king appoints officers called Alaka, who administer in all cases the revenue of churches and convents; and this person is the judge of differences and suits among the priests and monks of his church or fraternity, from whom lies no appeal but to the King or to the Ras, who is understood to represent him. This Alaka is or is not a monk or priest, at the king's pleasure. Of those who are called Monks, are the communities of Debra Libanos, or Azazo, as it is now called, Waldubba, Werkleva, Damo, Mahabar, Selasse, &c. These live in villages in these places, and reside or not as they please. The rest of that name are those who are ordained on any illness, disappointment, or advanced in life. The monks are ordained by the Itchegue, the others by an ordinary priest. Neither take any vow. The women of Waldubba are of the first king, and all women past pleasure compose the second. There are many instances of both orders renouncing and marrying.

"All persons, as well ecclesiastical as civil, are subject to the same laws, judgment, and tribunal, without exception, be the cause of whatever nature it may be. The Abuna, or Itchegue, have none of them a tribunal, nor can they take cognizance of any cause; especially the Abuna, who has, as I have said, an officer in his house appointed by the king, who punishes all persons by that authority, even those of the Abuna's family, without any sort of deference paid to him; and this, as appears by the judges, or king's records, is of very ancient standing. The king calls an assembly of the clergy when he pleases, generally with the advice of the Abuna, and there is none considered legal if he is not present, if in the kingdom.

"Welled Hayrat (Ras Michael's son) was excommunicated for killing a refugee at the Abuna's feet, in consequence of which he confiscated the Abuna's villages in Tigre, nor was the curse ever taken off. The Itchegue, or prior of the monks, if he be chosen a layman, must be ordained by the Abuna. He is named by the king, who nominates all superiors of monasteries. The Lika-cahanat, or chief of the priests, is ordained by the Abuna and Itchegue, who both hold a corner of a scarf put upon him. He is an inquisitor of morals among the priests, and has so much salts and cloth from each district. A priest at his ordination pays three salts to the Abuna. He comes to the house of the latter, enters, and kisses the threshold. The Abuna, sitting on a sopha at one end of the room, reads the scriptures to himself. Then having paid his salt, the person retires and kisses the threshold, returning without imposition of hands, or any ceremony. Old men are made priests, and young men deacons, by a simple jussit. More probable accounts say, that there is only one salt paid, that the person stands at the door, while the Abuna, having made the sign of the cross, holding it in his hand, says,—"I

have ordained you a priest." The person then enters the room, kisses the cushion of the sofa, and retires. Many are ordained that can neither read nor write.

"The Abyssinians have an office for the dead; and worship pictures of saints, even such as are not consecrated. This we had an opportunity of seeing every time we were obliged to draw some Madonna. All those that saw it, kissed the ground before it, with their foreheads on the earth. The principal revenue of the clergy is the presents made by those who are sick, or dying.

"The dress of the Acab saat is a purple burnoose, with a white turban, not unlike the Turkish Imams, or a white handkerchief hanging loose behind. The Kees hatze is the king's official confessor, official Alaka of the church of Tecla-haimanout, and curator of the two churches of Gondar.

"The Abuna's words of absolution in a case of excommunication is, "Gzier ephtac," God absolve thee.

"Women, after having born a son, are excluded from the church forty days, and if a daughter, eighty. The really married are those who receive the sacrament on that occasion. Persons who have been connected with any woman are excluded from church during three days; if hat connection has been promiscuous, they are excluded seven; and then even admitted to receive the sacrament. If a man, really married, is guilty with another's wife, he is not debarred a longer period. Women in the menses are not allowed to enter the church till seven days afterwards. Circumcision is performed on the eighth, and baptism is celebrated on the forty-first day of the child's age. On all the forementioned occasions they only come within the inner precinct, and kiss the walls and door-posts of the church. The clergy are rigid in these matters, and that is perhaps one of the reasons why the churches are ill attended. It is their only duty; the monks making no scruple of confessing that they cannot enter the church, for that day they have to do with a woman, which is not attended with any impeachment.

"*Geography and Revenue of Abyssinia.* The Iteghe from Bure in two days arrived at Metchakel, in her way to Gojam: it may be about as far as from this (Gondar) to Caroota; I suppose from thirty to thirty-two miles at farthest. From Metchakel to Nazarit six days easy journey; from ten to twelve miles, I suppose, *per diem*. Gojam here belongs to Ayto Aylo, son of Ozoro Welletta Israel. The Galla are Toluma. The Galla who border on Amhara are much the worst of all the Galla, and the least worst are the Edjow east of them, bordering upon Begemder and Angot, called Guangoul Galla. Those near Amhara are Wutchali, Woolo, Amito, and Toluma; and these Toluma come down to the Nile, and divide Walaka and Shoa from the Nile.

"Agow-midre pays yearly to the king in all about 1000 ounces of gold, and 1000 dabras of honey, each dabra about 60 rotol. It pays also about 1000 or 1500 cattle. Ancasha, Azena, Quaquera, and Banja, pay their quota in honey; Banja, gold: Metchakel, Ayami-co's country, gold; Zejam, gold, no honey. Danguiah, Dengla, and Saccala all are called Ancasha. Dengla pays chiefly cattle, and a large kind of sheep called Maccoot. Butter is no part of the meery, but is brought as a present on paying the meery. After passing the Kelti

on

on the right, by the Bronti, is Atchefer, after that Quaquera, then Dengla, then Benja, then Metchakel; Temhua belongs to the Ras, and the revenue is paid to him. The first heavy stroke the Agow received of late years was Waragna, father of this Fasil, bringing Galla from beyond the Abay, and wasting their country entirely. He burnt the houses and churches, and led away captive the women and children. Under the mild government of Casmati Eshte they began to revive, but now again under Fasil they are very low.

"Metchakel is one long day's journey, I suppose thirty-six miles, from Boori (Bure); it is inhabited by Galla Djawi. After these are the Basso Gallo; and the Gooderoo Galla of Kasmati Boro. His place is called Hadis Amba. These border on Gojam, Damot, and Metchakel. Gafat is not one continued country, but villages here and there. Vumbarma is Gafat. Metchakel is, however, a much more considerable country. Beyond the Nile, west of Bure, the country for a considerable distance is dry, deserted, and uninhabited, the Galla living further into the territory. All the banks are there high, steep, and unwholesome, and full of trees. These Galla are Amoro Jidda. Quesgue belongs to the Iteghe, has a nagareet, and gives the title of Casmati. It pays 1000 cloths, 50 ken, and 100 wakeet.

"The caravans of Egypt used to go from Aidab, or Gaidab, to Dahlac, in their way to Yemen, or Jidda, the port of Mecca. Saouin is seven days south of Gaidab.

"The Galla west of the Abay say that they are descended of a Gin or devil, and a woman of the tribe of Koreish. They are always at war with the Nareans, Abyssinians, or Mahometans. They reckon about 12,000 horse of Galla between the Nile and Narea. The tribes go every seventh year to the reigning houses, where the council debates on the duties of government. The points agitated are, how our fathers governed, what measures are to be taken with murderers and robbers on the high-ways, how merchants are to be dealt with, &c. The young then declaim in favour of violence and injustice; after which the elders, five in number, are asked. These decide in favour of equity. The king is afterwards chosen by a plurality of voices.

"Waragna, father of Fasil, was converted to Christianity. His father was Wusho (signifying a dog), of the western Galla, of the tribe Jimmali. He was a merchant; but being remarked to be brave in a battle Bacuffa had with these Galla, he was invested with the caftan, and made commander of several places on the frontiers of Damot.

"The Djawi Galla of Damot, Gafat, and Metchakel, as also the Galla of Maitsha, came there in the time of Yasous Tallac. The Basso, and other Galla of Gojam, were brought there by Hatze Fasil; others say his son Hannes.

"Maitsha, from the place the Abay comes out of the lake to Courtohha, is $1\frac{1}{2}$ day's march, at a moderate pace, six hours a day; from Courtohha, the higher part, to Samseen, one long day's journey; and from the same part to the Abay at Goutta, a very long day's journey, at a brisk pace.

"The Shankala entrench their huts against surprise, and burn large fires. They wear a long shield, covering nearly the whole side, and five lances each, which they throw or stab with as needed. Bows and arrows are their chief weapons. They

They dig up gold among reddish earth, which they burn in the fire, and gather it as it runs out in small pieces like shot. They put it next into a small purse, or rather sort of bag. Every individual is free to search for it. They are flat-nosed and flat-lipped, very black, best shaped in the upper parts, but with bad knees and legs.

"The Bure way to Narea is W. in the country south of Amoro. The nearest way is by Gojam and Gooderoo, performed in thirty days with loaden asses, about eight or nine miles aday.

"Harar is a very large town, has five gates, and is constantly at war with Habbesh, or the Galla. The ridge of hills continues from Masuah to Cape Gardefan. Harar, Adel, and the Gibbert's, all hate Franks and Christians. Their prince is an Imam. The road north to the Toluma Galla is nearest by Harar; to the Woolo by Aussa. There runs the large river Hawash. There is no communication with the sea at Harar, which is surrounded on the south and east by multitudes of Galla through all that country to the interior of the continent of Africa.

"From the Toluma Galla, which is one day south of Amhara to Gurague, is seven days of an ass from morning to night, I suppose fifteen to sixteen miles per day. From Gurague to Narea, four days; in their way they pass the Bashilo, but not the Kibbee, which passes through Narea. The Bashilo falls into the Abay before they pass Angheree, and they meet with it past Gerramidre, before they enter Guragüe.

"From Raheeda to Aussa, five or six days. From Aussa to Harar six days moderate journey; in four a strong man can accomplish it. From Raheeda to the Woolo, fifteen days; from these to Amhara, three days. From Raheeda to Woolo a the country is plain; the journey performed with camels, I suppos ten miles per day. They carry wa ter with them in girbas, and at on time are three or four days withou any supply. Aussa is now no sepa rate kingdom, but dependant o Harar; this race of people was fro Harar, and therefore they are n subject to strangers. They are ca led Mellassua, and still preserv their language, which is the sam with that of the Gibbertis. The count up 317 kings. From this cit was Mahomet Gragne. The who country is Adel; from Zeila Harar is eight days journey; b Zeila is now little inhabited, on ac count of the faithlessness of the na tives in robbing the Jelalib. Soom is governed by a chief at peace wit Adel. Harar, the capital of Ade has ninety-nine villages, all goverr ed each by a vizir, and pay tri bute.

"Goutta is not in Damot, thoug depending on it. A small peake hill, pointed with rock, is calle Geesh, or Gutch. Southward scarce a quarter of a mile from th fountains of the Nile, the plain end in a precipice, planted with ver tall sambucs, and other trees. I this is a cavern called Washa, whic they say communicates with th fountains, and that when it rain violently, the water overflows an comes in hither. The Shum Kef Abay told me, that in the constan rains of Naasse and Hamlie, never overflows at the springs, n do the fountains seem larger. H remembered the accession of Hatz Yasous to the throne, and was abou eighty years old. The east side the Nile is less barren than th west side. Aformasha is not ba ren.

Singul

"*Singular Custom.* The Betwudet (in Habbesh), upon the death of any Wiziro, is obliged to pay the expences of the ceremony, called Misle, which amounts to 100 oxen, 3000 loaves of wheat bread, 20 jars hydromel, wood, &c. the whole about sixty ounces of gold. The ceremony is this:—A sort of figure resembling the defunct is placed upon horseback, in his usual dress, and so carried in procession about the outer court of the palace, with the royal standard (sendick) carried before it, and the nagareet beating. This is called in this country, "burying with sendick and nagareet; for which the Betwudet has 1200 ardeb of wheat yearly out of the Attekolla.

"The route of the Islam merchants S. is by two ways, with loaden asses, eight or nine miles per day. The way by Gojam is performed in thirty days to Sebou, and thence for other ten to Narea. The Kibby or Zebee rises in Narea. Coffee of different kinds grows there in abundance, and the Galla feed on it. They use the *lex talionis*, but their internal justice is strict. They are very scrupulous of oaths: Wauke Laftan, by heaven and earth, is one of the most solemn. There are three races of Galla, the Auangoul in Angot, north-east of Begemder; Mahomet Ali, another farther west than the Guangoul, towards Amhara; and a third, Mahomet, brother of Lubo, west of Amhara. The rest are pagans; but when converted are said to be better Christians than the native Abyssinians.

"Mahabar Selasse is four commodious days journey from Gondar, in the line of Tchemmera and Tenkel. Near it pass the rivers Shimfa and Gandova, the last of which has several very high cataracts; it joins to the Shankala, and is about two days journey from Tchemmera. Both rivers fall into the Nile.

"The river Bashilo separates Amhara from Begemder; the Mashilla, a river of Gojam, and the river Nefasse, fall into the Nile at the same place. In the country of the Galla west of Damot, across or west of the Abay, there is little water, and near the banks of the river the country is desert.

"Damot pays 800 ounces (wakea) of gold; formerly 1000. Gojam 80 ounces and 70 mules. Lasta 1000 ounces; these last years it pays no more, being at present annexed to Begemder. Tigre pays 400 ounces in salt and cotton cloths. Walcait 1500 ounces in cotton cloths.

"The latitude of Adderghey is 13° 24′ 56″; of Maccara, on Lamalmon, 13° 6′ 8″; of Gondar, 12° 24′ 30″; of Emfras, 12° 12′ 38″; of the fountains, 10° 58′ 58″.

"*Note at Loheia.* The Arabs are fond of music, especially vocal; for they have no instrument but a kind of flute, of the size of a German flute, which gives a wild and not unmelodious sound, and the cymbal or drum, with ten pieces fixed to its sides, which is chiefly used in cadence in dancing, or for symphonies. Their vocal music, or songs, are upon first hearing disagreeable; but it rarely happens that one who has a good ear is not soon fond of them. They are all upon love; at least I never heard any that had war for their subject; some have religion, and are sung by their Shekhs, or saints. The former have effects upon their hearers nearly as extravagant as the ancient music produced. They have no music in parts, and have absolutely no idea of harmonical composition."

Customs and Manners of Constantinople.

[From the same.]

"*Constantinople*, 1806.

"DURING my absence in Russia, his excellency Mr. Arbuthnot, our new ambassador at the Porte, arrived in Constantinople; yesterday he had his audience with the sultan, which, as the mode of conducting it was somewhat singular, I shall describe to you.

"Yesterday morning, by five o'clock, the whole of the British at the time in Constantinople repaired to the palace of the Swedish envoy, where his excellency our ambassador waited for them, to proceed to his audience with the sultan: before six the whole procession was in motion; the ambassador was carried in a chair by six men in red robes, with high hairy caps on their heads; on each side of the chair walked one of his excellency's armed attendants, namely, his hussar and his sportsman; the chair was followed by another, which was empty, and then by the secretaries, dragomen, and gentlemen and factors, who happened to be then in the country.

"In this manner we proceeded to the water side at Tophana, where boats were provided for us by order of the Porte, to carry us across to the Golden Horn, where, when we arrived, we found horses from the stud of the sultan waiting to convey us to the seraglio: after some little ceremonies, we again set forward for the Sublime Porte; before entering it, we all alighted, and proceeded onward between the gates; the outer and inner ones were shut and information was then sent to the divan, that an infidel ambassador was without, who wished to throw himself at the feet of the great sultan. The place in which we were inclosed is that where criminals are decapitated, and where the heads of traitors are exposed for the satisfaction of the sultan. After a short time, the inner gate was thrown open, and an exhibition truly novel presented itself; a great number of dishes of pillau and cakes of bread were strewed on the ground at appropriate distances, which, at a signal given, a troop of janizaries ran in the nimblest manner, and carried off. On enquiry, I found that this grotesque spectacle was intended to shew to us infidels in what manner the Turkish troops are fed, and also how active they are.

"At length we were permitted to advance, and after crossing an exterior court of the seraglio, arrived at the entrance of the divan, near the door of which were exposed on the ground the presents brought by the ambassador, in order to gain or secure the friendship of the Turks; amongst these were several pieces of fine cloth, some of rich silk, a table clock, and many other articles.

"Here his excellency presented his credentials to the vizir, who, by some gentleman of the long robe, sent them to the sultan to know his pleasure. The interval between this and the arrival of the answer was employed by us in examining and admiring the magnificence of the apartment in which we were, and which was richly gilt and painted on the roof and columns; the floor was of variegated marble, around the room were sophas covered with costly

costly stuff; in the middle of the side opposite the door, upon a cushion more elevated than the rest, sat the vizir; over his head we observed the little window covered by a thick grating, at which, it is said, the sultan sits to hear what passes on occasions of this kind. It was evident to perceive, through the grating, that some person sat there, but conjecture alone could lead us to conclude that it was Selim.

"A gracious answer from the sultan at length arrived, which was received with a shout of "Long live "the King of Kings, Selim the Sultan of Sultans." Here every one arose, even his highness the vizir slipt from his throne, and met the bearer half way to the door; the order was delivered into his hands; he first kissed it, then placed it to his forehead, kissed it again, and then, and not till then, presumed to break the seals; the order was to feed, wash, and clothe the infidels, and then admit them to his presence. In a short time, some little stools were arranged in different parts of the divan, on the top of which were placed large trays of gold and silver, about four feet diameter, and of a circular form, from which we were to be fed at the expence of the Turks. A most sumptuous entertainment was served up; first, a kind of blancmange, next, different kinds of roasted and baked meats; sweetmeats followed, and to conclude, a delicious cooling sherbert was handed round in gold and silver basons.

"We experienced one grievous want at this feast, for we were not furnished either with knife or fork, and were obliged to tear in pieces whatever was set before us; for the articles of a liquid kind, spoons of tortoise-shell studded with gold, were handed to us.

"The eating part of the farce being over, perfumed water was poured on the hands of his excellency, and a napkin of rich embroidery was thrown to him to wipe them with; he was further perfumed with aloes wood and ambergris.

"The usual ceremony of paying the janizaries takes place in general after this part of the audience, but his excellency had, I suppose, expressed himself sufficiently satisfied of the riches of the Sultan, and it was dispensed with.

"I happened to be in Constantinople at a former period, when two senators of Ragusa came to pay their tribute to the Porte, and was present at their audience, when the usual entertainment for the ambassadors, of paying the janizaries, was gone through, a description of which may perhaps amuse you. On quitting the divan, the senators and suite were conducted to a place in the court immediately opposite to the door of it, where seats were prepared for their reception; the servants of the Porte then brought out a number of leathern purses, which were strewed on the ground, and supposed to contain the pay of one company; the colonel of the company then gave the word, upon which the men came running forward, snatched up the purses, and carried them to some other quarter, where they divided them; this they repeated again and again; at the audience of the Ragusans it lasted upwards of an hour and a half; at that of Lord Elgin, this farce continued some hours, when his lordship, with just indignation, declared, that if it was not concluded immediately, he would return home.

"We were now marched to a kind of open room under the piazzas, where coffee was served, and where the infidels were clothed in a manner suitable

suitable to their making their appearance before the sublime sultan; this dress consisted of pelisses; that of his excellency was lined with samour, worth no small sum; those for the secretaries were very good; the dragomen, who generally take care of themselves, having in some measure the arrangement of this part of the business, were served with a pelisse each, little inferior to that of the ambassador; the others were of trifling value,

"To the presence of the sultan only fourteen can be admitted, and they must be unarmed; so here his excellency, and those who wore swords, unbuckled: we now passed to the gate of the second court, where we encountered the first guard of eunuchs. This guard was composed of the ugliest monsters that ever wore the human form; their features were horrible, with the flesh depending from them; their faces were of the most deadly hue. Each infidel was now adorned with two eunuchs, who laid a paw on each shoulder, to signify when he was to bend before the king of kings, and also to prevent outrage in his presence; in this manner we promenaded the second court, and were soon ushered into the august presence.

"The sultan was sitting on a bed, for his throne has the appearance of a large four-posted bed, indeed it is exactly of that shape; the posts were inlaid with precious stones; the cushion on which Selim sat was composed of a massy embroidery of pearls; before him stood his boots, beside him lay his sword, and some turbans of state with rich aigrettes in them.

"Selim is a man of about forty-three years of age, his beard is become grisly, his countenance is attractive, the *tout ensemble* of his physiognomy benign; he never lifted his eyes, nor even gave a side glance; the ambassador made a polite speech to him, which the Prince Marwze, first dragoman at the Porte, translated to the vizir, who repeated it to the Sultan; he made his reply in simple, kind, and elegant expressions; it was likewise spoken to the vizir, who passed it to the prince, who then repeated it to the British Company's dragoman, and he to the ambassador. Our audience being finished, we turned to depart, still in our humiliating condition, like criminals; the sultan, just as we were leaving the room, desired the dragoman to inform his excellency, that he had ordered him a horse, which he hoped would turn out a good one: his excellency thanked him, and we departed A strong guard of janizaries attended during the whole of the procession.

"Our return from the audience was nearly the same as our entry. We passed over the outward court of the seraglio, and without the Porte found our horses in waiting, where we had left them. As we crossed the water, several British and Maltese vessels saluted us; indeed they had done so in the morning. We conducted the ambassador to the Swedish palace, and were refreshed with lemonade, sweet cakes, &c.: the party then broke up to meet again at Tarapea, the residence of Mr. Arbuthnot, where we were invited to dinner. In the evening we had a ball.

"The audience upon the whole was grand, and came up in a great measure to my expectations It was humiliating to be sure, to be kept so long like prisoners in that horrible place the Porte, and had we understood the language, the being treated with 'infidel' at every corner would have

have been insufferable. But the manners of the Turks, in every stage of the business, was friendly and kind. They have a greater regard for the English than for any other nation, both for those in the distinguished employments, and for the mercantile part of them: ever since the affair of Egypt, they talk of Nelson, Sir Sidney, their old acquaintance, whom they will tell you they have seen, and General Stewart, with delight and enthusiasm. They highly respect the mercantile world, and say the word of an Englishman is as good as any other man's writing, who is not a mussulman.

"The dinner at Tarapea consisted of all that taste could display, or the appetite desire; the rarities of the season were washed down in libations of the choicest wines; the party was elegant, but not gay. We were deprived by her indisposition of the presence of the amiable and beautiful ambassadress: the sickness of his beloved consort threw a gloom over his excellency, who, notwithstanding, strove to appear cheerful: in the evening, however, we found her adorning the drawing-room, where were also the ambassadors of the other missions and their ladies, with most of the ladies and gentlemen attached to them, who had been invited to pay their court on this occasion. According to the eastern custom, coffee and sweetmeats were served up, and the ball commenced by those who chose to dance leading their partners to the hall, where a band of music was playing. Rooms were prepared for those who chose to play at cards. During the evening ices and lemonade were handed round; the dance continued with much vivacity until some hours after midnight, when the party returned to their respective homes.

"The moon shone bright, and shed a charming lustre over the mountains crowned with the gloomy cypress: the most death-like stillness reigned over the canal, interrupted only by the fall of the oar, which beat in agreeable cadence to the breast, which had been agitated with the dance, or with some softer emotion, for the scene of the evening afforded a rich display of beauty.

"The contrast was striking between the elegant simplicity of the English dress, and the gaudy shew of the Grecian. Her excellency was attired in a plain, but costly suit; the other ladies were decked out in rich furred gowns of silver, gold, or rich silk stuffs, and all the family diamonds were displayed on this occasion, stuck on without either art or elegance.

"The ambassador appeared in the evening in the Windsor uniform; his dress in the morning was rich embroidery. The gentleman of the other missions wore the uniform of their respective courts.

"*Constantinople*, 1806.

"The Turkish character has been frequently delineated, and is actually but little known. The Turks are represented as brutal, barbarous, and ferocious; in some respects I must confess they are so, but these bad qualities arise from two causes: first, their religion, which absurdly makes them regard all those who are not mussulmen, as infidels; next, their having constantly under their eye the subtle Jew, and the perfidious Greek, both of whom, from their knavery, they are led to despise and hate; the few Franks whom they see exclusive

clusive of them, they regard with the same contempt. Now that the Europeans begin to be better known, they speak of our heroes with rapture, and of our merchants as men of faith.

"But excepting this haughtiness of carriage, of which they can seldom divest themselves, the Turks are generous, humane, (which their law teaches them to be,) and very charitable: they in general do what good they can during their life, and many of them, at their death, leave large sums for benevolent purposes.

"Now that learning begins to be diffused throughout the empire, it is to be hoped that many of their faults will be buried with their ignorance.

"The slaves in Turkey are healthy and good-looking; slavery in this country, so much dreaded by the nations around, is nothing to what they themselves inflict. The Turks will not believe that in other countries, slaves are driven out like cattle to work beneath a scorching sun, and that on their return they are fed with a rotten herring: the bare idea of this would shock them; they are strict, and at times even punish their slaves with death, when they merit it, but they seldom or never inflict pain when it is avoidable; and, it is to be hoped, that they will never take example by our enlightened Britons in the western world.

"To the brute creation they pay what may be called a foolish attention, and carry it even to the extreme of absurdity: of this the innumerable quantity of dogs in their streets furnishes a striking example: each of these dogs belongs to one particular person, but they are fed by all, and they seem to know that the Turks are their friends, for they bark at, and molest every body else. Cats are also great favourites with the Turks. Their horses, asses, and oxen, all look better than those in any other country. They are likewise partial to birds, and have a great veneration for some particular kinds of them, which they treat with great tenderness.

"The manners of the orientals are soft and seducing: the Turkish salute is elegant and expressive; they lay their right hand on the heart, raise it to the lips, and then to the forehead, meaning to say that the heart, the lips, and the head, or the seat of knowledge, are at your devotion.

"The mode of prayer among the Turks is solemn and devout, and, as I have mentioned before, without the least tincture of pharisaical pride in it, although their devotions are frequently performed in the open air, and in the midst of a multitude. They pray with their faces toward Mecca, as Daniel did of old with his toward Jerusalem. The first part is said standing, with the hands lifted up; they then kneel, kiss the ground, and touch it several times with their foreheads; afterwards they sit on their knees, and pray and chaunt; previous to this they wash their feet, hands, and face.

"Distinction of rank seems, in a great measure, unknown among them, excepting that attached to those who are officers of state; and the utmost submission and respect are paid to those who have the seniority in age, not only by their family, but by the people in general.

"An elder brother is considered as a superior, and has, on all occasions, the preference. When I

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was last at Smyrna, as I was taking a walk, I met the Musalim going out to meet his brother, who was coming to pay a visit to that part of the country. The Musalim was much the greater man of the two; he was possessed of influence and riches; his brother was a man of rather a low station in life, and came with only one armed servant as a guide, but he was several years older. The Musalim had a guard of twelve horsemen; when he came near his brother he dismounted from his horse, as did also the whole of his guards; he approached with respect, and kissed his brother's hand, who then made him re-mount, and they rode side by side to town. It is generally said, that if the father is dead, the younger brother serves the elder at table, but this I do not believe; where I had an opportunity of observing, slaves were the attendants.

"The Turks have many vices, and some are vindictive and brutal; but bad men are to be found in every country; they, are, however, fast emerging from that state of darkness which has been the nursery of their errors. It is not to be wondered at, that people surrounded by slaves, and those artful wretches, the Jews and Greeks, which is the case with the Turks, should be haughty and supercilious; this is universal in every country under similar circumstances. But will any one say that the Turks are worse than many of our countrymen who have spent a few years in the West Indies, with this difference, that the Turks have always the same abject conduct before their eyes, whereas, our countrymen have been in general educated in a religion, of which humanity and humility are the leading principles: under a government where oppression is punishable: and in a society, where the brutal manners which they acquire abroad, are abhorred and despised. The Turk passes his leisure hours in his haram, enjoying soft music, the elegant dance, and all the sweets of love. The West Indian spends his leisure hours in drunkenness, and in the gratification of the most beastly sensuality; his heart, which was once tender, becomes obdurate and cruel: the mind, once cultivated and raised to the admiration of God and his works, becomes callous, and returns to a state worse than that of nature; his God is neglected, and his fellow-creatures despised; he becomes despicable himself, and thinks that all men are so likewise.

"From a point of religion, the women in Turkey have their faces covered; no man, but their husband or master, if they are slaves, is allowed to see them; indeed their whole figure is concealed, being enveloped in a loose cloak called a ferragee, which sweeps the ground; the head is clothed with three pieces of muslin, one comes over the eyes and down to the point of the nose; the second covers the chin and ears, and hangs down over the neck; and the third is thrown loosely over the head, pinned at the chin, and falls over the shoulders; the limbs and feet are shrouded in long trowsers, to which are sewed a sort of boots of yellow leather, and on the feet they wear slippers, or rather sandals, as they consist only of a sole, and an upper part just sufficient to hold the toes.

"The Turkish fair are said to be very amorous; before their tyrants, however, they set a strict watch over their conduct, but I have more than once seen a beautiful Circassian shew her face when none but a Christian was near; and were not the laws put in execution so rigidly

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in Turkey, they would find many admirers among the Franks; but on the detection of any amour with an infidel, the woman is tied in a sack and thrown into the sea, and her lover is beheaded.

"When a Turkish lady is pretty, she endeavours, by every art, to heighten her beauty; they paint the cheeks, the eye-lashes, and eye-brows; they have fine teeth, as they eat nothing which can injure them, and they keep them clean by chewing mastic. If we may judge of them by the men, they must be very handsome; these are in general well made, they have fine limbs, and justly proportioned bodies; they have good faces, which are hidden beneath their dark beards and whiskers, and they have fine full eyes.

"The easy dress of the Turks must be very conducive to health, they have nothing tight about them; their clothes hang from the shoulder, or are fastened round the middle with a girdle or shawl; their shirts, which are made of a sort of crape, have neither collar nor wrist-band; they wear nothing round the neck; and as their trowsers, which are remarkably loose, are sewed to their yellow leather boots, or stockings, they have no bandage round the knee.

"The only absurdity in the Turkish dress, is the turban, which is truly inconvenient, in whatever shape it is used; it is argued, however, from their submitting to wear this incumbrance for such a length of time, that the climate makes it necessary to keep the head warm. I may affirm, without exaggeration, that some of these turbans are as heavy as half an English hundred weight.

"There are frequent instances of longevity in Turkey; an hundred, or even one hundred and ten years, is no uncommon age. The people live sparingly, and commit no excess, either in eating or drinking. Women with child are held in very great respect by the Turks. From the fineness of the climate they frequently dine in the open air; and if by chance a female passes by whilst they are eating, she is immediately invited to partake with them; in case of her refusal, lest she should be with child, and her offspring endangered by her longing for something which she may have seen at the table, a slave is immediately dispatched to follow her, and a portion of every dish is set apart, and sent after her, of which she is humbly intreated to accept."

Country around the Dardanelles.

[From the same.]

"*Smyrna, June* 1806.

"I NOW hasten to fulfil my promise of giving you an account of my voyage from Constantinople to this place. That I might have an opportunity of visiting the site of ancient Troy, I took my passage on board of a Turkish boat for the Dardanelles. We sailed about mid-day, and after a very quick passage of sixteen hours, were already anchored there. Having passed the entrance of the strait before day-light, I cannot

cannot pretend to give you a full account of it; but from the information I received at the Dardanelles, I had no great cause of regret, as I had passed neither town or fortification worthy of notice. At the Dardanelles I was courteously invited by the Venetian consul, Signior Cheali, to take up my abode at his house during my stay, an offer which I accepted in preference to that of our own consul, Signior Taragano, a Jew, who was, however, also very courteous. Having, indeed, several letters of recommendation, all the consuls strove to make my stay as agreeable as possible, and to shew me every attention in their power. Signior Cheali is a Venetian of about seventy-five years of age: he and my friend Doctor Lorenzo left Italy together, and although he has lived upwards of forty years at a distance from his native land, he still retains all the manners of a Venetian. The inhabitants of the Dardanelles are chiefly Jews and Greeks, very few Turks, and still fewer Europeans.

"The day after my arrival, early in the morning I embarked on board of a Turkish boat called a bider, with five pair of oars, and rowed down as far as the lowest castle of the Dardanelles, a distance of about eight miles, where I landed immediately under the Tumulus of Achilles, when I took horses to cross the plain to the ruins of Alexandria Troas. The Tumulus of Achilles stands on an eminence, and the view from it is extensive. I stopped a few minutes on its summit, where a Turk, according to his last injunctions, has been interred. A Greek whom I took along with me as interpreter and cicerone, informed me that the tumulus had been opened by a Frenchman, but that after digging to a considerable depth, he had found nothing to reward his labour.

"From thence we rode for some hours over a fine plain, having much the appearance of a gentleman's park, being beautifully diversified by groups of tall trees, and the ground in general well cultivated. The peasants though few in number, were busily employed in weeding and hoeing the cotton plant, which appeared to be the principal article of culture. About the middle of the plain we passed a chifflick of the late Hassan Pacha, high admiral of the Turkish fleet, who has here built a fine chiosk of stone, which has the appearance of a small fortification. Near the sea, immediately opposite to Tenedos, is to be seen a large tumulus, but my cicerone was ignorant of its title, and assured me indeed that it had none. At mid-day the guide insisted upon halting a short time to refresh our horses, which we did at a small village called Jecklu: with difficulty the Greek procured a few eggs, which we dressed for our dinners. The inhabitants, old and young, on seeing a Frank, ran to collect what medals they had, and which I purchased for a trifle: few valuable ones are now found, being chiefly Roman, and not of first rate workmanship. After our repast in the cool of the evening, our route lay near the margin of the sea, through a well wooded country, where yearly some ship loads of valonea or acorns, are collected from a species of dwarf oak which abounds. We passed many vineyards close to the sea side, which are cultivated by the inhabitants of Tenedos, many of whom come over in the spring and erect temporary dwellings for that purpose. The wine of Tenedos may thus with much more propriety be called Troy

wine,

wine, as the grape, when ripe, is carried over, and only trodden out on the island.

"For the large guns which the Turks are fond of having in their fortresses they use balls of granite; of these the Plain of Troy has afforded immense numbers, and the innumerable and beautiful columns which once covered its surface, have by degrees been almost entirely destroyed for that purpose. I saw many piles of balls, some of which, I am confident, were at least three feet in diameter.

"To pass the night, my cicerone carried me to the house of an old Turk close by the sea, and in an enchanting situation, about a quarter of a mile distant from the port of Alexandria. Some female visitors having previously occupied his miserable dwelling, I was forced to put up with the stable, which, however, gave me little uneasiness. The master sent me some milk, and having a cold fowl with me, I made a hearty supper. After desiring that I might be called at the first hour of prayer, I endeavoured to get a little sleep, but which, on account of myriads of fleas, was not undisturbed.

"The old Turk, faithful to his promise, called me by four o'clock: he was a man of an interesting countenance, but one who has destroyed more antiquities than he has hairs on his bushy beard; for being a worker in marble, his whole study is to find out the best marble, which he immediately converts into grave stones for his infidel race. He had very lately dug up and destroyed two fine sarcophagi, one of white, the other of grey marble, a piece of each being near his house. On finding the sarcophagi, he said he had requested a learned Greek to interpret an inscription which was on that of white marble: but all that he could recollect was, that it related to a warrior of extraordinary strength and renown, and mentioned that his favourite horse was buried near him: he further informed me, that the white sacrophagus contained all the bones of a human skeleton of prodigious size, those of the head only being wanting.

"We were conducted round the port of Alexandria, where many magazines are still visible, particularly a large one, which the old man called the custom-house. The port was now quite choked up, but it was clearly of a circular form, with a narrow entrance, and probably was never capable of admitting any thing but small craft.

"Piles of ruins without form or number shew where a town once stood. A little farther from the sea appear huge remains of an amphitheatre, of which only the western end preserves any shape; the other parts are nearly buried in the earth. Keeping to the westward we behold three lofty arches of white marble, which formed the grand entrance to the Stadium; the middle one is very striking; the other two are rather smaller. Farther on are nine large and three small arches, all of granite. The whole of these ruins have a charming effect, being in the middle of a forest of lofty trees, and I am convinced that a week spent here would amply repay the attention of the curious traveller.

"Crossing the rising ground to the northward, I passed an old gateway, and the remains of a wall, and after about an hour's ride, descended to the river Simois, now little more than a rivulet. Here are baths of a strong mineral quality, and the water is very disagreeable both

both to the taste and smell, being highly impregnated with nitre; indeed the whole country round is full of nitre, and not long ago the Turks used to collect large quantities. The heat of the baths I reckoned to be equal to that of Nero's bath, near Naples, which boils an egg in three minutes: there is, however, this difference, that the baths of Nero run under ground for a considerable way; whereas, these are immediately exposed to the air; yet I could scarcely bear my finger in the water. Some charitable Turk or Greek has built small apartments for bathing, and at certain seasons they are filled with people from the islands, who come to try the efficacy of the waters in various disorders.

"Following the windings of the river, I several times crossed a broad ancient causeway, and at one place a very large column of granite almost entire, wanting only the base and architrave. As this column lay close by the side of the road, I could not but feel surprised that it had so long escaped being sawn in pieces.

"About nine o'clock we halted at the village of Kimalee, to take some refreshment: at this village are still to be seen, in a tolerably entire state, the remains of a Roman bath, but nothing else worthy of notice, the village itself being a miserable one, and thinly inhabited by Greeks. About mid-day, after a wearisome ride over a bare country, we at length reached the foot of Mount Ida, said to have been the seat of ancient Troy, of which not the least vestige remains to point out on which of these mountains it stood. On the most northern are two tumuli, which are said to cover the remains of Hector and his wife: these tumuli are by no means so large as the Grecian ones on the south side of the plain, and although they have been opened, are said to have contained nothing remarkable. There is a most enchanting view from the summit of Mount Ida, and at the foot of it is the source of the Scamander, which is remarkably curious; the whole side of the hill is one general fountain. To the west it has the appearance as if Nature had just raised a little that side of the base, to let the waters gush out: at first sight, indeed, it is difficult to determine whether art has not even been employed in the work, which appears as if formed of stone and lime. Some slight vestiges of baths are still to be traced near these fountains, but are not worthy of investigation.

"The plain before presents a charming view, being covered here and there with large trees, while the Scamander winding amongst them, empties itself into the sea above the castle, where we first landed. Several of the islands at the mouth of the Hellespont are faintly seen, whilst Tenedos, more lofty and near, shews a rounded form. Immediately below the mountain, on the borders of a marshy piece of ground, is an extensive garden, called in the Turkish tongue Bunar Baschee, or the Garden of the Fountain, which was cultivated by Greeks, and produced good fruit; from it I procured a basket of cherries and a sallad, on which I dined. Although this was on the 11th of June, yet the cucumbers and various other vegetables were in a backward state. In this garden I found a piece of marble, part of an ancient bas relief: on it were two figures, the one a man, the other a woman with a child in her arms: I supposed it to be Hector, taking leave of Andromache and his son. His head appeared inclined mournfully toward them;

them; his right hand on the head of the boy, whilst the left was stretched forth as if toward the army. The Greeks here could give me no intelligence of any thing worthy of being seen, and appeared, indeed, wholly ignorant of the country they were in. Again mounting our horses, we took the nearest road in order to reach the Dardanelles before night: for a short time we rode by the side of the Scamander, which having forded, we travelled across a most delightful plain for some distance, until at length our path led us up the hills. From the summit of the hills the view of the Hellespont is very grand. The wind having been northerly for some days, many ships were lying interspersed about the channel, waiting a change. Among the rest was an English four-masted ship, with the appearance of which, the late Capitan Pacha some years ago was so much struck, that he ordered a model to be made, and one of equal dimensions to be built immediately after, and which is at present with the Turkish fleet in the arsenal of Constantinople.

"Excepting a constant variety of scenery, nothing further remarkable occurred in this part of my ride, until about ten in the evening I alighted at the door of my Venetian friend.

"There is little about the Dardanelles to interest the attention of the traveller; the only beautiful spot in the vicinity is a walk by the side of a river, shaded by a great number of lofty plantains, which afford a cool retreat at all hours of the day: I had met with nothing equal to this in any part of Turkey, and indeed nothing finer in any part of the world.

"An order which had arrived from the Porte a short time before, not to allow strangers to visit the fortifications, disappointed me in my expectations of seeing them. The fort on the Asiatic side is built quite close to the water's edge, and has mounted on that side of it several guns of an astonishing calibre. Some of the granite shot lying about the fortress are not less than ten feet and a half in diameter, and are said to weigh from eight to ten cwt. Round the fortress is a ditch, but without water, and even if full it would not take a man above the middle. To the south of the fort is a small mound battery of six or eight brass guns of considerable length, but of no uncommon calibre. On the top of the fort are planted many long swivels, carrying a ball of about half a pound. On the European side of the channel, and immediately opposite to the Dardanelles, is built another fort of the same kind, but apparently of better construction, and on a rising ground. The first battery is closer to the water; the second, of an oval shape, is visible from the opposite shore. In this, as in all other Turkish fortresses, there is a mixture of guns of very large calibre. In the lower castle of Smyrna there are several, into which, when on fishing parties, I have more than once crept to avoid a shower.

"To force the passage of the Dardanelles must be an undertaking truly formidable. From the lower castles on both sides of the Hellespont little danger is to be apprehended, as ships can steer tolerably clear of them; but the fire from those at the Dardanelles, where the channel becomes narrow, and the current remarkably strong, must be very destructive. It would, however, be no difficult matter to storm the castle on either side, particularly that on the Asiatic, which has few or no guns toward the land; and

that

that on the European is commanded by neighbouring heights. One or both of them being taken, the passage would then be of no difficulty, and without that, no commander of moderate force would think of attempting it, unless he wished his fleet to be destroyed, as with a tolerable breeze, even of southerly wind, a vessel moves so very slowly, that every shot from these castles must tell. This point gained, Constantinople lies at the mercy of every enemy, without fort or gun to defend it, if we except a few saluting batteries—one at Tophana, one at the arsenal, and a few scattered guns at the Seraglio Point, of various lengths and calibres, placed there for the same purpose, without any kind of embrazures or works to cover them.

"The population of the Dardanelles is computed to be between twenty and thirty thousand souls, which, however, appears to me an exaggeration. It is true, a great proportion is composed of Jews, who huddle together six or eight families in the same house.

"As I know you are eager after commercial information, I will endeavour to give you some idea of the exports from the Dardanelles. The principal is cotton wool, of which 80,000 quintals of nearly an English cwt. each, are annually sold here; of cotton yarn 1000 quintals; galls 300 quintals; valonea 50,000; rosin 2000; madder roots 200; aniseed 100; of cotton sail cloth, in pieces of eighty yards each, 10,000; hare skins 10,000; a small quantity of bees' wax; a few cargoes of excellent grain, and between the Dardanelles and Tenedos about 20 tolerable cargoes of wine. Their imports are very trifling, and not worthy of notice."

Journey from Lisbon to Madrid.

[From Mr. Semple's Observations.]

"BEING first of all provided with an order from the postmaster, we crossed the water in a slanting direction from Lisbon to Aldea Gallega. The view in crossing is delightful, the west bank of the river far above Lisbon consisting of a succession of small rounded hills, covered with verdure to the summits, and studded with farms and country seats. Aldea Gallega is a miserable village, of fifty or sixty houses or huts, placed at the head of a small creek on the south-east side of the Tagus, and distant from Lisbon about ten miles. It is the first post, and here, after some delay in inspecting our orders, we were all mounted and ready to begin our journey. Our postillion, or guide, carried at least fifty pounds weight of our baggage before him on his saddle; and, every thing being ready, he gave us strict orders never to go a-head of him, and then cracking his long whip we all set off together at a full gallop. Immediately out of the village the road becomes a deep white sand; and, although the sun was on the decline, it reflected the heat with great violence. Presently we came to a large plain, bounded on the south by the hills towards St. Ubes, but extending before us in long prospect. The soil was mostly sand; in some parts gravelly, and covered with shrubs, bushes, and low pine trees, but scarcely a house was to be seen in any direction. Having just com-

menced our journey, and not yet feeling fatigued, we accused our guide of loitering, but he assured us that the first post from Aldea Gallega is five leagues distant; and a Spanish post league may be calculated at fully equal to four English miles. It was accordingly long after sunset, before we arrived at Los Pregoues.

"This is merely a small hamlet, and at the post-house we had the first sample of what entertainment we were likely to meet with on the road; not being able to procure any refreshment except a little sour wine with water, and having it at our option either to sit down on the ground, or on the straw in the stable. We were not however long detained here. A new guide and new horses awaited us, our saddles and luggage were arranged, and with many loud cracks of our postillion's whip, as if he had been in the heart of a populous city, instead of a few huts, we set off at a gallop as before. The road continued level for some distance; but we had not proceeded far when the night became quite dark, and precluded all further observation on the surrounding country.

"From Los Pregones to Las Ventas Nuevas, or New Inns, is three Spanish leagues, or upwards of twelve English miles, and we arrived there at ten o'clock at night. Amidst a collection of poor huts stood a long barn, and this was the post-house. Every body was asleep, but the sound of our guide's whip soon procured us admission; a half extinguished fire was rekindled, and after much trouble some wine was brought, so sour as to be hardly drinkable. Seated round the embers, however, we determined to accustom ourselves to every inconvenience, and recalled to mind the story of the traveller, who complained to his Spanish landlord, that his wine was sourer than his vinegar. "I wonder at that," replied mine host, with great coolness, "for they "are both out of the same cask." Satisfied, therefore, that others had been treated at least as badly as ourselves in these countries, we passed round the bottle, and in spite of wry faces quenched our thirst with large potations of this miserable liquor. After an hour's delay, however, fresh horses were ready, and we started from our barn at eleven o'clock, with as much uproar as we had done from Los Pregones and Aldea Gallega. To our great satisfaction it was now moonlight, but a slight fog prevented our deriving much advantage from the circumstance, beyond the pleasure of not travelling in darkness. I regretted that I had not been able to discern from the plains, the form and direction of the hills which we now began to ascend. They were of no great height, but there was a succession of them, with rugged roads, and the descents very steep, and requiring caution to hold up our horses from falling. In the mean time our guide, who had set off in such a hurry, fell fast asleep, and although he rocked from side to side, stuck to the saddle instinctively. We trusted however to our horses, and after many slips arrived about two in the morning at Montemor Novo. This had more the appearance of a town, even by moonlight, than any place we had passed through since leaving Lisbon. It is four leagues from Las Ventas Nuevas, decently built and paved, and standing on the first break of a tolerably high hill, on the summit of which are the remains of an old Moorish castle. Here, notwithstanding all the noise we could make, we

stood

stood a long time before we could gain admission to a venta or inn; and when a door was unwillingly opened to us, we beheld two men stretched out upon straw, covered with ragged quilts; one of whom had let us in, and having done so, absolutely refused to move again in our behalf. At length an old woman, whom the noise had awakened, appeared with a light, and conducted us into the room. Considering we were now sixty miles from Lisbon, after a short deliberation, we agreed to take a few hours repose; three straw mattresses were unrolled upon the floor, and hardly giving ourselves time to throw off our coats, or wish one another good night, in five minutes we were all sound asleep.

"Before six o'clock we were again on foot, and our kind duenna having brought us some conserve of honey, wine, and fruit, we strengthened ourselves against the approaching fatigues of the day. From Montemor Novo to Arrayolos the distance is marked three leagues, but we found it to be fully fourteen miles, so inaccurately are the posts calculated, for measured they certainly are not. The country was agreeably diversified by hills and valleys, but badly wooded, and still worse cultivated, until we came near Arrayolos, a small village pleasantly situated on the top of a hill. Here was by far the best post-house we had yet seen; the family was decent and neat in dress and appearance; the master seemed to consider himself as a Portuguese country gentleman, and treated us with great politeness. It was ten o'clock before we could leave Arrayolos, and the sun began already to be very hot. We descended the hill, and after riding a few miles, the country assumed a different aspect from what we had yet seen; the mountains rising in a rounder form, and beginning to be covered with trees to their summits. It was past mid-day before we reached La Venta del Duque, a distance of three leagues. We found it to be a single house, without a village or hamlet near it, and upwards of a mile from the post-house, which also stood alone on the top of a hill. As the heat however was now excessive, without the smallest breeze, we determined to remain a few hours, and accordingly entered the house, which I will describe. A single room or hall occupied all the lower part, unfloored, and serving as a retreat both to the family and their poultry, which were perched all round. At one end, a seat was built along the wall, and, corresponding to it, a low table like that which hermits are represented as using, but formed of bricks and mortar instead of turf. On the opposite side of this immoveable table great pieces of cork supplied the place of stools, which, when we tried to lift them, surprised us by their lightness. On a large open fire-place, stood two or three small narrow-necked earthen jars, which formed the whole kitchen apparatus, and this completed the furniture of the lower room. The space above stairs was divided into several apartments, furnished with mats, and one or two mattresses for strangers to sleep on; and one room locked up, contained the wealth of the family. Having signified our wish to eat, two fowls were instantly killed, stripped, cut into pieces, and put into one of the narrow-necked jars with a little water and other ingredients. The jar was then placed on the hearth, and hot embers swept round the bottom of it, and this was the whole process of cooking. Meantime we lay down to sleep, and when called to our meal found all the riches of the

the house displayed. Our table was spread with a clean napkin, two earthen plates, one silver and some wooden spoons, and a pitcher of tolerable wine. Hunger made us perhaps esteem the Portuguese cookery more highly than we might otherwise have done, for we finished the contents of our jar, and agreed in calling them excellent. The heat of the day being past, we prepared to mount our horses; and, greatly exhilarated by a comfortable meal, and a draught of wine, where we had expected to find little or nothing, pursued our journey towards Estremoz.

"Shortly after leaving La Venta del Duque we had a view of Estremoz, on the top of a high hill distant about twelve miles. The country all around affords many views of deep valleys, and mountains crowned with forests; but it is reckoned the most dangerous part of Portugal to travellers, on account of the frequent robberies which take place in it. The Portuguese affirm that these robberies are generally committed by Spaniards, who easily find means to escape to their own frontiers with the booty, where they are safe from pursuit. Be that as it may, we held ourselves prepared, and certainly passed many gloomy spots, well adapted for scenes of villainy, in the bottom of glens, and in narrow passes in the woods. The sun had already set before we reached Estremoz, but we had still light enough to discern its fortifications, and that was by far the largest town we had seen since leaving Lisbon. Here it was necessary to wait upon the governor, who received us politely, addressed us in French, and understanding our wish to proceed farther that night, gave orders that we should be allowed to pass the gates. Of this we availed ourselves, and proceeded on our road three leagues, to Alcravizas, a miserable inn, where we with great difficulty procured a light repast, without wine, and two straw pallets for beds. In travelling, however, we soon learn to accommodate ourselves to every thing; and although we had not ridden above forty miles that day, we were yet sufficiently fatigued to have slept on the bare ground, had it been necessary.

"We were at day-break pleased with the prospect of being out of Portugal before night. Although the whole country to the south of the Pyrenees had been formerly one kingdom, we yet expected to find some striking differences of manners and customs; nay, even that the mountains and trees of Spain should have a different character from those which surrounded us. These ideas would alone have shortened the four leagues to Yelves, or Elvas, the frontier town of Portugal towards Spain, even without the additional variety of hills and valleys, wide plains, and forests of oak and cork trees. About nine o'clock we arrived at Elvas, upon the top of a steep hill, and commanding a delightful prospect of that rich slip of country on the banks of the Guadiana, which marks the frontiers of the two kingdoms. As I contemplated from the heights of Elvas the wide-spread prospect of mountains, forests, and fertile plains, I could not help contrasting it with the borders of England and Scotland, where the long and inveterate hostility of two nations, now closely united, has produced such extensive tracts of bare hills and barren heaths. Portugal seems to have exerted all her strength to render the fortifications of Elvas formidable, and to garrison it with her best soldiers, as if by this outward rind she could conceal the weakness of her interior. Exclusive of the situation,

situation, and the fortifications, the place itself has nothing worthy of notice, except a Moorish aqueduct, in some parts of several rows of arches, which still conveys water to the town, being in general not so well built as Estremoz. To our great satisfaction, however, we discovered a coffee-house, where we procured some excellent coffee and milk, and delicious figs, upon which we breakfasted. Thus refreshed, we bade adieu to Elvas without regret, and prepared to quit the dominion of Portugal.

"Presently after descending the hill, we came into an even country, which however by no means answered the idea which we had formed of its fertility from the heights, the soil being sandy and miserably cultivated, and that only in spots. About nine miles from Elvas we came to a sandy flat, on which, to the right of the road, some tents were pitched; under their shade a dozen soldiers, stretched out at full length, formed the advanced guard of Portugal. At a little distance a small stream which quickly falls into the Guadiana is the line of demarcation. It was now nearly dry, and we crossed its bed at full gallop, and waving our hats, striving who should be first on the Spanish territory. Here we congratulated each other, but, as might be expected, found as yet no difference in the soil or cultivation. The Spaniards, however, to judge by the first glance, have too great a contempt for their neighbours, to take the trouble of setting up a few scarecrows in soldiers' clothes on their side of the brook.

"As we approach Badajoz, the country becomes more fertile, and better cultivated; which indeed ought to be the case near a populous town, and on the banks of the Guadiana, one of the great rivers of Spain. We crossed this fine stream, which however is not yet navigable, upon an excellent stone bridge, and immediately passed under the gates of Badajoz, where our passports were examined; and, after the necessary ceremony of paying a trifling sum to custom-house officers, we were left free to find our way all over the kingdom.

"Badajoz (pronounced Badahoz) is the frontier town of Spain on this frontier, as Elvas is of Portugal, and is therefore strongly fortified and garrisoned. The Spanish soldiers who thronged the gates were stouter, and had a more martial look than those we had just left behind us; but I sought in vain for that honest freedom which marks the soldier of England. One of my companions having business to transact here, we remained the rest of the day, and had time to observe, that even in the frontier towns, a strong line of distinction is drawn between the two nations. The Spaniard is more determined in his gait and manners; his cloak thrown over his shoulders gives him something of the air of a man of courage, whilst the same custom with the Portuguese manners, gives only the look of an assassin. But if we notice the difference between the men, it is still more apparent in the women of the two countries. The air, the dress, the walk of the Spanish ladies, is not only superior to that of their neighbours, but perhaps of any European nation. The lower part of their dress is black, with deep fringes; the upper consists simply of a white muslin veil, which, without covering the face, falls down on each side of the head, crosses over the bosom, and is fastened behind the back. They walk with freedom; their eyes are dark and

and expressive, and their whole countenances have that bewitching air which an Englishman likes well enough to see in any woman except his wife, his sister, or the woman he truly loves and respects.

"Having spent the afternoon in viewing Badajoz, we prepared for an early departure on the ensuing morning. We were on horseback before sunrise, and arrived at the gate leading toward the country just as it was opened. A number of peasants with their horses, mules, and asses, loaded with fruits and vegetables, who had been long in waiting, rushed in like a torrent, and almost carried us away with them. We had no resource but to spur up our horses, and force our way through with no small detriment to many a panier of figs and apricots. For some time after leaving Badajoz, the road is confined, but we soon came to immense uncultivated plains, bordered all around by distant mountains, except close upon our right, where were small hills with a gentle slope. At a distance in the plains lay Talavera la Real, three leagues from Badajoz, and our next stage. These plains are kept from cultivation by the express interference of government, for the benefit of the Spanish sheep, which certainly derive from such pastures the superior excellence of their wool. Not only Estremadura, but all the inland provinces, abound with these commons, with respect to which the prejudices of the inhabitants are insurmountable. "Why do you not plough "up these fertile deserts?" said I to a Spaniard; "encourage agricul-"ture, the real basis of the great-"ness of kingdoms, and your coun-"try may yet rank with the first in "Europe." "I see," replied he, "that you have the prejudice com-"mon to most foreigners. These "deserts, as you call them, are the "glory of Spain, for it is from their "pastures that is formed the finest "wool in the world." It is needless to expose the ignorant fallacy of this reasoning, which however is here universal, and it is not without regret, that an Englishman beholds the finest plains in Europe abandoned and uncultivated.

"Talavera la Real, although thus distinguished by the name of Royal, presents nothing worthy of notice; unless perhaps one or two stone crosses at the end of the village, may for a moment attract attention. Soon after leaving Talavera, our road led us close along the Guadiana, whose banks were high and crumbling, large portions of earth having recently fallen in, and not being yet washed away by the current. Where such is the nature of the soil, the bed of the river is wide and irregular, with banks of sand and gravel in the middle. On the contrary, when the nature of the ground opposes more resistance, the channel is narrower, but the current more rapid. The country immediately near the river was cultivated, but in a miserable manner; having neither farm-houses, trees, nor inclosures on its banks. The Guadiana presented a very different picture from what Spanish descriptions had led me to expect; and its smooth waters, instead of affording the idea of coolness, seemed to reflect the heat of the sun like a gliding mirror. In this manner we pursued our journey to Perales, three leagues distant from Talavera la Real, and situated still closer to the river. It is merely a post-house, where we changed our horses, and thence set off for Merida, another stage of three leagues. The ground now began to wear a different appearance, rising into small hills with

mountains

mountains to the eastward. The ruins of an aqueduct mark the approach to Merida, the ancient Merita Augusta, situated close upon the Guadiana, over which we passed upon a noble Roman bridge, in admirable preservation. Besides the bridge, Merida contains many monuments of the Roman power; such as an amphitheatre almost entire, a circus or chariot course, and a naumachia or aquatic theatre. There are also the remains of a triumphal arch; a subterraneous passage leading to the river, for watering the cattle in times of siege; a small temple dedicated to Mars, and various columns and broken arches. It may give satisfaction to know that this temple is now cleansed of all its impurities by holy water, and holy tapers, and holy priests; and a wooden image of the Holy Virgin has supplied the place of the frowning god of war. The whole is attested by a fair inscription on the front of the edifice, and which, as if to spite the manes of the long departed founder, is in Latin. The walls appear also to be of Roman construction, although they formerly extended further into the river, as great masses of ruins in its bed sufficiently testify.

" In the market place, the Spaniards have erected a singular monument of their ignorance. Three ancient altars are piled one above another to form a pillar; a stone with a Latin inscription, declaring that it is dedicated to Concord, forms the base, and a modern statue of a female saint stands upon the summit. When we examine these altars, the beautiful workmanship of which shews the hand of a Grecian sculptor, we are tempted to exclaim against this barbarism which has thus perverted their use, until we reflect that this has perhaps been the very means of preserving them for a nobler purpose, and that they yet may one day grace a national collection, or the museums of princes.

" Surrounded by so many interesting objects, we heard without much regret that it was impossible to procure horses that day, and having finished our Spanish olio, we spent the afternoon in examining them. In the evening we bathed in the Guadiana, a luxury which cannot be conceived except by those who have previously ridden many hours under a scorching sun. We walked below the town, over beds of smooth stones, like the shingly beach of Sussex; yet even here we found some small bushes, from beneath whose covert we plunged into the river. It here formed a wide basin, bottomed with pure sand, and fordable all over, as we found, to our great surprise, not being above five feet in depth in the middle. Above and below this noble basin, the river, more confined, rushed with a murmuring noise over its gravelly bed, and this was the only noise that we heard. Pardon me, reader; travellers have described with enthusiasm even the ruins of ancient baths, why then should I pass over in total silence, a natural one, which far transcends them all?

" It was eight o'clock the ensuing morning before we bade adieu to Merida, and the banks of the Guadiana. Hitherto we had travelled from Lisbon in a direction nearly due east, but now our road turned to the northward, and became more varied and interesting, although we had no longer a view of the river. A ride of two leagues brought us to San Pedro de Merida, a small and trifling village, situated in a plain, where we changed horses, and

and proceeded three leagues further to La Venta de la Guia. This is a small town, and contains one of the few good, or at least tolerable inns, to be met with on the whole road. Here we passed two or three hours during the heat of the day, but in the afternoon, when we were preparing to set out, one of my companions received a kick from the postillion's horse, which obliged us, however unwillingly, to remain there the whole of that evening and night. At day-break, however, our friend was able to mount once more on horseback, and we took the road to Meajadas, distant three leagues. This is a small town containing nothing worthy of notice, and from whence a ride of six leagues brought us to Truxillo, a small town situated upon a hill, and famous for being the birth place of Pizarro. A great number of stone crosses stand at the entrance of the town, but we could not learn the particular causes of their erection. As many of them are of very ancient date, perhaps they were built to propitiate Heaven by those adventurers whom the success of their fellow citizens attracted to South America. At present Truxillo is in a state of great decay, and the entrance is through narrow streets, almost choked up with filth. In honour of Pizarro, we dined here, and the same evening pursued our journey six leagues farther, through Carrascal and Jaraycejo to Miravete. Between Truxillo and Miravete, the country is reckoned favourable to robbers, being full of deep forests, valleys overgrown with trees, and high grounds, from which they can observe the approach of travellers. These circumstances however tend to render it a romantic ride, especially between Jaraycejo and Miravete, where the road crosses a high mountain, appertaining to a chain of hills, branching from the Great Sierra Morena. The ruins of an old Moorish castle crowned the brow of a distant hill, which we had constantly in view. The idea of danger, slight as it was, by keeping us silent, and as it were compressing our thoughts, gave a double interest to the romantic scenery around us. It was nearly dark when we reached the summit of the mountain, the steep descent of which was formerly one of the most difficult passes of Spain. Now however an excellent winding road leads to the bottom, where we found a few houses, and a small post-house, honoured with the name of Las Casas del Puerto de Miravete, and where we willingly agreed to pass the night. A family, consisting of a decent matron and several handsome girls, were all presently engaged in preparing our evening repast, to which their smiles and jokes, whilst they waited on us, gave a greater relish. A pitcher of good wine crowned the supper, over which we laughed at the fatigues of the day, and talked of the pleasures of home. To our great comfort, we found clean beds to rest on; and a small metal crucifix, and a picture of the Holy Virgin at the head of each, effectually guarded our nightly slumbers.

"Before day-break on the ensuing morning, we left Miravete. The path continued rugged and uneven for some distance, till we came to an excellent road, along which we had not travelled far, before we beheld the Tagus, which we soon after crossed upon an excellent bridge.—That river runs here at the bottom of a steep and narrow valley, which is indeed its general character throughout the whole of its long course. It always runs with considerable

siderable rapidity, which shews a constant descent from whence it takes its rise among the mountains on the borders of Arragon. From Miravete to the post-house of Almarez is a distance of two leagues, and two leagues more brought us to Navalmoral de Plasencia, a small and tolerably rich town, where we breakfasted. From Navalmoral, another post of four leagues brought us to La Calzada de Oropesa, a small town, where we were again detained the remainder of the day for want of horses; several government couriers, going different roads, having met here shortly before our arrival. We had not as at Merida the consolation of reflecting that our detention was well repaid by the inspection of curious and interesting objects, for this place contained so little worthy of regard, that we were scarcely tempted to stir abroad. Early the next day, a stage of four leagues brought us to La Venta de Pelavenegas, consisting of two or three houses in the middle of a wood through which we had been riding the greater part of the morning. Here we could obtain nothing but a little dry bread, which must have formed our breakfast, had we not been provided with a little chocolate, which they prepared for us. The woods here abound with game, as we could observe by several peasants coming in with their guns, and loaded with hares, rabbits, partridges, and wild pigeons.

"From this lonely venta we rode four leagues to Talavera la Reyna, a city once very populous, and noted for its manufacture of silk, and which still maintains a considerable number of looms. It is well situated upon the Tagus, and exhibits in the public buildings marks of departed prosperity. Near the town, the road toward Madrid leads under fine avenues of trees, but the country soon becomes open and sandy, over which, as it was now the heat of the day, our horses could go but slowly. Not far from Talavera, we crossed the sandy bed of a large river (the Alberche) upon a magnificent stone bridge of many arches, under only one or two of which a small stream of water crept slowly along. Nothing at first sight can appear more ridiculous to a stranger than similar bridges which abound in Spain. They appear as if placed to shew that a river ought to be there. But though nearly dry in the midst of summer, these channels, after the rains, pour down immense torrents of water, and it is then that the traveller perceives their utility, and blesses the name of their founder. On our arrival at the post-house of Sotocochinos, two long leagues from Talavera, the heat became so excessive that we agreed to remain there a few hours, and with some difficulty procured a scanty meal. —Toward the evening we again mounted, and rode five leagues to Maqueda; having stopped to change horses at the little village of Bravo. Maqueda is only a small town; but there are already symptoms of our approach to the capital. At our posado or inn, we noticed more attention to cleanliness and little civilities, neater furniture, and a table better served in a long hall.—Early in the morning we resumed our journey. After changing horses at La Santa Cruz del Retamar, five leagues from Maqueda brought us to Palmojado, a miserable village, where we with difficulty procured a little chocolate for our breakfast.—Four leagues farther brought us to Mostoles, after passing through the village of Naval Carnero, where we changed horses. As we were now within three leagues of Madrid, it

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was determined not to make our entry before the evening.

"The heat of the day was spent at Mostoles, and about six o'clock we set out. A heavy storm of thunder and lightning, which clouded all the country to the north of us, served to add interest to our approach to the Spanish capital. We had not proceeded far from Mostoles before we perceived its domes and spires, and could determine exactly the whole extent, which by no means corresponded with the ideas we had formed of the metropolis of so great a kingdom.

"The lamps were already lighted before we arrived at the gates, to which we approached by a fine stone bridge over a sandy rivulet, called here the river Manzanares.—All the other capitals of Europe stand upon great rivers, or arms of the sea, and therefore the Manzanares is denominated a river; although in winter it can only be a torrent, and in summer a bed of sand. Be that as it may, the entrance to Madrid is noble. We passed under a grand arch of stone, adorned with warlike trophies, and entered at once upon a wide street, each side of which is composed of the palaces of the grandees of Spain. After many windings, we arrived at the market place, where stone crosses, numerous lights, and a thousand different cries, assured us that we were once more arrived at a metropolis.

"In a short time we came to La Cruz de Malta, or the Cross of Malta, one of the most famous inns of Madrid, and where I desired our postilion to stop. Each of my travelling companions had houses and friends to repair to. They felt as if they had reached home, and could not but anticipate the pleasure of being soon in the midst of a happy circle. But when they bade me adieu I felt as if suddenly abandoned, a stranger and alone; and I went to La Cruz de Malta.

"After a journey of four hundred miles on horseback, under so warm a sun, we naturally wish for a quiet night's rest; but in the first moments of leisure, I begin to meditate upon the tract of country through which we have passed, and the manners of the people whom we have seen.—As Lisbon stands upon the mouth of the Tagus, and the sources of that river lie still further to the north east of Madrid, it necessarily follows that we have been gradually ascending from the western shores of Europe to nearly the centre of Spain. Wherever we have passed the Tagus, it flows with a considerably rapid current toward the Atlantic. But independently of that consideration, the ascent has been constantly obvious to us. Not only the Tagus but every smaller river or brook met us, if I may so say, on the road either running toward the Tagus on the one side, or on the other into the Guadiana, and so to join the Atlantic to the southward, between Cape St. Vincent and the Straits of Gibraltar. From the gulf of the Tagus, travelling to the north east, we first meet with large sandy plains, bordered with mountains of no great height. As we approach Montemor Novo, we find ourselves in a country of hills, but it is not till we reach the frontiers of Portugal, that they can be termed mountains, and even then perhaps doubtfully. From these heights the mountains of Spain become visible, together with the wide extent of country between them, covered in most parts with forests, and through which runs the Guadiana, and the smaller streams that fall into it. Arrived at Merida, we look back upon the hills, and think how

how the Romans must have felt when they compared these natural ramparts of the unconquered Lusitanians with their own stone walls, and the broad river between them. As we recede from the banks of the Guadiana, we approach a lofty branch of the mountains of Sierra Morena, and having crossed this branch soon arrive at the deep channel of the Tagus. These mountains, therefore, by separating the two rivers, serve to give them their different directions; for it may be observed that they run nearly parallel to each other for more than two hundred miles, until the Guadiana reaches Badajoz, when it makes a sudden bend, and continues the rest of its course due south. From the banks of the Tagus the ground constantly rises in terraces to Madrid.—The casual declivities bear no proportion to the ascents; a truth which we never lose sight of, although sometimes the road lies over immense plains, or through thick forests. When we have reached Madrid, standing upon several hills of a sandy stone, we still observe the high ridge of the Guadarrama mountains to the northward, and their summits must be amongst the highest ground in Spain.

"Retracing our route, we find that the roads in Portugal are in a most neglected state, whilst in Spain, no sooner have we passed the frontiers than we see them excellent from Badajoz to Madrid. The Portuguese do not scruple to avow their reason for thus not merely abandoning their roads leading toward Spain, but absolutely leading them over the most difficult and rocky ground: "We do not wish," say they, "to make a road to Lisbon for the Spaniards." The Spaniards, on the contrary, construct excellent roads, in all directions from their metropolis to the frontiers, and even toward France. A generous spirit reduced to extremities disdains to owe his safety to concealment; on the contrary, he bares the road to his heart, and calls on his enemies to strike. In the same spirit the Spaniards affect no concealment with respect to their fortifications and harbours. Any person may obtain at Madrid excellent plans of Cadiz, Ferrol, Barcelona, &c. published by the government, and greatly superior in accuracy to those executed in other countries. The French, on the contrary, are exceedingly jealous on these points.

"As we have yet a further journey to make, if we ever wish to leave Spain, I shall at present say nothing of the mode of travelling until we reach the port, whatever it may be, of our embarkation. In the mean time, let us turn our attention to this city, which, notwithstanding all its misfortunes, is still perhaps the metropolis of one of the greatest empires, in point of extent, existing.

"Madrid, like Petersburgh, owes its origin to political considerations; its site being nearly in the centre of Spain, and therefore considered as the best adapted for the foundation of a capital. It however possesses no other local advantages, and serves to display the Spanish idea of greatness of mind, which consists in choosing advantageous mathematical points, without regard to other circumstances, and then forcing Nature to bend to their views. By going only thirty-five miles to the southward, many advantageous and beautiful situations might have been chosen on the banks of the Tagus, either on the fine plains near Aranjuez, or on the hills of Toledo. As if in contempt of this noble river, Madrid is built on the banks of the

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Manzanares, which is only one of its tributary streams, and which in summer presents a rivulet creeping through a wide bed of sand. If, however, we lose sight of this absurdity, it presents an imposing appearance, the houses being lofty, and built of stone; the streets well paved and clean; and the public edifices, not being blackened with smoke as in London, look as if they were newly erected. The great ornaments of Madrid, exclusive of its palaces and its churches, are its gates, resembling so many triumphal arches, and the Prado or public walk. The erection of these gates was the glory or the weakness of Charles the Third, who has taken due care to record his name upon them in long inscriptions; but he forgot to add walls to them, which, in my opinion, would have greatly increased the effect. Beautiful gates are placed here and there in a miserable wall, which a few three pounders would batter down in an hour; so strangely are magnificence and poverty here blended together. The Prado, on the contrary, is admirable in all parts, being a broad walk, adorned with handsome fountains, and divided into avenues by rows of trees; it bounds the whole of one side of the town, being terminated at each end by one of the gates of the city. The streets leading down to it are the broadest and finest in Madrid, and on the opposite side are the gardens, pleasure-grounds, and palace of the Retiro, worthy of the residence of a prince, although at present only used by the king as a shooting ground during his stay at Madrid. The fountains of the Prado are in general formed after antique models, and the water of one of them is the purest in the whole city, and the only kind of which the present king drinks, water being his sole beverage. One very broad walk, adorned with these fountains, is thronged every fine evening with the best company, and on Sundays, the king, queen, and royal family, ride up and down the carriage road, and salute the people constantly as they pass. It is on the Prado that the stranger may study with advantage the dress, the air, and the gait of the Spaniards; for then all pass in review before him, from the prince to the beggar. The nobleman alights from his carriage, and saunters among the throng, seemingly careless about his fine dress, and the ornaments at his button-hole, although nobody glances at them so often as himself; the citizen dresses in the mode general throughout Europe thirty years ago; whilst the lower classes that venture on the Prado, still wear their cloaks thrown over the shoulder, and thus preserve the last reliques of the ancient toga. All the men wear large cocked hats, and all smoke çigars; for this latter purpose boys run up and down the Prado with a kind of slow torch, which burns without flaming, and serves to light the çigars. In opposition to them, water carriers, with their porous earthen vases and goblets, vend the cool water of the neighbouring fountains; and the various cries of fire, fire, and fresh water, water, are heard above the buz of the mingled crowd. But the women principally attract the eyes of the stranger.—Their simple and elegant dress, their veils, which serve any purpose but that of concealing their faces, the freedom of their walk, and their looks, attractive, but not immodest, tend to make an Englishman forget for a moment that they are greatly inferior in point of real beauty to the women of his own country.

"There is one custom which pleased

pleased me much, and which no where produces so striking an effect as on the Prado. Exactly at sun-set the bells of the churches and convents give the signal for repeating the evening prayer to the Virgin.—In an instant the busy multitude is hushed and arrested, as if by magic. The carriages stop, the women veil their faces with their fans, the men take off their hats, and all breathe out, or are supposed to breathe, a short prayer to the protecting Power which has brought them to the close of another day. After a short, a solemn, and not an unpleasing pause, the men bow and put on their hats, the women uncover their faces, the carriages drive on, and the whole crowd is again in motion as before. This is one of the few Catholic customs which appears to partake of piety without superstition, and divested of altars, candlesticks, tapers, and images. I feel no reluctance to uncover my head among the crowd under so noble a canopy as the vault of Heaven, where some of the stars already begin to appear. Those around me mutter a petition or a thanksgiving to their favourite saint, or to the Mother of God; but I have only a heretic though heartfelt prayer to offer for those far distant from me, a parent, a brother, a sister, or a friend.

"The Manzanares, although in summer a mere rivulet, is yet of great importance to a large city, situated in the middle of an arid country, and in a warm climate. As the heat of the summer increases, it is carefully husbanded, and led into narrow channels, where several hundreds of washerwomen are constantly seen employed. In one of these channels square holes are dug, and little huts covered with mats erected over them. These are the baths of Madrid, and as the stream, though small, keeps perpetually running through them, they may well supply the place of more elegant edifices. In the month of September these are struck, one after another, unless perhaps a solitary one remains until heavy rains among the hills swell the Manzanares into a torrent, and in a night's time sweep away all vestiges of these summer structures. These however seldom come unawares. For several days large clouds collect on the summits of the Guadarrama mountains, and announce by their thick darkness, and vivid flashes of lightning, the heavy rains which are falling near the sources of the river. The distant thunder is faintly heard to roll among the valleys, and a few drops of rain even reach as far as Madrid; but in the morning the air, which for several days has been oppressive, becomes cool and refreshing, and the inhabitants with some satisfaction desire a stranger to go and see their river, the Manzanares.

"The country around Madrid presents in summer a parched and barren appearance. Immediately after passing through most of the gates we enter as upon a desert, and look in vain, unless toward the Manzanares, for woods, or even trees, except near gentlemen's seats, farm-houses, or pleasant villages.—Of these last a few are seen at a distance in various directions; but of a dull and melancholy appearance. The towns and villages of Spain may be compared almost universally to islands in the midst of the ocean, where you travel from one to the other, without seeing any intermediate object that recalls the idea of human habitation. From Lisbon to Madrid, excepting two or three gloomy castles, there is not a gentleman's seat visible on the road.—The ancient periods of internal war and

and rapine seem to have left so strong an impression on the minds and customs of the people, that they are afraid to inhabit except near to each other, and in clusters for mutual protection. Hence there is scarcely a pleasant walk in the neighbourhood of Madrid. The most interesting is that on the north side; for although the country is perfectly open, yet the range of the Guadarrama mountains, the nearest of which are about twenty miles distant, presents at all times a grand object. If the sky is clear, we contemplate with pleasure their bold outlines, the deep shades which mark their valleys, and their prominent distant cliffs, enlightened by the sun. Their appearance is still more interesting when shrouded, almost to their bases, in clouds and rolling storms; and in winter their summits are covered with snow.—Of a different nature is a walk of a few miles along the borders of a canal planted with trees, and not worthy of being mentioned, except as the only one of its kind near the city. This canal was begun with great eagerness and great magnificence. It was destined to open a communication between the capital and the eastern provinces; but particularly with the rivers which take their rise in the mountains on the borders of Arragon; namely, the Tagus running to the westward, and the Guadalaviar and Jucar which fall into the Mediterranean, opposite to the islands of Ivica and Majorca. Reservoirs were sketched out among the Guadarrama mountains, to collect and preserve the winter rains; several miles of the canal were dug, furnished with two or three locks, and planted along the borders with trees; but by some fatality, the project is still incomplete, or rather has been abandoned for a new one. The traveller toward San Ildefonso or Segovia beholds the ruins of immense mounds across the valleys destined as reservoirs; or, if at Madrid, may walk a few miles under the shade of trees, along the banks of a stagnant canal; and he has then seen all that exists of this mighty project, the advantages of which to Spain were to have been incalculable. A third walk is along the great road leading to San Ildefonso, and the Escorial. It runs for some distance along the Manzanares, shaded by trees; and, after walking a few miles, we arrive at a small wood, the only one near Madrid. Here the citizens, both men and women, resort on their holidays in great numbers, forming cheerful parties under the shade of the trees, where they come and eat their dinners with a better relish than at home. As the Spanish women of all ranks are wholly free from reserve, they sing, and laugh, and joke with the passing stranger, whom they never fail to offer a share of their repast.

"The air of Madrid is remarkably pure and healthy, arising from its being situated at a much greater height above the level of the sea than any other capital in Europe.—Nothing can exceed the delightful coolness of the mornings, or the brilliancy of the stars at night. The moonlight evenings above all are delicious, almost beyond what we can form an idea of, even from the finest frosty nights of England. It is on such nights that the soul of the stranger is filled with a secret pleasure, whilst he beholds so mild a light, and breathes so pure an air. It is on such nights that the lover places himself beneath the window of his mistress, and to his tinkling guitar sings his hopes and fears, the pangs of jealousy, or the pleasures of mutual affection. If she be not unkind,

unkind the casement is opened and shut at intervals, to shew that he is heard, and even this slight proof of regard delights him.

"The whole population of Madrid, consisting of about two hundred and fifty thousand souls, may be said to be merely an appendage to the court, the absence of which is immediately and sensibly felt. In order to break, or rather to prevent the reviving of the ancient feudal spirit, the crown insists upon the whole of the Spanish nobility residing in the capital; and what was at first a political institution has now become so much a fashion, that a banishment to the country is considered as a most grievous punishment.—From this great concourse of nobility, the manners even of the lower classes partake of much urbanity, yet in some parts mixed with an attention to punctilios. If two porters meet, they do not fail to salute each other with the title of senor and cavallero; but all ranks are jealous of giving the wall in walking the streets, and duels have not unfrequently taken place on this account. Assassinations are however less frequent, considering the population, than in most of the other great towns in Spain.

"In their diet the citizens are temperate and uniform. The universal and regular dish for all ranks is the pucheiro, a kind of stew of meat and an excellent species of large pea, which grows in the utmost perfection near San Ildefonso: with by far the greater part, this forms the whole of the dinner, and is truly a national dish, being regularly served every day at the king's table, as well as at that of the poorest mechanic. In most of the other articles of their cookery oil is greatly used, and that in general of a very indifferent quality; indeed they use the same for their kitchens as for burning in their lamps. The oil of Valencia is excellent, but that is never met with on the roads, and an Englishman is astonished to find that, except at Madrid, he cannot obtain, at any price, such good oil as is commonly used in London.—There are some landlords that draw their wine and their vinegar from the same cask; but all of them draw the oil for their lamps and their ragouts from the same jar; with such oil, water, vinegar, garlick, and bread, cut small and mixed up cold together, a Spaniard forms a mess, with which he appeases his hunger for the whole day. On the road from Lisbon, hunger, thirst, and fatigue, made us relish these kinds of bread and water sallads, but when placed before us at Madrid, although made of better materials, we hardly deigned to look at them. Two other great ingredients in Spanish cookery are, the tomata or love apple, and the green pepper pod.—The former stewed, and the latter boiled, and eaten with bread, form in their seasons very material articles of the food of the lower classes. The tomata is indeed in general use over all the countries of the Levant; although pulpy, and possessing very little nourishment, and generally unpleasant in the taste to strangers. It may here be observed, that the markets of Madrid are scantily enough supplied with meat, but plentifully with vegetables and fruits; of the latter, the grapes melons, peaches, and cherries, are delicious. In their great entertainments, they are fond of bringing in one dish after another; reserving what they esteem the best to the last, as if they delighted in taking their guests by surprise; enticing, and in a manner forcing them to eat more, after being already satisfied.

During dinner they drink plentifully enough of wine diluted with water, and a few bottles of French wines terminate the repast. After rising from table, coffee is served round, and the party breaks up.—Most of the guests retire to their siesta or afternoon's nap, universal throughout Spain; and in the evening fresh parties are again formed, either for cards, the Prado, or the theatre. As the pucheiro is the general dinner, so a single cup of chocolate, with a little bread, is the universal breakfast of the Spaniards; after which they drink a glass or two of cold water. Whenever they travel they carry chocolate with them, and when they can procure nothing else, with a little warm water and some bread, they make a kind of meal with which they are contented. Yet I have had many occasions to remark, that their temperance is perhaps, in general, more constrained, than constitutional or voluntary. At all public tables I have seen that a Spaniard eats full as much as the foreigner by his side. In the use of wine they are certainly temperate, and a drunken Spaniard, even of the lowest class, is scarcely ever seen in the streets of Madrid. To atone for this, they smoke immoderately, and at all hours, from their first rising to their hour of going to bed. They do not use pipes, but smoke the tobacco leaf itself rolled up, or cut small and wrapped in a slight covering, such as paper, or the thin leaves of maiz. Great quantities of tobacco thus prepared are imported from the Havannah, under the name of cigars, in slight cedar or mahogany boxes, containing a thousand each. Those wrapt in the leaf of maiz are called pachillos, or little straws, and are chiefly smoked by the women, for whose use also others are formed of white paper, ornamented with a kind of gold wire. I have seen women of some rank playing at cards, and smoking these pachillos. The great Duchess of Alva, one of the most sensible and noble spirited women that Spain has produced for many years, was fond of using them.

"The amusements are now much the same as in other parts of Europe, and contain little that is national, since the suppression of the bull-fights by the present king. Humanity was the motive alleged for this suppression; but it is said to have been occasioned by the people loudly expressing their dissatisfaction at some orders given by him relative to the management of a fight where he was present. The murmur was called a mutiny: despotism was alarmed; and either to shew his fears, or his power, the king at once forbade this favourite diversion of a great people. The heat of the climate discourages athletic exercises; walking on the Prado, riding in carriages, cards, smoking, and billiards, are therefore the principal amusements of the inhabitants of Madrid. Their theatres are seldom thronged but on the representation of a new piece; and the public taste is certainly here not very correct, and often applauds not merely buffooneries, but indecency. Translations from Kotzebue and the German dramatists have also found their way to the Spanish boards; and, although favourably enough received, have not been crowned with that madness of applause which some years ago disgraced the public taste of England. They are fond of dramas, taken from their own history, and I have seen a Spanish audience kindled into a momentary enthusiasm by the representation of the brave actions of a Cortez, or a Pizarro; or melted into

into tears at the sight of Columbus in chains, whilst he related what he had done for his country, and reproached an ungrateful court for his unrewarded services and unmerited sufferings. The play is generally followed by a dance of one or two persons, and is either the Fandango or Bolera. The former is not very decent; but the latter, in which the dancers keep time with their castanets, is pleasing. The people are astonishingly fond of both, and, although the dance lasts but a very short time, appear to derive more pleasure from it than the whole of the play. The dress of the female dancers is that of the Andalusian women, carried to excess in ornaments, spangles, and fringes, but producing a rich and seductive effect.

"During my residence in Madrid, I saw and heard but little of the Holy Inquisition, once so formidable in Spain, and which still remains anxious to prevent the rapid progress of knowledge. A Spaniard, however, of undoubted veracity, assured me that instances sometimes occurred of its exerting a portion of that enormous power which it still nominally holds. Returning home late one evening, in passing a large building, his ears were struck with deep groans, which seemed faintly to pierce the thick walls of the building. He anxiously stopped to listen; but scarcely had he inclined his ear, when two men, who by their dress he knew to be the servants of the Inquisition, suddenly issued from underneath a dark gateway, and in stern language ordered him to be gone; a mandate with which he did not fail instantly to comply.

"One part of the duty of this Institution consists in the inspection of all books brought to Madrid: an inspection which is rigorously performed. When my little portmanteau arrived by the carrier from Lisbon, I was requested to attend at the Custom-House, with the key, that its contents might be examined.—Two reverend ecclesiastics of the Inquisition were present, and at the sight of their stern countenances I trembled for the fate of my Lucretius, the constant companion of all my travels. Their mode of operation, however, was very short. Before them lay a thick quarto volume, containing a list of all the books prohibited by the Inquisition, alphabetically arranged. To this they referred, and as Lucretius, Livy, and Euclid, were not amongst the number proscribed, I was charged a trifling duty, and my books were allowed to pass. The two Inspectors freely allowed me to examine the list: where, amongst others, I was astonished to find the English Spectator. The Spectator a prohibited book in the metropolis of Spain, and Lucretius licensed! But the authors of the Spectator were English heretics, and Lucretius was only an atheist.

"With respect to the public buildings of Madrid, it does not enter into the plan of this hasty journal to enumerate them. Suffice it to observe, that there is scarcely a church or a convent that does not contain some peculiarity of architecture, some picture, statue, or column worthy of being seen. The palace of the Retiro, and still more the new palace, contains many curiosities, and valuable paintings.—The latter, like many great Spanish undertakings, remains unfinished: if completed, it would certainly be the most magnificent palace in Europe; and its situation on the brow of a hill, fronting the Manzanares, adds an effect still more imposing. Above all, the Royal Museum must

not pass unnoticed. Here there is no need of tickets or money to gain admission. It is open on certain days in the week, and at stated hours, during which every person of a tolerably decent appearance is admitted. The collection of animals, birds, ores, spars, and other articles of natural history, is not perhaps superior to those of many other countries; but the curiosities from South America, and which are shewn apart, are such as can no where else be found. Not only the skins of animals and birds, peculiar to that Continent, are there preserved, but the arms, dress, and utensils of the ancient Peruvians. Among these may be observed their great standard, and the drinking cup of Montezuma, formed of a single precious stone, and his golden sceptre. The sight of these trophies, purchased at the expence of so much innocent blood, awakens deep reflections in the mind.

"The religious processions are managed here with great magnificence, and may indeed be termed one of the principal amusements of the people. Sometimes it is the relique of a martyr, sometimes of a female saint, and even of an apostle, or a primitive father of the church. The invaluable skull, or arm, or finger, is carried through the streets, encased in gold, and covered with a canopy, and the people throw themselves on their knees as it approaches them. But great is the joy when the entire body of a saint, or a whole bag of holy bones, is the subject of the piece. Notice is publicly given of the streets through which the procession is to pass, and the balconies are hung with rich carpets and velvet curtains, at the same time that they are crowded with women dressed in their finest clothes. First marches a band of music playing solemn tunes; then choristers, who chaunt anthems; and they are followed by a long double row of monks, with lighted tapers in their hands, and generally clothed in white. A little boy, and sometimes a man, walks alongside of each of the monks, and catches the wax which drops from the tapers; and it is indeed astonishing how much is thus collected in the course of a single procession. At length appears the holy relique, carried by six or eight sturdy priests, on a shrine of massy silver, and shaded from the night air by a rich canopy of silk.—A priest precedes it, swinging a silver censer, which throws out clouds of perfume, and walking backwards, that he may not seem to shew any disrespect to the sacred bones. A company of soldiers with fixed bayonets closes the procession: and happy are they who are chosen for this service, not only on account of the holiness of the office, but also because they are paid a quarter of a dollar each. A vast crowd of both sexes, and of every age and condition, follow the whole with heads uncovered. I saw the reliques of Santa Barbara thus carried and thus attended. It was on the very same day and hour, some thousand years ago, as every body well knows, that she was carried up into Heaven, being a particular favourite of the Holy Virgin. Fortunately, she left behind her all her clothes, even to the shoes on her feet, and the jewels in her hair, and which it need not be doubted have ever since been scrupulously preserved. The place of the body was supplied by the image of a handsome young woman, richly dressed, reposing on a couch of silver, and her head encircled with golden rays; but I was astonished to find that female dress had undergone so little variation in Spain for

for these last thousand years. Santa Barbara might have gone to court without being stared at; and even her shoes, which were of red Morocco leather, I should have imagined had been made only a few days before, had not two long rows of tapers, a band of soldiers, and a kneeling multitude, sufficiently proved that they could not be less than a millenium old. A church had been previously illuminated, and prepared for her reception, and rockets were fired in constant succession, until she was safely lodged before the grand altar. Here she lay in state, until at least one-fourth of the population of Madrid had passed in review through the church, and paid their devotions at her shrine. I held up a little girl in my arms, that she might see over the heads of the crowd, and during this time some pious Spaniard took an opportunity of picking my pocket, under the very nose of Santa Barbara. This was the price I paid for beholding the mummeries played off before this great wooden doll. I was hardly less fortunate on another occasion. Returning home one evening, I noticed a crowd at the corner of a street, listening to a friar, who was haranguing them from under the penthouse of a door. Full of curiosity, I mingled with the rest, and heard a serious discourse, solemnly delivered. Toward the close of his harangue, however, he tapped on the door behind him; a small wicket in it was opened, and a crucifix and lighted taper were handed out: these he held up with vehemence, and gestures, and exclamations, and in an instant down came all present on their knees, except myself, who remained standing for a few moments, surprised by the unexpectedness of the manœuvre. A violent tug on the coat, however, was soon a sufficient hint, and I was obliged to kneel in the dirt among the rest. But after this I took great care to avoid all such pious crowds.

"I have now related all that particularly struck me during my stay at Madrid. As a capital, I admire it as being the centre of the kingdom, in a clear and healthy air, well built, plentifully supplied with pure water, and ornamented with several public works, which bespeak a national character aiming at greatness. But I am grieved to see new palaces building, while canals are left unfinished under the walls of the town, and in a climate where they might be rendered of such vast utility. I sufficiently esteem the manners of the inhabitants; but I regret to find their most private conversations cramped by the fear of speaking any thing which might come to the ears of a jealous government. I feel myself, like all the rest, merely an appendage, and one of the slaves of the court. Spies wrapped up in large cloaks stand at the corners of all the streets. Men converse here in whispers and shrugs, and I am tired of being constantly reminded by my friends, that I must not speak with so much freedom."

Description of Algeciras and Gibraltar.

[From the same.]

"ALGECIRAS, situated on the western side of the Bay of Gibraltar, was, at the commencement of the last century, a place of little importance, and consisted chiefly of fishermen's huts; but the capture and continued possession of Gibraltar by the English, rendered a counterpoint in the Bay necessary to Spain, and from that moment it has continued to increase. Its chief trade in time of peace is a contraband one with the English; but it flourishes mostly in war, from the great resort of gun-boats and privateers, which find here a commodious situation for observing and capturing enemy's vessels in the narrow entrance of the Mediterranean. It is built partly on a flat along the beach, and partly on the slope of small heights, which form the first elevation from the sea towards the mountains behind the town. These mountains appear in general to be about two thousand feet in height, extending in a north-easterly direction from the borders of the straits near Tarifa, towards the mountains of Granada, of which they probably form an appendage. They are considerably steep towards the Bay, but still more so on the western side, where they present, as I have already observed, bare summits, apparently inaccessible, and valleys of great depth. From them flow several small streams, which fall into the Bay of Gibraltar. The mouth of one of these streams, named El Miel, forms a creek, the banks on one side of which are steep, but flat on the other, and on this flat stands the lower part of Algeciras. In this part is the market-place, ornamented with a fountain, where the water brought by the aqueduct from the hills is discharged, and serves to supply the whole town and shipping: very little rain being collected in cisterns. The general appearance of the town by no means belies the first impressions made on descending into it from the mountains; being poorly built, except a few houses belonging to the principal inhabitants; and even they are unworthy of notice, the residence of the governor being inferior in appearance to that of an ordinary gentleman's house in England. The streets, however, are not inconveniently narrow, and the houses being generally built of stone, however rough, have a better look than the mud-walled and straw-thatched houses so common in the western provinces. The inhabitants make great use of flat grey stones to roof their houses. This stone is found in quarries, in a bay to the southward of the town, and separates naturally into large laminæ or plates, and is therefore well adapted for the purpose, not being apt to break, nor to loosen and blow off in heavy winds, like slates. The chief and indeed only ornament of the town is the steeple of the new church in the upper square. It is merely a quadrangular tower of stone, from the top of which the signals made along the coast are answered and repeated. It is partly built out of the ruins of a very ancient tower which stood on the same spot; and it is somewhat singular that the old mortar had become as hard as stone, and

and has been worked in a similar manner, and employed as such in the new building. The church, in its interior regulations, partakes in a very faint degree of the magnificence of the churches in the principal towns of Spain; and shews from this material distinction the recent rise of Algeciras.

"But whatever may be the general wretchedness of its appearance, Algeciras becomes of importance on two considerations; the one of a partial, the other of a general nature. In 1801, an English squadron, under the command of Sir James Saumarez, attacked a fleet of French and Spanish ships anchored under the batteries, and were repulsed.—An English line of battle ship, the Hannibal, 74, grounded, and having lost nearly half her crew, struck to the batteries. After being taken possession of by the Spaniards, the name was altered to the Algeciras. This event alone would seem to render it a place worthy of notice, and the first question which an Englishman eagerly inquires, is, 'To what battery did the Hannibal strike?' He is surprised to be shewn a kind of redoubt, close to the northward of the town, with a low parapet wall, furnished with six or eight heavy brass cannon, and towards the high road surrounded principally by a thick hedge of aloes. A few more guns are disposed on the heights along shore; but about half musket shot from the beach is a small rocky island, on which is built a fort of some strength, and this completes the defence of Algeciras towards the sea. Three miles to the south is a fine bay, on one point of which stands a Martello signal tower, and a battery of five heavy cannon; but at too great a distance to be of any use in defending the town, being indeed merely calculated to protect the mouth of the bay; and even for that I was a witness of its being of little use.

"The fortifications and batteries of Algeciras then, in a military point of view, are as contemptible as the town itself; but what renders it chiefly notorious is, the shelter it affords to the numerous gun-boats and small privateers which infest the entrance of the Mediterranean, and the consequent great annoyance to the English commerce. These gun-boats are from twenty-five to fifty tons burthen, with two masts, and large lateen sails. They are full of men; and in calm weather can be rowed nearly four miles in an hour. In general they have a single gun in the bows, carrying a ball of thirty-two or thirty-six Spanish pounds; but sometimes they are armed with two long 24-pounders, either both forward, or one in the bow and the other astern. In a fresh breeze these boats can do little injury, not only because, being strongly and heavily built, the weight of their guns buries them under every wave; but even, were they not to dip, the sudden rise and fall in such small vessels prevents the taking any just aim. But in calms or light airs they are capable of doing much mischief, every thing being then in their favour. With the assistance of their oars, they can go ahead and manœuvre round even a ship of war; and should it be quite calm, take whatever station they choose, without it being in the power of their enemy to prevent them. Their guns being of a great length and calibre, they can place themselves out of the reach of most vessels' stern or bow chasers, whilst they fire along the level surface of the water with as much deliberation, and as unmolested, as if firing at a mark. Add to this, a vessel is a large

large object, and hardly to be missed by their gunners, however unskilful; whilst they, on the contrary, present only the bow of a boat low in the water, and exceedingly difficult to hit. Such are their advantages in calms or light airs; and it is therefore not to be wondered at that they capture many vessels in a place subject to such capricious currents, and sudden shifts of wind, as the Straits of Gibraltar. The long wars with England have taught the Spaniards the advantages and disadvantages of these floating one-gun batteries. When there is a breeze of wind they lie quiet under the heights of Algeciras, while the English frigates cruize backwards and forwards constantly in view. But in the calm mornings which commonly succeed the heavy easterly gales, they may be seen rowing out along the shores of the bay in fleets. They are then full of courage, and vow nothing less than the total destruction of their enemies. When arrived in the gut, perhaps they behold an English vessel, which will not obey the helm, carried hither and thither by the violent eddies from both shores. The lust of plunder stimulates them to venture out, in which case the ship, if a merchantman, has little chance of escape. Should they succeed in the capture, all the boats immediately ply their oars, and if the calm continues, soon tow their prize under the batteries of Algeciras. Thus, if fortunate, they gain a vessel worth perhaps twenty thousand pounds or more; if taken, they lose a boat and one gun, and the prisoners are sent over again from Gibraltar in a few days. Such is the case in calms; but with an ordinary breeze, and in deep water, a single English frigate is sufficient to put to flight all the gun-boats from Cadiz to the bay of Gibraltar.

"When at Algeciras, I saw this sufficiently demonstrated. Signals were made for an English convoy having entered the gut. The weather was nearly calm; and all the boats got under weigh, full of men, and with infinite bustle and noise.—Nothing else was expected than the capture of the whole convoy; but unfortunately for them, a small breeze sprung up soon afterwards, and a frigate and a brig of war were seen standing out of Gibraltar, right across the bay. I was already out of the town, and near the Martello tower, at the mouth of the small bay already mentioned, when the gun-boats had begun to collect together on the approach of the frigate. The Spaniards were the first to fire, both from their boats and their batteries on the opposite side of the bay, while the frigate stood on without returning a single shot, until so near that grape could reach them. Then she opened her ports, luffing up in the wind and bearing away alternately, so as to bring both her broadsides into action, and poured such a shower of round and grape shot, that not only the boats, but the sea, all round them, seemed to be covered. The Spaniards did not long withstand this terrible hail. They altered their course, and pulled with all their might for Algeciras, whilst the shot of the frigate continued to whistle over their heads, and strike the rocks on shore with a great noise, shattering portions of them into large splinters. The brig never fired a shot, but stood as close as possible to the shore, in order to cut off the retreat of any boat that might drop behind. With the loss of some men killed and wounded, however, and one boat sunk, the rest got back, and the English convoy passed in perfect safety.

"This issue of an engagement between

between a single frigate and all the gun-boats of Algeciras, along their own shores, sufficiently shewed what would have been their fate in the middle of the bay or the open sea. Some would have been run down, others sunk, and others taken, with the loss of half their crews, from the fire of the lofty decks of the frigate. It is more than probable that not one would have escaped to tell the story; unless indeed their repeated and fervent prayers to Saint Antonio had induced his interposition, in the shape of a sudden calm, in their behalf. I had thus ocular demonstration of the total inutility of all such paltry craft, however strongly constructed, and however numerous, when put in competition with large ships of war, properly manœuvred. I confess that I needed such proof to overcome the prejudices which I had conceived in my own mind in favour of gun-boats.

"The aqueduct conveys the water into the centre of the town, from the mountains, distant about five miles. This aqueduct is carried on a row of arches, over a valley, through which runs the small stream falling into the creek close to the town. Although I made many inquiries, I could not learn the date of its erection: but although these kind of conduits in Spain were generally in latter times constructed by the Moors, I cannot imagine it to be of so old a date. The arches, about twenty-five in number, are semicircular, those in the centre of the valley standing on piers of considerable height, but gradually diminishing towards the sides, until the arches are of sufficient elevation without piers, and are at length no longer necessary, the conduit being carried along the side of a hill. This aqueduct forms one of the principal and most picturesque objects near the town, and is farther visible in another row of arches across a small marshy flat among the mountains, four miles to the south-west of Algeciras. It is not unpleasing to bury one's-self among the hills, and behold a work constructed by man, to convey water to a considerable town, whilst all round there is nothing but silence, lofty peaks, and long deep valleys. The only other remarkable object of modern date, which presents itself on this side of the town, is the Martello tower already mentioned, the battery of five cannon, and a redoubt, surrounded by a wall, which all stand upon a small height, forming the northern point of a bay, which may be called an indent in the western side of the Bay of Gibraltar. Under this tower, within the indent, is the small quarry, of a kind of slaty stone, separating easily into large flat portions, of which the inhabitants of Algeciras make use to roof their houses, and even to carry, as an article of trade, to other towns upon the coast. The workmen simply pick small holes with the pick-axe, and then introduce a lever, which forces up horizontal portions of the stone, breaking off unevenly, at greater or lesser distances from the lever, according to the different adhesion of the particles. These portions are then formed into oblongs in the quarry, and after a little chiselling, are ready for use.

"Such is a slight sketch of modern Algeciras; but some ruins still remain of the old town, which was founded by the Saracens or Moors, at the period of their first irruption into Europe, and stood a little to the southward of the present, on the opposite side of the creek. These ruins consist principally of the solid bases of square towers at regular intervals, the slight remains of walls, and in places

places the form of the ditch. One old tower is entire, close upon the water, and is still used by the Spaniards. It marks the farthest extent of the Moorish fortifications to the south, which here terminated along the edge of a small declivity, at the bottom of which is a slight brook, totally dry in summer. Thus the works formed an oblong upon a height, defended on one side by this brook, and on the other by the creek or river of Algeciras. One end of the oblong was towards the sea, where the land forms a cliff of about thirty feet in height; and even at the end towards the mountains the ground is irregular, and was besides more strongly fortified than the other part. This fortress, in my opinion, gave rise to the name of Algeciras. Alcazar, in Moorish, signifies a castle; and this being among the first, if not the very first, built by the Saracens in Spain, might easily be corrupted by the natives to Algecir, and by degrees to the more Latin termination of Algeciras. Whether I be right or mistaken in my conjectures is a matter of little importance.

"In a town formed and rising into consequence upon such principles, it is evident that the manners of the inhabitants must differ in some respects from those of their fellow-subjects; and it would be unjust to form an estimate of the general manners of Spain from those of Algeciras. Like all the towns along the coast of Spain, bordering on the Mediterranean, till we cross the Guadalaviar, and even till we approach the Ebro, Algeciras retains, in the manners of its inhabitants, strong traces of the Moors. Travellers who have been on the opposite or Barbary shore, find many points of resemblance in the interior distribution of the houses on both sides, in the shape and use of the domestic utensils, in many articles of food, and even in various superstitions, which the Christians on one side, and the Mahometans on the other, have mingled with their several religions. In Algeciras the principal part of the inhabitants are certainly drawn from the provinces of Andalusia and Granada, and that in general form the lowest and most wretched classes; but exclusive of this mass of the population, there are great numbers of adventurers and desperadoes from every climate and country, who have come hither in search of fortune, and to man the gun-boats and privateers. Those who at present compose the richest inhabitants of the place, were a few years ago men of no credit or respectability, even among the banditti of Algeciras. As their riches have all been acquired from the capture of British property, or of neutral property condemned as British, they are naturally eager for the continuance of the war. Add to these the swarm of privateers, and gun-vessels which harbour here, and it will not be wondered at that Algeciras exceeds every town in Spain in animosity towards the English.—Even here, however, this spirit is daily softening. The riches acquired by a few individuals no longer compensate to an increasing population the advantages of a peaceful commerce, the want of regular pay to the military and naval force, nominally employed by the government, and the ruin of many families which, through a lust of booty, have embarked their all in privateers, and have been unsuccessful. Yet such is the cordiality, I may say esteem, with which an Englishman is generally received in Spain, that even this petty rancour may be noticed

as

as a trait in the character of the inhabitants of Algeciras. Besides this, the manners are here more depraved and more profligate, although mixed with a kind of ferocity, than I had observed any where else in this country. Assassinations are frequent; and in most of the streets some of the houses are marked with a cross, as a sign of murder having been committed near the spot. I had been accustomed to observe these melancholy memorials along the road side, on barren heaths, or in the bosom of deep forests; but till I reached Algeciras I had never seen them thickly planted in the streets of a populous town.

"The object of my journey detaining me upwards of six weeks in Algeciras, I took frequent opportunities of making excursions along the Bay of Gibraltar. This bay, which is about ten miles in length, from about S. S. E. to N. N. W. and eight in breadth, is formed to the westward by the bases of the mountains behind Algeciras, and which terminate in the sea, near Tariffa; and to the eastward by the rock of Gibraltar, with its isthmus of sand. A flat coast, and behind it several small heights, which appear as if placed there to keep up a connection between the chain of mountains and Gibraltar, form the head of the bay. On one of these heights is placed the small town of San Roque, so called from a solitary hermit who died here, and whose cell and chapel are still shewn. On another height are some ruins, scarcely distinguishable, of the ancient Cartea, once a celebrated city, occupying great part of the ground between Gibraltar and the first river Guadaranca. Numerous coins have been, and still continue to be, dug up, generally marked with a tunny-fish, emblematic of the great fishery formerly carried on here. On the top of this hill the Queen of Spain took her station during the great siege of Gibraltar, in order to behold the English colours lowered. She was disappointed; but the hill still retains the name of the Queen of Spain's Chair.

"Between these heights and the rock are the Spanish lines, drawn across the isthmus from the head of the bay to the Mediterranean. These may be called the out-works of Spain, against the English in Gibraltar. A few miles from San Roque, to the westward, we cross the Guadaranca, a stream of considerable depth, in a ferry-boat, moved by a rope, and capable of transporting horses, and even carriages. A flat of about two miles, intersected by ditches and causeways, brings us to the river Palmones, near its mouth, and which also here is of some importance. This stream runs past the town of Los Barrios, situated inland from the head of the bay, and near to which a neat bridge of three or four arches is thrown over it. At the mouth, however, we cross it in a ferry-boat, similar to that upon the Guadaranca; and if the tide be low, continue our route along the sands till we approach Algeciras. Here we climb the low ridge, which presents to the sea sometimes a cliff of dark rocks, and sometimes of light sand-stone, along the summit of which Algeciras is partly built, and which forms the first ascent towards the mountains. We are now arrived opposite to Gibraltar, which we clearly behold across the bay; and continuing our route to the southward, arrive at the Martello tower and the batteries on the small bay already mentioned. To coast the head of this bay we descend from the small heights, and pass along the sands till we arrive on the opposite side, when we again climb

climb the hills, and soon fall into the miserable rocky path which leads to Tariffa, a small town situated on the most southern point of Europe.—This honour, if such it be, has been often and falsely attributed to Gibraltar. Tariffa, like Algeciras, is originally of Moorish foundation, being called after the first Saracen general who made conquests in Spain. It is situated in the Straits, several miles to the westward of the Bay of Gibraltar, which is bounded on that side by a low rocky point. All along the shores of the bay, from the northern base of Gibraltar to the western point, are either towers still in use, or the ruins of others which formerly stood here. Of these the most singular is, perhaps, that called the Devil's Tower, close under the northern end of Gibraltar. It is round, and built upon a small rock, the only one which shews itself above the whole of the isthmus of sand: and, though of no great diameter or height, must have at all times commanded a view both towards the Mediterranean and the bay. It has no door beneath, and was probably entered by a ladder, which was drawn up to prevent surprise. Or did the sea once cover the whole of this low isthmus, composed entirely of sand and broken shells? and was the Devil's Tower a beacon, on a rock surrounded by the waves?—About a mile distant, to the westward, are the remains of another round tower, of great diameter, and not a musket shot distant from the Spanish lines. After this they seem to have been built indifferently, round or square, as fancy or caprice may have dictated, and to form a part of the long chain of towers and castles which extend along the heights upon the Spanish shores of the Mediterranean, and even those of the Atlantic.

"Yet, notwithstanding the interest which antiquity or present circumstances may give to all the objects already mentioned in the bay, there is certainly nothing in Algeciras, San Roque, the faint remains of Cartea, the mountains, the rivers, the Spanish lines, or the isthmus, to compare with Gibraltar, either for importance or curiosity. This singular rock, which has had volumes written concerning it, bounds the eastern side of the bay, to which it gives name, and extends from S. by E. to N. by W. about two miles in length. Its summit is a long and narrow ridge, fourteen hundred feet above the level of the sea, falling perpendicularly towards the Mediterranean or east, but gradually sloping down to its base towards the bay. The north end has a grand appearance from below, presenting, towards the country, a perpendicular rock, upwards of a thousand feet in height, and crowned with batteries at the summit, and along the edges of its slope. The Mediterranean approaches close to the eastern side, and on the west the only access by land is along a narrow causeway, between the rock and the head of the bay, defended by rows of entrenchments and impassable batteries. On the southern end, the rock slopes more gradually from the summit, and terminates in a small plain, the point of which is called Europa, probably from the false idea of its being the southern point of Europe. This plain is still somewhat elevated above the sea, towards which it is bounded on all sides by rocks, and extends a little to the northward, where, however, it soon terminates, and we arrive at the steep eastern side. Several winding

passages,

passages, defended by batteries, are here constructed along the face of the mountain, and conduct us at length to Mediterranean Stairs, a long flight of steps cut in the rock, and by which we may ascend to the summit. The whole of the rest of this side is perfectly inaccessible, except one or two spots near the base, where fishermen sometimes land.

"The town lies principally at the foot of the western side; but barracks, houses, and petty gardens, are gradually constructing along the whole face of the rock, where it is by any means accessible. This however cannot now be done without great labour, even the inhabited side of the rock being so steep, that it is strictly forbidden to throw a stone, however small, from the upper part, lest it should loosen others which might roll down and do much mischief. The batteries along the water side and round the rock, the galleries, the old and new moles, the different barracks, hospitals, and public buildings; the dock-yard, and the shipping constantly lying here in time of war, are all worthy of description in a history of Gibraltar, but do not fall within the present plan. Of the inhabitants it may be observed, that they are composed of all nations, and the English form perhaps the smallest part of the population. The rest is made up of Spaniards, Genoese, French, Italians, and Moors from the coast of Barbary. The manners of the English are sufficiently hospitable, though not unmixed with little jealousies toward each other; and one is grieved to find here, as in most garrison towns, invidious distinctions drawn by the military officers between themselves and the mercantile class, which so materially contributes to their support.

"As to the political importance of Gibraltar, it is too obvious to need a long discussion. Impregnable as a fortress, and placed just within the entrance of the Mediterranean, it enables Great Britain, with a few frigates, to command the whole of the Straits, and it depends only on her will to intercept every vessel passing either up or down. But truly to appreciate its value to England, we have only to suppose it in the possession of her enemies.—Gibraltar is the only port which she holds on the whole continent of Europe, and there is therefore no other but what has been, or may be, shut against her. I cannot here but observe that England appears to me guilty of much negligence, in not having formed a corresponding military and commercial station on the Barbary shore. It might be done with great facility, and might serve at once as a check upon Ceuta, and as a commencement to a farther intercourse with this part of Africa, hitherto but little known, even to the enterprising spirit of England.

"Finally, it may be observed, with regard to Gibraltar, that the views from its summit are interesting and sublime. From its bare ridge, on which we stand with a kind of dread, we see to the southward, on the opposite side of the Straits, Ape's Hill, the Abyla of the ancients, generally covered at the top with clouds, and the African shore tapering down from it, and shutting in, with the coast of Spain, the entrance of the Straits, and the view of the distant waters of the Atlantic. To the eastward, the Mediterranean stretches out in boundless prospect, and on its northern shore rise the mountains of Granada, the lofty summits of which are generally covered with snow, or buried in thick clouds. Lastly, to the westward,

westward, the Bay of Gibraltar lies beneath our feet; on the opposite side stands the town of Algeciras, and behind it rise the mountains which form a petty branch of the Granada chain, and terminate at the Straits, where they open out towards the Atlantic. Standing on the summit of this pillar of Hercules, we contemplate with pleasure the ancient boundaries of navigation, one of which we seem to tread beneath our feet. The departed glories of the Mediterranean shores; the present ascendancy of the human mind in Britain, Gaul, Germany, and Russia; and the probable future destinies of the western Continent, rush full upon the mind, and strongly impress us with the ever changing state of the moral world, the uncertainty of political calculations, and the frailty and vanity of all human life. If we are upon the southern summit of the rock, these considerations are heightened by the remains of a stone tower, built not long ago by General O'Hara, and meant to overlook the high lands which intercept the distant views of the Atlantic towards Cadiz. But this tower has never been employed; at no great period after its erection it was struck by lightning, and the shattered and early ruins give a double interest to the speculations of the moralist and the philosopher."

CLASSICAL AND POLITE CRITICISM.

Commentary on Book the First of Paradise Lost.

(From a Fragment of the late William Cowper, Esq.)

"TO Mr. Addison's remarks on this subject it may not be improper to add, that though our syllables are not strictly reducible to the rules either of Greek or Latin prosody, they are nevertheless all long or short in the judgment of an accurate ear, and that without close attention to syllabic quantity in the construction of our verse, we can give it neither melody nor dignity. Milton, as Mr. Addison observes and proves, deals much in the Iambic and in the Trochee, and occasionally in several other kinds that he specifies; but perhaps the grand secret, to which his verse is principally indebted for its stately movement, is his more frequent use of the Spondee than of any other. The more long syllables there are in a verse, the more the line of it is protracted, and consequently the pace with which it moves is the more majestic.

Line 1. Of man's first disobedience.

"Man in Paradsie received two injunctions from his Maker, and two only. To keep holy the seventh day, and to abstain from a particular fruit, which, if he eat, he would incur death as the inevitable consequence. These were the sole tests of his allegiance; for, created as he was, holy, and in the express image of God, he could have no need of a law written in tables for his direction.

Line 5. And regain the blissful seat.

"The seat may be poetically said to be regained if the state be so, and that the state of man on earth shall hereafter be Paradisaical, seems sufficiently clear from those scriptures which speak of the restitution of all things. Neither is it improbable, that the seat or place itself of Paradise may be eminently distinguished in the economy of that kingdom of universal righteousness, which, according to an opinion always prevalent among Christians, and much countenanced by the word of God, shall succeed the present dispensation.

Line 6. ——Secret top.

"Secret probably in respect of the secrecy of the interview between God and Moses, during which no creature was permitted, on pain of instant death, even to touch the mountain.

Line 7. Of Oreb or of Sinai.

"These

"These are different names, either for the same mountain, or for different parts of it.

LINE 8. That shepherd.

"Moses is called a shepherd either literally, because he kept the flock of Jethro his father-in-law, Exod. 3. 1. or figurately, as in Psalm 77. 20. where it is said that God led his chosen through the wilderness like a flock, by the hand of Moses and Aaron.

LINE 26. And justify the ways of God to men.

"Justify them by evincing, that when man by transgression incurred the forfeiture of his blessings, and the displeasure of God, himself only was to blame. God created him for happiness, made him completely happy, furnished him with sufficient means of security, and gave him explicit notice of his only danger. What could he more, unless he had compelled his obedience, which would have been at once to reduce him from the glorious condition of a free agent to that of an animal.

"There is a solemnity of sentiment, as well as majesty of numbers, in the exordium of this noble poem, which in the works of the ancients has no example.

"The sublimest of all subjects was reserved for Milton, and bringing to the contemplation of that subject not only a genius equal to the best of theirs, but a heart also deeply impregnated with the divine truths, which lay before him, it is no wonder that he has produced a composition, on the whole, superior to any that we have received from former ages. But he who addresses himself to the perusal of this work with a mind entirely unaccustomed to serious and spiritual contemplation, unacquainted with the word of God, or prejudiced against it, is ill qualified to appreciate the value of a poem built upon it, or to taste its beauties. Milton is the poet of Christians: an infidel may have an ear for the harmony of his numbers, may be aware of the dignity of his expression, and, in some degree, of the sublimity of his conceptions; but the unaffected and masculine piety, which was his true inspirer, and is the very soul of his poem, he will either not perceive, or it will offend him.

"We cannot read this exordium without perceiving that the author possesses more fire than he shews. There is a suppressed force in it, the effect of judgment. His judgment controuls his genius, and his genius reminds us (to use his own beautiful similitude) of

"A proud steed rein'd,
Champing his iron curb."

He addresses himself to the performance of great things, but makes no great exertion in doing it; a sure symptom of uncommon vigour.

LINE 27. Say first, for heav'n hides nothing from thy view.

"This inquiry is not only poetically beautiful, like Homer's Iliad 2. 485, in which he addresses the muses with a similar plea,

Υμεις γαρ θεαι εστε, παρεστε τε, ιστε τε παντα;

or like that of Virgil, who pleads with them in the same manner, En. 8. 645.

Et meministis, enim, Divæ, et memorare potestis.

But it has the additional recommendation of the most consummate propriety, and is in fact a prayer for information to the only inspirer able to grant it. Of the manner of man's creation, of his happy condition while innocent, and of the occasion and circumstances of his fall, we could have known nothing but from the

the intelligence communicated by the Holy Spirit.

LINE 39. To set himself in glory above his peers.

" Dr. Pearce needed not perhaps to have gone so far as he did in his note on this line for a key to the true meaning of it. A single word in the next verse but one seems sufficiently to explain it—the word *ambitious*. It imports plainly an opposition not of mere enmity, but of enmity that aspired to superiority over the person opposed. Satan's aim, therefore, was, in Milton's view of it, to supplant the Most High, and to usurp the supremacy of heaven; and by peers are intended, not only those who aided him in his purpose, but all the angels, as well the faithful as the rebellious.

" This line affording the first instance that occurs in the poem of a vowel cut from the end of a word that precedes a vowel, it affords also the fittest opportunity to observe, that though elisions of this kind, and many others frequent in Milton's practice, have fallen into disuse, their discontinuance is no advantage. In the ear of a person accustomed to meet them in the Greek and Latin classics, where they abound, they have often an agreeable, and sometimes a very fine effect. But it is admitted, that discretion and a good taste are requisite to the proper use of them, and that too frequently employed, or unskilfully, they may prove indeed deformities.

LINE 50. Nine times the space, that measures day and night.

" It is observable, that between all the members, of which this long period consists, the same pause or nearly the same obtains, till it terminates at line 74. Thus the voice and the ear are held in a sort of terrible suspense, while the poet proceeds enumerating, as he would never cease, the horrors of the scene, deepening them still more and more as he goes, till at last he closes all with that circumstance of most emphatic misery, the immeasurable distance, to which these apostate spirits had fallen from God and the light of heaven. There is a doleful music in the whole passage that fitly accompanies such a subject.

LINE 57. Oh how unlike the place, from whence they fell.

" Of all the articles of which the dreadful scenery of Milton's hell consists, Scripture furnished him only with the lake of fire and brimstone. Yet, thus slenderly assisted, what a world of woe has he constructed by the force of an imagination proved in this single instance the most creative, that ever poet owned!

LINE 114. ——that were low indeed;
That were an ignominy, &c.

" To invent speeches for these infernals so well adapted to their character, speeches burning with rage against God, and with disdain and contempt of his power, and to avoid in them all the extreme danger of revolting and shocking the reader past all sufferance, was indeed, as Horace says,—*Ire per extentum funem*, and evidences the most exquisite address in the author.

LINE 143. But what if He, our conqu'ror.

" There is a fine discrimination observable in the respective speeches of Satan and Beelzebub. In those of the former we find that unbroken hardiness of spirit which suits well the character of the arch-fiend, and seducer of all the others; while Beelzebub so speaks as to seem somewhat less obdurate, less a devil than his leader; he is dejected, he desponds, he forecasts the worst,

and is in a degree impressed with a suitable sense of his condition.

LINE 177. To bellow through the vast and boundless deep.

"In this line we seem to hear a thunder suited both to the scene and the occasion, incomparably more awful than any ever heard on earth, and the *thunder wing'd with light'ning* is highly poetical. It may be observed here, that the thunder of Milton is not hurled from the hand like Homer's, but discharged like an arrow. Thus in Book 6, line 712, the Father ordering forth the Son for the destruction of the rebel angels, says—

———bring forth all my war—
My bow, and thunder.

As if, jealous for the honour of the true God, the poet disdained to arm him like the god of the heathen.—So in Psalm 7. v. 12, it is said—If he turn not he will wet his sword; he hath bent his bow and made it ready—he ordaineth his arrows against the persecutors.

"The substance of this ingenious vindication of Milton against the charge of Bentley is taken from a note of Richardson, though by some inadvertence Dr. Newton, who borrows it, has omitted to make the acknowledgment.

LINE 193. With head uplift.

"Milton frequently abridges the participle perfect of its last syllable, by this, and a multitude of such artifices, giving his language an air of novelty.

LINE 202. Created hugest, that swim the ocean stream.

"The author, speaking of a vast creature, speaks in numbers suited to the subject, and gives his line a singular and strange movement, by inserting the word hugest where it may have the clumsiest effect. He might easily have said in smoother verse,

Created hugest of the ocean stream;

but smoothness was not the thing to be consulted when the Leviathan was in question. In like manner speaking of the larger fishes, Book 7, l. 410, he says—

———part, huge of bulk,
Wallowing unwieldy! enormous in their gait,
Tempest the ocean.

"What man of true taste would exchange such cumbersome verse on such an occasion, for the most musical that ever was written.

LINE 203. Him haply slumbering on the Norway foam.

"This simile is most happily introduced, and finely chosen by the poet for the relief of his reader, who feels his imagination refreshed by such a sudden removal from scenes of fire to the shores of the ocean.

LINE 207. Under the lee.

"Milton, as Dr. Newton here insinuates, has indeed been charged with an affectation of technical terms; but his use of the word *lee* in this place seems no proof of it. What other word could he have found in our language, by which to express the situation intended; and was not such a word (of maritime use indeed, but almost universally understood in our country) to be preferred to a tedious circumlocution?

LINE 215. Heap on himself damnation.

"Here Milton seems to have had in view Romans 2. v. 5.—But after thy hardness and impenitent heart treasurest up unto thyself wrath against the day of wrath, and revelation of the righteous judgment of God.

LINE 241. Not by the suff'rance of supernal power.

"To which cause alone the poet himself

himself ascribes it a little before. See lines 211, 12.

LINE 257. All but less than he.

"The construction perhaps is not very obvious, but seems to be this: What matter where I am, so I still be the same, and what I should be in every respect, this one particular excepted, that I am less than he, whom thunder hath made greater?

LINE 298. Smote on him sore besides.

"The poet in other passages expresses the effect of violent heat by the verb *smite*. Thus in Book 4. l. 244, he says—

Both where the morning sun first warmly *smote*
The open field.

And again it occurs in his 5th Italian sonnet;

Per certo i bei vostr' occhi, Donna mia,
Esser non puo che non sian lo mio sole,
Si mi *percuoton* forte.

LINE 300. Of that inflamed sea.

'Milton sometimes cuts off the last syllable of the participle in *ed*, and sometimes, as here, allows its complete pronunciation. It were to be wished that the practice of incorporating it with the preceding syllable by the absorption of the intermediate *e*—as in *thrash'd*, *advanc'd*, *wreck'd*, and other words of the like kind, had not so universally obtained as it has. For the consequence is often a clutter of consonants with only a single vowel to assist their utterance, which has a barbarous effect, both in the sound and in the appearance.

LINE 315.

"Of all the harangues that either history or poetry has invented for commanders rallying their routed armies, none was ever better conceived than this. Satan seems himself astonished in the beginning of it, but it is at their astonishment, which, though he sees is, he can hardly believe. Next, affecting ignorance of the real cause of their inactivity, he imputes it to sloth and indolence, as if to stimulate them by derision. In the third place, to provoke and rouse them still more, he pretends to suppose it possible that they may be at that moment employed in worshipping and doing homage to the conqueror. Lastly, he uses solid argument, reminding them of the danger to which they expose themselves by such supineness, and finishes his exhortation with a line detached from the rest, and therefore so emphatical, that while he utters it we seem to hear the vaults of hell re-echo.

LINE 335. Nor did they not perceive.

"A Græcism, and taken from the ουδ' απιθησε—the *neque non parebit* of Homer.

LINE 376. Who first, who last?

"So Homer, Iliad 5. 703.

Ἔνθα τίνα πρῶτον, τινὰ δ' ὕστατον;

LINE 379. Came singly where he stood
on the bare strand.

"*Singly*, in the true construction of this line, is to be connected with *stood*. They came where he stood singly. That is, as we are told in lines 299, 300:

——on the beach
Of that inflamed sea.

LINE 384. Their altars by His altar.

"The expression alludes to Ezekiel 43. 8. In their setting of their threshold by my thresholds, and their post by my posts—they have even defiled my holy name, &c.

LINE 418. Till good Josiah drove them
thence to hell.

"This is an allusion to Chron. 2. ch. 34. v. 4. And they brake down the altars of Baalim in his (Josiah's) presence, and the images

that were on high above them, he cut down, and the groves and carved images, and the molten images he brake in pieces, and made dust of them, and strowed it upon the graves of them, that had sacrificed unto them.

LINE 455. Ezekiel saw.

"See Ezekiel, ch. 8. v. 16. And he brought me into the inner court of the Lord's house, and behold, at the door of the temple of the Lord, between the porch and the altar, were about five-and-twenty men with their backs toward the temple of the Lord, and their faces toward the east, and they worshipp'd the sun toward the east.

LINE 499. Ascends above their loftiest tow'rs.

"So Homer makes Eumæus, speaking of the riotous deeds of the suitors, say—

Τῶν υβρις τε, βιη τε, σιδήρεον ουρανον ικει.
Od. B. 15. l. 328.

LINE 516. Ruled the middle air.

"A portion which the poet seems to allot to Jupiter on the authority of Homer—Iliad 15. 192.

Ζεὺς δ' ελαχ' ουρανὸν ευρυν εν αιθέρι και νεφέλῃσι.

LINE 537. Shone like a meteor.

"Mr. Gray had doubtless this line in his eye, when, in the second stanza of his ode entitled the Bard, he said—

Loose his beard, and hoary hair
Stream'd, like a meteor, to the troubled air.

LINE 542. A shout that tore, &c.

"Homer's is a noble shout, of which he says in the last line of the Iliad 13.

Ἠχη δ' αμφοτερων ικετ' αιθερα, και Διος αυγας.

But this as far surpasses it, as the fallen angels were more terrible than the Greeks and the Trojans, and the vault of hell more congenial to such an uproar than the plain of Troy.

LINE 550. ——————such as rais'd
To highth of noblest temper, &c.

"Milton never has occasion to mention music, but he discovers plainly how much he delights in the subject. He always speaks of it experimentally, and like a man whom his own feelings have made acquainted with its effects; and in this charming passage the lines themselves are as sweet as the melody they describe.

LINE 580. ——————and what resounds
In fable or romance.

"Perhaps there are readers of Milton, not altogether destitute of taste, who feel themselves, when they meet with a passage in him like the present, disposed to be more merciful to it than some of his severer judges. Allusions to ancient story, whether false or true, and to customs and practices long since obsolete, affect a contemplative mind agreeably, and to such persons, perhaps, the very sound of names like these is not unpleasing.

LINE 589. Their dread commander.

"Milton's divine subject afforded him opportunities of surpassing in sublime description all the poets his predecessors, and his talents were such as enabled him to use those opportunities to the best advantage. Homer's representation of Agamemnon in the second Iliad, where he says, that in his eyes and countenance he resembled Jove the Thunderer, that he was like Mars in girth, and had the port of Neptune, is indeed magnificent, but when he finishes his picture by likening him to a bull, how far short does he fall of Milton, who, when he compares his lost archangel to the sun new risen in a misty morning, or eclipsed by the moon,

moon, not only does not degrade his subject, but fills the mind of his reader with astonishing conceptions of its grandeur.

LINE 606. The fellows of his crime, the followers rather.

"Not so properly the fellows, because he had seduced them, as the followers, for the same reason.

LINE 616. ——whereat their doubled ranks they bend.

"Thus forming themselves into a hemicycle, or half-moon figure, that all might hear him.

LINE 640. ——but still his strength conceal'd.

"It was necessary that Satan should excuse himself as well as he could to the myriads of his ruined followers, and he could not do it better (though even that was but a poor apology) than by pleading the impossibility, that he should be prepared effectually to withstand a power, with the very existence of which, through God's concealment of it, till the hour in which they fell, he had been necessarily unacquainted. A vanquished chief, who pleads surprise, excuses himself by his fault.

LINE 650. ——whereof so rife.

"Rife is a Saxon word, and signifies frequent or common.

LINE 659. ——but these thoughts
Full council must mature.

Αλλ ητοι μιν ταυτα μεταφρασομισθα και αυτις.
Iliad 1. 140.

LINE 663. He spake: and to confirm his words.

"This is another instance (see the note on line 589) in which appears the advantage that Milton derives from the grandeur of his subject. What description could even he have given of a host of human warriors insulting their conqueror, at all comparable to this? First, their multitude is to be noticed. They are not thousands, but millions; and they are millions not of puny mortals, but of mighty cherubim. Their swords flame not metaphorically, but they are swords of fire; they flash not by reflection of the sun-beams like the swords of Homer, but their own light, and that light plays not idly in the broad day, but far round illumines hell. And lastly, they defy not a created being like themselves, but the Almighty.

"It was doubtless a happiness to have fallen on a subject that furnished such scenery and such characters to act in it, but a happiness it would not have been to a genius inferior to Milton's; such a one, on the contrary, would have been depressed by it, and in what Milton reaches with a graceful ease, would have fallen short after much and fruitless labour.

LINE 670. ——whose grisly top.

"Grisly seems to signify rough or hideous, but perhaps answers more exactly in its import to the Latin word *hispidus*.

LINE 689. Open'd into the hill a spacious wound.

"This is a beautiful expression, and may serve to shew how an act or image, vulgar and ordinary in itself, may be dignified by mere force of diction.

LINE 713. ——where pilasters round, &c.

"Milton has been censured by Addison, as well as Dr. Newton, here, for his use of technical expressions, and the point; enforced as it has been by such great authority, seems to be given up. But perhaps it may even now be permitted to an annotator to ask two simple questions on the present occasion.—Was it lawful

ful to the poet to give a minute description of this wonderful structure? Surely it was. Ovid has minutely described the palace of the sun, and Homer that of Alcinoüs.—If, then, there was no fault in describing it minutely, it should seem that there could be none in particularizing the several members of it by such terms, as could alone express them. Milton, in fact, had no other means of making his account intelligible.

LINE 772-3. —— The ascending pile
Stood fixt her stately highth.

"The expression is elliptical, and requires two words to supply the deficiency, when it would stand thus—

---------- The ascending pile
Stood fixt *through all* her stately highth.

LINE 777. Behold a wonder!

"This contrivance has been censured by some, and particularly by Voltaire, who, having stated his objections to it, calls it an idle tale, that may match the most extravagant. But extravagant it cannot seem, if we allow ourselves to recollect who are in question, and what the Scripture says concerning them. All that we know of invisible agents, whether good or evil, we learn from Scripture, which tells us that a single demoniac was possessed by a legion. Scripture, therefore, ascribes to the devils this power of self-contraction, and if Scripture gives it them, it would be difficult to assign a good reason why Milton should not have imagined them to employ it on this occasion.

"It may be observed, also, that this poetical artifice, instead of depriving us of the idea of their natural bulk and stature, much enlarges it, representing them as not to be contained at their full size within walls of any dimensions, and at the same time gives us a most magnificent impression of their numbers."

ON DUELLING.

[From DIALOGUES on VARIOUS SUBJECTS, by the LATE REV. W. GILPIN, A. M.]

"AS Sir Charles and his friend were sitting on a bench, one evening, in an elevated part of a wood, which closed upon them behind, and left all the front open to a beautiful prospect, they were joined by Baron Brett, as he was commonly called—a gentleman much esteemed in the country; and with whom they were on terms of the freest communication. Mr. Brett had served with great reputation in the Swedish army; and had received from the king a title of honour, which is more respected in Sweden than in England. For that reason, therefore, and because his estate was but moderate, he chose, like a sensible man, to decline the honour, and take the title of Colonel only, which he had borne in the Swedish army. He was a man rather serious in his disposition, —had read much, and conversed more;—was perfectly well bred; and what was commonly called, a man of strict honour.

"On his sitting down with the two gentlemen, he asked them if they had seen the papers that morning?—As they had not, he gave them a few particulars of foreign news; and among domestic articles, mentioned a singular duel, which had

had just been fought. As they had not heard of it, the Colonel related the circumstances.

"A grave gentleman was standing by a coffee-house fire, and calling a waiter, gave him his snuff-box, which he bade him fill. As the waiter returned, a flippant young officer, in one of the boxes, called out, My good lad, let me take toll as you go past; on which he thrust his finger and thumb into the box, and served himself.—The gentleman, on receiving his box, opened it carelessly, and throwing the contents into the fire, bade the waiter fill it again. The young officer (Ingram, I think, his name was) considering this as a gross affront, inquired who the gentleman was; and finding his name was Forbes, he sent him a challenge. Forbes told him, he had no inclination to fight on so trifling an occasion—that he meant him no insult—but that he owned, he felt himself rather hurt by such a piece of intrusive familiarity from a perfect stranger.—Nothing, however, could satisfy Ingram; and his behaviour was so insulting, that Forbes, at length, thought himself under a necessity to meet him. They fired together. Forbes's ball took place; and Ingram fell dead on the spot.

"This story introduced a conversation on duelling. Mr. Willis observed, he had heard of duels, on very ridiculous occasions; but he never before heard of two lives staked on any thing so trifling, as a pinch of snuff.

"No doubt (said the Colonel), the occasion of the quarrel was trifling enough; and I should have thought the affair might easily have been made up by the intervention of friends.—However, in these cases, the *occasion* is only the *spark*; it is the *point of honour* which blows up the flame.

"Mr. Willis desired the Colonel to inform him, what he meant by the point of honour?

"Why perhaps (said the Colonel), it may not be easy to make the point of honour a visible point to a gentleman of your profession; but we soldiers see it like the disk of the sun.

"You do not mean, I suppose (replied Mr. Willis), that the soldier should not hold any motive of action which religion will not warrant?

"No, no (said the Colonel); I mean only that gentlemen of your profession may not always see things in the same light, in which we soldiers see them.

"I understand you then to mean (answered Mr Willis), that duelling may be maintained on Christian principles, when they are rightly understood.

"Why, yes (said the Colonel), that is what I mean.—I understand, that all divines allow war to be lawful; and I see not why duelling may not be defended on the same ground. Wars often, like duels, may be very unjustifiable. All I wish to say is, that the same principle guides both; and on that principle either may be right, or wrong.

"I do not see that, (said Mr. Willis). It appears to me, that war, and duelling are maintained on very opposite principles. The breast of the gallant soldier glows with true honour. He draws his sword without animosity to any one; and could take to his heart the man he strikes. His affections are all public.—The breast of the duellist, on the other hand, is a dark gloomy chamber, full of deadly hate, malice, and revenge.—Then, again, how different is the cause in which they fight? The public cause, it is true, may either be right or wrong; but of that the soldier is no judge. His *country is his cause.*

For

For *it* he ventures his life freely, and bleeds in its defence. His country alone draws his sword:—his country alone sheaths it. The duellist's cause,—is some trifling affront, which a wise man would despise, and a good man forgive. Do you see no difference, my dear Sir, whether a man act on a public or a private affection?—Whether he act on the broad basis of general good; or in the narrow orbit of some little malignant passion?

"I am so far from depreciating the merit of the gallant soldier (said the Colonel); but I hope a man may fight a duel with a better heart than you insinuate.

"I see not how, (replied Mr. Willis). You allow he has received an injury;—the soldier has received none. What is the common effect of receiving an injury? On Christain principles you forgive it, and there is an end; but in the mind of the duellist, as it is not forgiven, it works like poison—corrodes every sentiment—turns it into black venom—and extinguishes, so far as I can see, every spark of benevolence. Here and there a gallant spirit may fight, without being actuated by revenge—but in all questions of numbers, we must go upon averages. I believe you will hardly deny, that hatred and revenge are the usual motives which draw the duellist's sword; and that these are very unchristian sensations.

"I grant, indeed (said the Colonel), that the duellist's quarrel is often grounded on those principles, which, no doubt, are unchristian: but I should hope, in general, the man of honour has better principles. Indeed, my dear Sir, a soldier's honour is a nicer matter than you are willing to allow—and his provocations may be more complicated. Who can bear the imputation of cowardice—the disgrace which it must fasten upon him—and often, perhaps, the contempt of the whole corps in which he serves. I have heard of some poor gentlemen, who have been treated so contemptuously by their brother officers, on a suspicion of their behaving with less honour than they ought, on occasions of this kind, that they have been obliged to relinquish their profession. You must allow such a case to be a very hard one.

"Why yes (said Mr. Willis), it is a hard case; and it is still a harder case, when a man, for conscience sake, suffers martyrdom. Religion sometimes places us in these hard cases. But you are waving the question, my dear Sir. We are not talking about the hardships of the case, but about its connection with religion. If you give up its connection with religion, I shall readily allow the hardships of the case; and yet I should wish you to consider, that it is no more than the soldier daily undergoes: whatever your leader puts upon you, however harsh or disagreeable the service, still you obey. You march up to the battery—you enter the breach—and does it not, my dear Sir, sound oddly, to say, you would do no more for the commanding officer, than you would do for God Almighty? Has not God Almighty, think you, the same right to put his servants upon hardships, which a commanding officer has? And is it not highly wrong, that you should murmur and hold back in one case more than in the other? However, to answer your *case of hardships* more in point, you have supposed a case, which I think is hardly supportable. You represent a religious conscientious man, engaged in the disagreeable circumstances of a duel.

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Now, such a man can hardly be supposed to fall into these circumstances; he will avoid all these little petulances and imprudences which he knows will lead to a dispute. He will particularly avoid intoxication, and play, from which most quarrels arise. I dare not take upon me to say, Colonel, that you not only never fought a duel yourself, but were never in any difficulty of that kind.

"But still (said the Colonel), however fortunate I may have been, the most peaceable man may sometimes get into these difficulties.

"At any rate, then (replied Mr. Willis), he must avoid fighting, if he acts on Christian principles. The duellist must undoubtedly run into the crime of murder, on one hand, or suicide on the other; nay, in fact, he is guilty of both. *I will obey God, rather than man,* was the decision of a person who did not want courage on every proper occasion. Yet still I aver it, a man of a respectable character may avoid a dispute if he pleases.—If he finds himself wrong, he will not scruple to make a handsome apology; and, if he thinks his antagonist so, he will endeavour to bring the matter, by the intervention of friends, to some amicable composition. And if his opponent, after all, will not listen to reason, he must be some low dirty poltroon, whose insults all the gentlemen of the corps will be ready to resist.

"Besides (said Sir Charles, interposing), there are many ingenious ways of getting out of difficulties of this kind, when more direct means fail. I have heard a story of a general officer in our service, which pleased me much. On receiving a challenge, he went to the challenger, and told him he supposed they were to fight on equal terms; but as things now stand, said he, the terms are very unequal. I have a wife and five children, who have nothing to subsist on but my appointments: you have a considerable fortune, and no family:—to place us, therefore, on an equality, I desire you will go with me to a conveyancer, and settle upon my wife and children, if I should fall, the value of my appointments. When you have signed such a conveyance, if you insist upon it, I will then fight you. The deliberate manner in which the general said this, and the apparent justice of the requisition, made his antagonist reflect a little on the idea of leaving a wife and five children to beggary: and as the affair could not well stand reflection, it went off.

"Your story (said the Colonel), reminds me of an old sea-captain, who, on being challenged, told his antagonist he had had fighting enough in his time, and was now quite weary of it. But, said he, if you are determined to fight, we must each take hold of the corner of a handkerchief, and so fire hand to hand. I cannot now fight in any other way, for I am an old man, and my hand shakes; and if I do not get close up to my adversary, I may miss him.—This tremendous way of fighting, pronounced in a deep, hoarse voice, brought on a short conference, which ended in peace.

"I have read somewhere (said Sir Charles), of a similar story of the brave Dutch admiral, Van Tromp. He was a large, heavy man, and was challenged by a thin, active French officer. We are not upon equal terms with rapiers, said Van Tromp; but, call on me to-morrow morning, and we will adjust the affair better. When the Frenchman called, he found the Dutch admiral bestriding a barrel of gunpowder: there is room enough for you,

you, said Van Tromp, at the other end of the barrel; sit down, there is a match; and, as you were the challenger, give fire. The Frenchman was a little thunderstruck at this terrible mode of fighting; but as the Dutch Admiral told him he would fight in no other way, terms of accommodation ensued.

"As you have each told your story (said Mr. Willis), I hope you will allow me to tell mine. An officer, distinguished for his courage, received a challenge, which he threw aside without troubling his head about it; the next morning he took his walk in the Park, as usual—where his antagonist, coming up to him, said, he had received no answer to his note. How should you, said the officer, I never troubled my head either about you or your note. But, said the challenger, did you say the free things of me, which I was told you had said? Say them, said the officer, aye! and I shall say them again; every body says them. Sir, replied the officer, I demand satisfaction.—I have none to give you, replied the officer;—you must seek it from your own conscience. Then, said the challenger, you are a confounded coward—and dashed his hand in his face. Very well, returned the officer, coolly, we'll settle this matter, my friend, by and by—and continued his walk. The other expecting a challenge on this insult, was served with a writ of prosecution, in the Court of King's Bench. The lord chief justice took up the matter with a very high hand:—great damages were given; and such sureties for the offender's good behaviour demanded, as the poor gentleman was not able to procure; so he was thrown into Newgate.—When he had lain there about a month, the officer informed him, that if he would beg his pardon publicly in the Park, where the insult had been committed, he would remit the damages, and endeavour to procure his enlargement. The poor man was sullen at first, and restive; but in another month his stomach came down, and he accepted the offer.

"If the officer had not been a man of known courage (said the Colonel), he could not have transacted an affair of honour in that mercantile manner.

"I think he might (replied Mr. Willis); it would have been a noble instance of his courage, to act conformably to his duty, in defiance of the world. But I wish, my dear Sir, you would suffer me again to beg, you would favour us with a definition of the point of honour; it may open some important duty, and give the argument a new turn.

"We soldiers (said the Colonel) don't deal much in logic: I could give you a definition, but I fear you would contrive to entangle me in it, like the old Ratiarius; and then cut me down, without suffering me to use my weapon.—In short, the point of honour is to be felt rather than explained; like an innate sense, or taste, it is above definition.

"As I have not that extreme reverence for it, my dear Sir (said Mr. Willis), which you have, I will endeavour, if you will give me leave, to explain it for you; don't start if I resolve it into rank cowardice. I am as great an advocate for courage as you are;—and as great an enemy to cowardice: I would have a man afraid of nothing but of offending his Maker. But now, your hero is afraid of the world. Call him by what honourable title you please, he certainly acts through the *fear* of what the world will say of him; and his motive is certainly cowardice at the bottom. Now, own candidly, my dear Sir, that my hero is

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the braver man: he is no more afraid of death than yours. Shew him an act of duty, with death standing behind it, and he rushes on; but, till he have the commission of his great master, a threatening world cannot move him—he holds it at defiance. It is the fear of the world, depend upon it, call it courage, or honour, or what you please, that is the source of duelling. It is the same fear that makes men deists, and leads them into a variety of wicked conduct. He is the true man of honour, who keeps steadily in the path of virtue, and braves the laugh of the world.

"I know not what to say to these things (said the Colonel), I may as well withdraw. I find nothing I can say can obtain any quarter for us men of honour. To be serious, however, though a man may, in a transport of passion, be guilty of a rash action, I must honestly own, that, in cold blood, I do not think I could bring myself to draw the trigger of my pistol against the breast of any man. I believe, if I were in those circumstances, I should suffer my antagonist to fire at me, if he chose it; and I should then discharge my pistol in the air. Does that please you?

"I cannot say it does (replied Mr. Willis): your offering yourself to death, unless in the line of duty, appears to me to have very much the colour of suicide. Your life is not your own: it was given you for valuable purposes. You call him a spendthrift who squanders his estate in folly and extravagance; what name, then, would you give to him, who squanders a possession of ten times greater value?

"I do not mean to squander it (replied the Colonel); I risk it in defence of my character, which is dearer to me than my life.

"You are now, I suppose (said Mr. Willis), taking upon you to defend the challenger. You have given up, I presume, the part of the person challenged?—But, consider, my dear Colonel, whether the method you take of vindicating your character be an effectual one. If the imputation be true, surely the less you stir in it the better; the world will the sooner forget it. But if it be false, I see not how fighting can vindicate you.

"I conceive the matter (replied the Colonel) in this light: my character has been aspersed; in order, therefore, to set the world right, I pawn my life on the veracity of what I aver. The world cannot suppose I would venture such a stake on a lie.

"But, my dear Sir (said Mr. Willis), the world will suppose it, and has often supposed it with great truth. I dare say you remember a recent fact, which is exactly in point. The case of Sir Nathan Ridgway—though I believe you were in Sweden at that time. However, Sir Nathan was accused of embezzling his sister's fortune. He fought a duel in defence of his character, and died nobly in the cause of truth. But it unluckily fell out, after his death, that the embezzlement was twice as great as the world had supposed it before. In fact, I apprehend the case, of many of these vindicators of their characters, is much the same as that of a thief going to be hanged, who will often, at the very foot of the gallows, deny the fact which has been most convincingly proved. I beg pardon for treating the man of honour with so much disrespect, but I am persuaded the comparison does him no injustice. The thief denies the fact, in hope of a reprieve; the man of honour fights, to make

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the world believe what he knows to be a lie.

"My dear Colonel (said Sir Charles), how can you, who have no guilty spot in your own character to defend, be an advocate for those, who take a mode of defence, which I am sure you would not take, if your own character was attacked. If an injured man can *say* any thing in his own defence, the world will listen to reason and argument; but, can a pistol-bullet be an arbiter in this case? You laugh at the Gothic institutions of our ancestors in their ordeal trials:—you see the folly of making a poor woman attest her innocence by walking barefoot, and blindfold, among burning ploughshares. But tell me honestly, my dear Sir, if it do not sound as oddly to rest the merits of a cause on the chance of a shot? You, and I, are magistrates; what would people say, if a matter of right and wrong were brought before us, and we should declare that, truly, we thought the best way of deciding it, would be to draw lots?

"Come, come, Sir Charles (said the Colonel), be merciful. It is not within any law of arms for two to fall thus furiously upon one. I entered the lists only with my friend Willis. And, though hard put to it to parry his thrusts, I must not defend myself against another antagonist, who comes armed, cap à pie, against me. I might without any loss of honour retreat before you. I will however have one brush more with you both, before I quit the field.—Suppose then we enlarge our question, and taking a wider circuit, see how the point of honour affects the general good of mankind. In the first place, gentlemen, consider that species of government which we call an army. It is upheld by the point of honour. Take away that vital spring, and the whole will languish.

"You throw aside, then (said Mr. Willis), my definition of the point of honour. True honour, or the fear of doing any thing base, or unworthy, is a noble principle, not only in an army, but in every other species of government: while false honour, or the fear of the world, I conceive to be a degrading principle in all situations. However, to take the matter up in the light in which you place it, I should suppose, that, if the point of honour, as you conceive it, were the vital principle of an army, it should, like all other principles, pervade the whole. But so far from that, the mass of the army is not in the least actuated by it. What, all know your rank and file of the point of honour? No more than they do of transubstantiation. And yet we allow them to be brave fellows, and full of military spirit. Nay, what is more, our yeomen and peasantry, who make up the body of our gallant troops, know as little of the point of honour, as the several corps into which they inlist. If then the mass of an army can maintain its military spirit without this point of honour, whatever it is, I hold it to be equally nugatory among their leaders.

"I beg your pardon (replied the Colonel); the troops are animated with it as strongly in their way as their leaders. They do not indeed maintain it with sword and pistol; but they discover it as effectually with their cudgel, sticks, and fists.

"Well, then, Colonel (said Mr. Willis), to shew you how accommodating I am, I will meet you half way, and allow you this mode of maintaining the point of honour. Keep your swords in their scabbards, and, if the law makes no objection, you have my free leave to silence an impudent

impudent fellow by giving him a bloody nose.

"The Colonel smiled, and told Mr. Willis he had an excellent knack at answering an argument with a jest. However, added he, I will try you on another ground. The world, you must acknowledge, is full of ill-manners. You are insulted at every corner of the street; at least you would be, if there were not something to keep the tongues of licentious people in awe. These petty offences, though insufferable, cannot be brought into a court of justice. To preserve good manners, therefore, and decorum among gentlemen, it seems to me, that nothing can be so effectual as the point of honour, which, resenting every impropriety of behaviour, keeps them at that respectful distance from each other, which good manners requires.

"Why, yes (said Mr. Willis), if a man is to be run through the body for speaking a wry word, I suppose it will make him rather cautious. But, whether the offence given, and the remedy applied, are well adapted to each other, is another question. We began our dispute, you remember, Colonel, with your asserting, that the laws of honour are very consistent with the precepts of christianity. But can you conceive, that the acutest casuistry can bring the bloody law you have just been expounding, into the most distant resemblance of a precept, which commands us *not to avenge ourselves, but to give place unto wrath*—to *feed an enemy, if he hunger,* and *give him drink, if he thirst.*—These, and numberless other rules, are given us to promote peace and happiness among men.

"But we see (said the Colonel) that they do not promote peace and happiness among men. We see, that if it were not for the statute-book, the laws of christianity would have little effect: and, therefore, we are obliged to fortify the laws of christianity by our political institutions. Now we consider the law of honour in that light. It is meant to strengthen and fortify the precepts of christianity; and to *preserve* that peace which they *dictate.* The man of honour, therefore, may be considered as a magistrate acting under the gospel.

"You are not surely serious, my dear Sir (replied Mr. Willis), in this high encomium on the magistracy of duelling. We fortify the precepts of christianity, it is true, by human laws. But it is always supposed, that the divine and human law look the same way. Adultery and theft are forbidden by christianity, and punished in our courts of justice. But, does this sanction us in making a law, or establishing a a practice, directly opposite to the precepts of christianity, in blowing a man's brains out, merely for speaking a wry word!—Besides, how strange is it to talk of maintaining peace, by fomenting quarrels? Our Saviour says, *I come not to send peace on earth, but a sword.* I shall soon expect to hear that expression alleged as a license for duelling; though it was expressly used to characterize and brand that opposition, which he foresaw these unchristian practices would make to the gospel. To settle the dispute between us, continued Mr. Willis, in the fairest light, the best way, as it appears to me, is to consider the tendency of the different principles we hold; and see what their effect would be, both on society, and on individuals, if carried into extensive practice.—To try the virtue of any principle we must give it its full scope, and carry it as far as it will go.—Suppose then

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the law of honour prevailed generally—that is, that every man revenged the injuries he met with (I will allow in their due proportion), what would be the consequence? Would not the whole world be a scene of injury, retaliation, and injury again, without end? Can you conceive any thing more horrid and dismal? Whereas, if the mild, and peaceable doctrines of the gospel should prevail, the world universally would be changed into a scene of happiness, and repose, beyond conception. The greatest miseries that befal mankind, arise from man himself. All these would be removed, and no distresses left, but such as unavoidably accompanied mortality. Nation would unite with nation, and man with man, in bonds of fellowship and love. The man of honour says, you *provoke* injury by *forgiving* it. I should only wish to ask the man of honour, whether he ever made the experiment?

"I am afraid, Colonel (said Sir Charles), you have undertaken a cause which cannot be defended. You have also a sturdy opponent to deal with. This good man (laying his hand on Mr. Willis's shoulder) is skilful at his weapon. He wrested my sword very fairly, some years ago, out of my hand; and I am wicked enough, for my own credit's sake, to rejoice when I see him gain an advantage over others. But now suppose, Colonel, we take the cause in question into a lower court of judicature, than that of christianity. Suppose we carry it before an heathen tribunal. I should be glad to know, whether you find any traces of duelling among the Greeks and Romans? I am not indeed deeply read in ancient history: but I do not recollect one instance of a duel recorded by any of my classical friends.

"Why, Sir (said the Colonel), the ancient Greeks were gross fellows. They had none of the delicate feelings and polished manners of gentlemen. Homer, who gives us, I suppose, an exact picture of ancient Greece, tells us what *blackguards* (if I may use the expression) his heroes were; and what foul offensive language they commonly used.—As far too as any anecdotes of quarrels in the later times of Greece and Rome have come down to us, I believe the same coarse mode of repressing injury may be traced.

"Only with this difference (replied Sir Charles), that as the age polished, the mode of reproof polished with it. The cutting irony—the sarcastic sneer—the biting repartee—the sly insinuation—or, where necessary, the valid argument—with other modes of refined reproof, became the weapons of offence. And what does all this prove, but that, according to the dictates of truth, every man should repel an injury with those weapons, with which he had been assaulted. If a man attack you with his tongue, with your tongue defend yourself. If, like an assassin, he draw his sword upon you, draw your's in your own defence. Now the old Roman knew all this system of injury and reproof perfectly well; and how to adjust the one to the other. It remained for the Christian to invert this order, and draw his rapier against the sting of a wasp.

"I met lately, in a History of Greenland (said Mr. Willis), a mode of deciding quarrels, which pleased me much; and, I dare say, it will please you, Sir Charles, as it is very agreeable to the sentiments you have just been recommending. The honest Greenlanders seldom quarrel: but when any offence has been given,

given, or taken, they never meddle with swords and pistols. The duellists challenge each other before proper judges, to a kind of satirical contest. The challenger begins, and opens the ground of his complaint in a sort of comical doggerel verse; for the Greenlanders are represented to be people of humour. The adversary then defends himself in the same kind of doggerel. Rejoinders are sometimes made. Sentence is then passed; and he who has had least to say for himself, begs pardon. The duellists then shake hands; and the day generally ends in some kind of merriment.

"Excellent! (said Sir Charles). If poor Ingram, who gave occasion to this conversation, had acted with the wisdom of a Greenlander, all had been well. He was certainly guilty of a petty breach of good manners, by thrusting his finger and thumb into a gentleman's snuff-box, without his leave. It was not an offensive expression indeed, but an offensive action, which comes to the same thing: and the Scotch gentleman reproved it very neatly, as I suppose an old Roman, or perperhaps a Greenlander, would have done by another action. Ingram should have made a slight apology, which, no doubt, would have been well taken. But the foolish fellow chose to introduce his sword into the business; and his life paid the forfeit of his folly.

"There is an excellent story, much in point, told of the late General Oglethorpe. When a very young officer, he was at table, in Germany, with one of the princes of Wirtemberg. As they were drinking after dinner, the prince jocosely dipped his finger in a glass of wine, and fillipped it into Oglethorpe's face. Oglethorpe did not at first know how to take it; but on a moment's recollection, he said, your highness has passed a very good jest; but we do it much better in England, and then threw a full glass of wine into the prince's face. The prince was startled a little at first, but before he had time to speak,—Come, come, said an old general officer who was present—it is all well, your highness began first.

"But pray (said the Colonel) how would you have advised Mr. Forbes to have acted in this business? As to Ingram, I entirely give up his cause: but I see not how Forbes, pushed as he was, could have acted otherwise than he did.

"I think (replied Sir Charles) the story Mr. Willis hath just told us, of the gentleman who complained to the Court of King's Bench, points out a very proper line of conduct. Am I to risk my life at the desire of any insolent fellow, who wishes to fire a pistol at me?

"But he gives you a blow (said the Colonel).

"Aye, let him, if he dare (replied Sir Charles); and I shall request the lord chief justice to give him another: and we will see, who strikes hardest.—Depend upon it, Colonel, a few such examples, from men of character, would make these fiery sparks a little more careful of meddling with gun-powder, and would contribute more than any thing else, to teach them better manners, and rid society of such pests.

"I can however (said Mr. Willis) help the Colonel to one duel in Roman times, which will at least shew the idea the Romans had of this species of fighting. In Cæsar's camp, at that time besieged, two officers quarrelled. I forget the ground of their animosity; but I believe one had called the other a coward. Let the army, said the affronted officer, judge

judge between us; and bidding his antagonist follow him, leaped down from the rampart among a party of the enemy. The other followed; and they fought like lions. One being overpowered, the other ran to his relief; and kept the enemy at bay, till they were both relieved, and got safe to the camp—where they shook hands—went merrily to their mess—talked over their duel—and were ever afterwards good friends. I know not whether I tell the story exactly right; I have not read it, I believe, since I left school.

"You have given us, however (said Sir Charles), the outline of it, which is all we want.—You may add also, if you please, on the subject, that the Romans could not place duelling in a more contemptible light, than by making it, as they did, the business only of slaves. A school of gladiators would certainly throw the same stigma on duelling at Rome, which intoxicating their slaves did upon drunkenness at Sparta. And yet we, of this polished age, and polished country, consider this barbarous practice as gentlemanly!

"But you will remember (said the Colonel) that knights, senators, and even emperors, did not disdain to draw their swords in a gladiatorian school.

"I remember it well (replied Sir Charles); and I remember, also, with what high panegyric they are handed down by historians, for their prize-fighting, charioteering, and other noble feats of that kind. Degrading, however, as their practice of duelling was, it was certainly superior to the duels of our days. They had not the rancour of savages in their breast: they were only ridiculous fellows, and fought for fame.

"After all (said the Colonel), I see not what advantage you get by a comparison with the Greeks and Romans. Their revenge often led them to assassination—which, I doubt not, you will consider as a worse crime than duelling.

"I do not mean (replied Sir Charles) to enter into a defence of the virtue of the Greeks and Romans. But you will observe one thing, that poisoning and stabbing were always considered as deeds of darkness:—they durst not face the day. Whereas, we are talking of a crime, that stalks in open day-light—that assumes an honourable name—that is defended—that is even ranked in a catalogue of virtues; and tends, of course, to corrupt the manners of the public. It is on this I chiefly lay my finger. The Christian *vindicates* a crime of which the heathen was *ashamed*. Besides, many moralists consider duelling, in itself, as a crime very little, if at all removed from the guilt of assassination.

The Colonel not making an immediate reply, Sir Charles went on. As it seems very plain, therefore, that duelling is neither of Christian, nor of classical origin, I will endeavour to shew you, as well as I can, from what noble origin it did spring. When the trumpet of the holy wars sounded over Europe, and inspired its inhabitants, from one end to the other, with a frantic zeal for war, nothing was heard, or seen, but what had a military cast. The air, the dress, the language, the amusements of men, were all martial. Then, first the tournament came in use. It was intended as the great school for the Saracen expedition—a kind of drill to train the armies of Europe. Its laws were established, and it became a legal institution. But, as I have heard, that in the noble diversion of cock-fighting, besides the *main*, as they call it, there are many *bye-battles* allowed, so,

so, in the noble institution of the tournament, many private quarrels were introduced, and decided under the sanction of the lists. The thing, though not legal, was winked at for the honour of arms; till at length it rose to such a height, that it was forbidden by law, as early, if I remember right, as Cœur de Lion's time. But though forbidden, it could not be repressed. The whole nation was then mad; and, in this instance, continues so. For though duelling is still forbidden by law, it is still practised. Thus you see from what a Gothic stock it originally sprang; it ought, indeed, long ago to have been ashamed of its ancestry, and to have hidden its head.

"I have heard (said Mr. Willis) that duelling and throwing at cocks, came into England at the same time; but I am not solicitous to ascertain its birth and parentage. All I am solicitous about is, to shew that it is no way related to christianity. On this head the honest confession of a young gentleman pleased me more, than all I ever heard said in defence of duelling. He had been educated under a religious father; but not making a proper use of the advantages he had received, he launched out into the fashionable vices of the age: and though he was not of a quarrelsome disposition, yet, in one of his frolics, he got into a fray, which ended in a duel. His father, shocked at this thing, expostulated with him, for having acted in defiance of the laws both of God and man. The young gentleman honestly replied; Sir, I know that duelling is a breach of the Christian law; and that it is, of course, a wicked action. But what would the world say of me, if I, who have certainly not been a correct observer of the precepts of christianity, on other occasions, should, in this single instance, have sheltered myself behind its authority.

"The Colonel making no reply, Sir Charles, looking at his watch, said he was afraid they should make the tea-table wait. He got up, therefore, and taking the Colonel by one arm, in a jocular way, desired Mr. Willis to hold him by the other; and they would take him into custody, and deliver him over, as a disturber of the public peace, to the ladies, who should pass sentence upon him.

"The Colonel begged and prayed they would not treat him with so much severity; and said, he would promise any thing to be set at liberty, provided they would not whisper it abroad, that he had given up the noble cause of duelling."

On the Ancient English Morris Dance.

[From Mr. Douce's Illustrations of Shakspeare.]

"It is the observation of an elegant writer, that disquisitions concerning the manners and conduct of our species in early times, or indeed at any time, are always curious at least and amusing. An investigation of the subject before us, if completely and successfully performed, would serve to fill up a chasm in the history of our popular antiquities: but this must not be expected. The culpable indifference of histori-

cal writers to private manners, and more especially to the recreations and amusements of the common people, has occasioned the difficulties that always attend inquiries of this nature, many of which are involved in impenetrable darkness; whilst others can only receive illustration from detached and scattered facts, accompanied by judicious inferences and opinions.

"It will be necessary, in the first place, to attempt some definition of what the morris dance originally was: this may be best accomplished by the aid of etymology, which will generally be found a faithful guide, when managed with discretion. It seems, however, on the present occasion, to have been too slightly treated in a work of considerable labour and ingenuity, the author of which has expressed an opinion that the morris dance originated from that part of the ancient ceremony of the feast of fools, in which certain persons habited like buffoons, with bells, &c. joined in a dance. He then proceeds as follows, 'The word *Morris* applied to the dance is usually derived from *Morisco*, which in the Spanish language signifies a *Moor*, as if the dance had been taken from the Moors; but I cannot help considering this as a mistake, for it appears to me that the *Morisco*, or Moor dance, is exceedingly different from the morris dance formerly practised in this country; it being performed with the castanets or rattles, at the ends of the fingers, and not with bells attached to various parts of the dress. I shall not pretend to investigate the derivation of the word *Morris*; though probably it might be found at home: it seems, however, to have been applied to the dance in modern times, and, I trust, long after the festival to which it originally belonged was done away, and had nearly sunk into oblivion.'

"Now, if the term in question had been *exclusively* used in England, there would have been some weight in these observations; but when we find it adopted by most of the European nations to express a dance, the origin of which both English and foreign glossaries uniformly ascribe to the Moors, we must pause at least before we consent to abandon the only clue that presents itself to assist us. The genuine Moorish or Morisco dance, was, no doubt, very different from the European *morris*; but there is scarcely an instance in which a fashion or amusement that has been borrowed from a distant region has not in its progress through other countries undergone such alterations as have much obscured its origin. This remark may be exemplified in chess and cards, which, beyond all doubt, were invented in India or China, and spread, by means of the Arabians, progressively throughout Spain, Italy, France, England, and the North of Europe. But the above writer has cited a passage from the play of *Variety*, 1619, in which the *Spanish Morisco* is mentioned; and this not only shows the legitimacy of the term *morris*, but that the real and uncorrupted Moorish dance was to be found in Spain, where it still continues to delight both natives and strangers under the name of the *fandango*. It may be likewise remarked, that the exquisitely pretty music to this lively dance is undoubtedly Moorish. The Spanish morris was also danced at puppet-shows by a person habited like a Moor, with castanets; and Junius [Du Jon] has informed us, that the morris dancers usually blackened their faces with soot, that they might the better pass for Moors.

"Som[e]

" Some have sought the origin of the morris in the *Pyrrica Saltatio* of the ancients, a military dance, which seems to have been invented by the Greeks, and was afterwards adopted by the Salii or priests of Mars. This continued to be practised for many ages, till it became corrupted by figures and gesticulations foreign to its original purpose. Such a dance was that well known in France and Italy, by the name of the dance of fools or *Matachins*, who were habited in short jackets with gilt-paper helmets, long streamers tied to their shoulders, and bells to their legs. They carried in their hands a sword and buckler, with which they made a clashing noise, and performed various quick and sprightly evolutions. A species of this sword dance by some means or other got introduced into England, where it has generally and unaccountably been exhibited by women, whose dexterous feats of tumbling and dancing with swords at fairs, and in the minor theatres, are still remembered by many persons. A very learned writer, speaking of the *Pyrrhica Saltatio*, informs us, that " The common people in many parts of England still practice what they call a *Morsico dance*, in a wild manner, and as it were in armour, at proper intervals striking upon each other's staves, &c." This might be found on inquiry to differ from the common morris, and to be a mixture of the Pyrrhic and Moorish dances. Such a one may be alluded to in *The second part of King Henry the Sixth*, act iii. Sc. 1,

> ——I have seen him
> Caper upright like a *wild Morisco*,
> Shaking the bloody darts, as he his bells.'

" Before we proceed to an examination of the more immediate object of this essay, the English morris, it may be as well to lay before the reader a short description of the *uncorrupted morris dance*, as practised in France about the beginning of the sixteenth century. It has been preserved by Tabourot, the oldest and by far the most curious writer of any other on the art of dancing. He relates, that in his youthful days it was the custom in good societies for a boy to come into the hall, when supper was finished, with his face blackened, his forehead bound with white or yellow taffeta, and bells tied to his legs. He then proceeded to dance the *Morisco*, the whole length of the hall, backwards and forwards, to the great amusement of the company. He hints that the bells might have been borrowed from the *crotali* of the ancients in the Pyrrhic dance. He then describes the more modern Morris dance, which was performed by striking the ground with the forepart of the feet; but, as this was found to be too fatiguing, the motion was afterwards confined to the heel, the toes being kept firm, by which means the dancer contrived to rattle his bells with more effect. He adds, that this mode of dancing fell into disuse, as it was found to bring on gouty complaints.

" It has been supposed that the Morris dance was first brought into England in the time of Edward the Third, when John of Gaunt returned from Spain; but it is much more probable that we had it from our Gallic neighbours, or even from the Flemings. Few, if any vestiges of it can be traced beyond the reign of Henry the Seventh; about which time, and particularly in that of Henry the Eighth, the churchwardens' accounts in several parishes afford materials that throw much light on the subject, and show that the morris dance made a very considerable

figure in the parochial festivals. A late valuable writer has remarked, that in some places the May-games of Robin Hood were nothing more than a morris dance, in which *Robin Hood, Little John, Maid Marian,* and *Frier Tuck,* were the principal personages, the others being a clown or fool, the hobby-horse, the taborer, and the dancers, who were more or less numerous; but this seems to be a mistake. The May-games of Robin Hood appear to have been principally instituted for the encouragement of archery, and were generally accompanied by morris dancers, who, nevertheless, formed but a subordinate part of the ceremony. It is by no means clear that at any time Robin Hood and his companions were *constituent* characters in the morris. There were, besides, May-games of a more simple nature, being merely dances round a May-pole, by the lads and lasses of the village, and the undoubted remains of the Roman Floralia. We find also that other festivals and ceremonies had their morris, as Holy-Thursday; the Whitsun-ales; the bride-ales, or weddings, and a sort of play or pageant called the lord of misrule. Sheriffs too had their morris dance. The reader may be amused with the following account of the lord of misrule, as it contains a description of an attendant morris. It has been fortunately handed down to us by a puritanical writer of the reign of Elizabeth, whose loud ravings against the fashionable excesses of his countrymen have contributed to furnish posterity with the completest information respecting a considerable portion of the manners and customs of the above period that is any where to be found. These are his words: 'First, all the wilde heads of the parish, flocking togither, chuse them a graund captaine (of mischiefe) whome they innoble v the title of *my Lord of Misrule,* him they crowne with great sole nitie, and adopt for their king. T king annoynted, chooseth foo twentie, fourtie, threescore o hundred lustie guttes like to hims to waite upon his lordly maje and to guarde his noble per Then every one of these his m he investeth with his liveries greene, yellow, or some other l wanton collour. And as tho that were not (bawdy) gay ynough, I should say, they bede themselves with scarffes, ribb and laces, hanged all over v golde ringes, precious stones, other jewels: this done, they about either legge twentie or fou belles, with rich handkerchiefe their handes, and sometimes lai crosse over their shoulders neckes, borrowed for the most pa their pretie *Mopsies* and loving *sies,* for bussing them in the da Thus all things set in order, have they their hobby-horses, dragons and other antiques, tog with their baudie *pipers* and t dering *drummers,* to strike up *Devil's Daunce* withal: then ma this heathen company towards church and church-yarde, pypers pyping, their drum thundering, their stumpes daun their belles iyngling, their hand cheefes fluttering about their he like madde men, their hobbie-ho and other monsters skirmi amongst the throng: and in sorte they goe to the church (th the minister be at prayer or pre ing) dauncing and swinging handkerchiefes over their head the church like devils incar with such a confused noise, th man can heare his owne v Then the foolish people they l they stare, they laugh, they f and mount upon formes and p

o see these goodly pageants solem-
nized in this sort. Then after this
about the church they goe againe and
againe, and so foorth into the church
yarde, where they have commonly
their sommer haules, their bowers,
arbours, and banquetting houses set
up, wherein they feast, banquet,
and daunce all that day, and (peradventure) all that night too. And thus these terrestrial *furies* spend the Sabboth day. Another sort of fantasticall fooles bring to these helhoundes (the lord of misrule and his complices) some bread, some good ale, some new cheese, some old cheese, some custardes, some cracknels, some cakes, some flaunes, some tartes, some creame, some meat, some one thing, some another; but if they knewe that as often as they bringe anye to the maintenance of these execrable pastimes, they offer sacrifice to the Devill and Sathanas, they would repent and withdrawe their handes, which God graunt they may.' Another declaimer of the like kind, speaking of May games and morris dances, thus holds forth; 'The abuses which are committed in your May games are infinite. The first whereof is this, that you doe use to attyre in woman's apparrell whom you doe most commonly call *maymarrions*, whereby you infringe that straight commaundement whiche is given in Deut. xxii. 5, that men must not put on women's apparrell for feare of enormities. Nay I myself have seene in a May game a troupe, the greater part whereof hath been men, and yet have they been attyred so like unto women, that theyr faces being hidde (as they were indeede) a man coulde not discerne them from women. The second abuse, which of all other is the greatest, is this, that it hath been toulde that your morice dauncers have daunced naked in nettes: what greater entisement unto naughtines could have been devised? The third abuse is, that you (because you will loose no tyme) doe use commonly to runne into woodes in the night time, amongst maidens, to fet bowes, in so muche as I have hearde of tenne maidens which went to fet May, and nine of them came home with childe.' He seems likewise to allude to a character of the *Devil* in the May games, of which no mention is elsewhere made.

"In the course of time these several recreations were blended together so as to become almost indistinguishable. It is however very certain, that the May games of Robin Hood, accompanied with the morris, were at first a distinct ceremony from the simple morris, which when Warner lived was celebrated about the season of Easter, and before the May games: he thus speaks of them,

'At Paske begun our Morrise, and ere Penticost our May.'

"It is probable that when the practice of archery declined, the May games of *Robin Hood* were discontinued, and that the morris dance was transferred to the celebration of Whitsuntide, either as connected with the Witsun-ales, or as a separate amusement. In the latter instance it appears to have retained one or two of the characters in the May pageants; but no uniformity was or possibly could be observed, as the arrangement would vary in different places according to the humour or convenience of the parties."

On the Clowns and Fools of Shakspeare.

[From the same.]

"IT is so exceedingly clear that the terms *clown* and *fool* were used, however improperly, as synonymous by our old writers, that it would be an unnecessary occupation of the reader's time to adduce examples. Their confused introduction in the dramatis personæ might indeed render this position doubtful to any one who had not well considered the matter; but although the *fool* of our old plays denoted either a mere idiot or natural, or else a witty hireling or artificial fool, both retained for the purpose of making sport for their employers, the *clown* was certainly a character of much greater variety. He occasionally represented one of the above personages; sometimes he was a mere rustic, and very often no more than a shrewd and witty domestic. There are some instances in which any low character in a play served to amuse the audience with his sallies of coarse buffoonery, and thus became the *clown* of the piece. In short, the theatrical clown or fool seems to have been a kind of heterogeneous character, drawn in part from real life, but very considerably heightened in order to produce stage effect; an opinion that derives considerable support from what Shakspeare has put into the mouth of Hamlet, when he makes him admonish those who play the clowns to speak no more than is set down for them. Indeed the great dramatist himself cannot be absolved from the imputation of having given too high a colouring to the characters in question, unless we suppose, what is extremely probable, that his plays have been very much interpolated with the extemporaneous nonsense of the players. To this licentious practice the author of an excellent and well written satire, entitled, *Pasquil's mad-cappe thrown at the corruptions of these times*, 1626, 4to, alludes in the following lines:

'Tell country players, that old paltry jests
Pronounced in a painted motley coate
Filles all the world so full of cuckoe nests,
That nightingales can scarcely sing note:
O bid them turne their minds to bette meanings;
Fields are ill sowne that give no bette gleanings.'

"Among other grave writers o the age, Sir Philip Sidney has repro bated the practice of introducin fools on the theatre. He remark that the plays of his time were nei ther right tragedies nor right come dies, but that the authors mingle kings and clowns; 'not,' says he 'because the matter so carrieth it but thrust in the *clowne* by hea and shoulders to play a part in majes tical matters, with neither decenci nor discretion: so as neither th admiration and commiseration, no the right sportfulnesse is by thei mongrell tragicomedie obtained William Rankin, a puritan, and con temporary with Shakspeare, ha left us a most virulent attack o plays, and players, whom he call monsters; 'And whie monsters,' says he, 'Bicause under colour o humanitie they present nothing bu prodigious vanitie. These are wel without water, dead branches fi for fuell, cockle amongst corne unwholesome weedes amongs sweete hearbes, and finallie, feend

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that are crept into the worlde by stealth, and holde possession by subtill invasion.' In another place, describing the performers at a fictitious banquet in Terralbon [England], he says, 'Some transformed themselves to roges, other to ruffians, some other to *clownes*, a fourth to *fooles* . . . . the roges were ready, the ruffians were rude, *theyr clownes cladde* as well with country condition, as in ruffe russet; theyr *fooles as fonde as might be*,' &c. The latter passage is interesting, because the clown is properly distinguished from the fool, as he always should have been.

"It may be the means of affording a clearer view of the present subject, if something like a classification of the different sort of fools and clowns be given. The following is therefore offered as a substitute for a better.

"I. *The general domestic fool*, often, but as it should seem improperly, termed a clown. He was 1. a mere natural, or idiot. 2. Silly by nature, yet cunning and sarcastical. 3. Artificial. Puttenham, speaking of the latter, says, 'A buffoune or counterfet foole, to here him speake wisely which is like himselfe, it is no sport at all; but for such a counterfait to talke and looke foolishly it maketh us laugh, because it is no part of his naturall.' All these officiated occasionally as menial servants.

"II. *The clown*, who was 1. a mere country booby. 2. A witty rustic. 3. Any servant of a shrewd and witty disposition, and who, like a similar character in our modern plays, was made to treat his master with great familiarity, in order to produce stage effect.

"III. *The female fool*, who was generally an idiot.

"IV. *The city or corporation fool*, whose office was to assist at public entertainments and in pageants. To this class belong perhaps the Lord Mayor's state fool, and those employed by the companies of trades, &c.

"V. *Tavern fools.* These seem to have been retained to amuse the customers. We learn from one of Ben Jonson's plays, that they exhibited with a Jew's harp, mounted on a joint-stool; and in another of them he has preserved the name of such a character: they were sometimes qualified to sing after the Italian manner. Fools were also employed in the common brothels.

"VI. *The fool of the ancient theatrical mysteries and moralities.* He was, more properly speaking, the *Vice*, a singular character, that would afford sufficient matter for much better dissertations than those of Warburton or Upton. Being generally dressed in a fool's habit, he appears to have been gradually and undistinguishably blended with the domestic fool; yet he was certainly a buffoon of a different sort. He was always a bitter enemy to the Devil, and a part of his employment consisted in teazing and tormenting the poor fiend on every occasion. He ceased to be in fashion at the end of the sixteenth century.

"VII. *The fool in the old dumb shows exhibited at fairs, and perhaps at inns*, in which he was generally engaged in a struggle with Death; a fact that seems alluded to more than once in Shakspeare's plays. It is possible that some casual vestiges of this species of entertainment might have suggested the modern English pantomines.

"VIII. *The fool in the Whitsun-ales and Morris dance.*

"IX. *The mountebank's fool, or merry Andrew.*

"There may be others introduced into

into our old dramas of an indefinite and irregular kind, and not reducible to any of the above classes; but to exemplify these or many of the above by a specific reference to authorities, is not within the scope of the present essay. It is hoped that what has been just stated may contribute to assist the readers of old plays in forming some judgment of their own whenever the necessity shall arise.

"A general investigation of that most singular and eccentric character, the real domestic fool, would occupy more space than could here have been spared. It would indeed extend to a length that few will conceive; but should the same laudable spirit of curiosity respecting the manners of former times which at present constitutes much of the amusement of an enlightened public, continue to maintain its influence, encouragement would not be wanting to resume the subject more at large. In the mean time it may be sufficient to remark, that the practice of retaining fools can be traced in very remote times, throughout almost all civilized, and even among some barbarous nations. It prevailed from the palace to the brothel. The pope had his fool, and the bawd her's; and ladies entertained them of both sexes. With respect to the antiquity of this custom in our own country, there is reason to suppose that it existed even during the period of our Saxon history; but we are quite certain of the fact in the reign of William the Conqueror. An almost contemporary historian, Maître Wace, has left us a curious account of the preservation of William's life when he was only Duke of Normandy, by his fool *Goles*. Mention is made in Domesday of *Berdic joculator regis;* and although this term was unquestionably applied in numerous instances to denote a minstrel, much evidence might be adduced to show that on this occasion it signified a buffoon. Latin terms were used by the middle-age writers so licentiously, and with such extreme carelessness, that in many cases it is difficult to obtain a precise idea of their meaning. Thus the jesters and minstrels were indefinitely expressed by the words *joculator, scurra, mimus, ministrallus,* &c. a practice that may admit of justification when we consider that in early times the minstrel and buffoon characters were sometimes united in one person. It must be allowed, however, that in an etymological point of view, the term *joculator* is much better adapted to the jester than the minstrel.

"The accounts of the household expenses of our sovereigns contain many payments and rewards to fools both foreign and domestic, the motives for which do not appear, but might perhaps have been some witty speech or comic action that had pleased the donors. Some of these payments are annual gifts at Christmas. Dr. Fuller, speaking of the court jester, whom he says some count a necessary evil, remarks, in his usual quaint manner, that it is an office which none but he that hath wit can perform, and none but he that wants it will perform. A great many names of these buffoons have been preserved; and sufficient materials remain to furnish a separate biography of them, which might afford even more amusement than can be found in the lives of many of their betters. They continued an appurtenance to the English court to a late period. Muckle John, the fool of Charles the First, and the successor of Archee Armstrong, is perhaps the last regular personage of the kind. The national troubles

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that produced the downfall of regal power, and the puritanical manners that ensued, at once determined the existence of an office that had so long maintained its ground at court; and when Charles the Second resumed the throne, it was probably deemed a matter of no moment to restore it. The common stories that relate to Killigrew as jester to Charles, rest on no sufficient authority; and although he might have contributed to amuse the witty monarch with his jokes, it is certain that he had no regular appointment to such an office. Mr. Granger has justly observed, that the wit of the buffoons became the highest recommendation of a courtier in the time of Charles the Second.

"The discontinuance of the court fool had a considerable influence on the manners of private life; and we learn from one of Shadwell's plays, that it was then 'out of fashion for great men to keep fools.' But the practice was by no means abolished; it maintained its ground in this country so late as the beginning of the last century; and we have an epitaph, written by Dean Swift, on Dicky Pearce the Earl of Suffolk's fool, who was buried in Berkley church-yard, June 18, 1728. This person was an idiot. Lord Chancellor Talbot kept a Welsh jester named Rees Pengelding. He was a very shrewd fellow, and rented a farm of his master. Being distrained on for his rent by an oppressive steward, who had been a tailor and bore him a grudge, the surly fellow said to him on this occasion: 'I'll fit you sirrah.' 'Then,' replied Rees, 'it will be the first time in your life that you ever fitted any one.' Another Welshman, called Will the taborer, was retained in a similar capacity, about the beginning of the last century, by Sir Edward Stradling, of St. Donat's castle, in Glamorganshire. He is said to have been a very witty fellow, and a man of strong intellects. Lord Bussy Mansel, of Margam, had likewise in his service one Robin Rush, an idiot by nature, but who often said very witty things. There are people now alive in Wales, or lately were, who well remembered him.

"The sort of entertainment that fools were expected to afford, may be collected in great variety from our old plays, and particularly from those of Shakspeare; but perhaps no better idea can be formed of their general mode of conduct than from the following passage in a singular tract by Lodge, entitled *Wit's Miserie*, 1599, 4to. 'Immoderate and disordinate joy became incorporate in the bodie of a jeaster; this fellow in person is comely, in apparell courtly, but in behaviour a very ape, and no man; his studie is to coine bitter jeasts, or to shew antique motions, or to sing baudie sonnets and ballads: give him a little wine in his head, he is continually flearing and making of mouthes: he laughs intemperately at every little occasion, and dances about the house, leaps over tables, outskips mens' heads, trips up his companion's heeles, burns sack with a candle, and hath all the feats of a lord of misrule in the countrie: feed him in his humour, you shall have his heart, in meere kindness he will hug you in his armes, kisse you on the cheeke, and rapping out an horrible oth, crie God's soule Tum, I love you, you know my poore heart, come to my chamber for a pipe of tobacco, there lives not a man in this world that I more honor. In these ceremonies you shall know his courting, and it is a speciall mark of him

him at the table, he sits and makes faces: keep not this fellow company, for in *jugling* with him, your wardropes shall be wasted, your credits crakt, your crownes consumed, and time (the most precious riches of the world) utterly lost.' This is the picture of a real hireling or artificial fool.

"As the profession of these hirelings required a considerable degree of skill and dexterity to amuse their employers, so it would in some instances fail of success, and the want of the above talents would excite considerable disgust and dissatisfaction. Cardinal Perron being one day in company with the Duke of Mantua, the latter, speaking of his fool, said that he was *un magro buffone & non haver spirito.* The cardinal remarked that nevertheless he had wit. 'Why so?,' demanded the duke; 'Because,' replied the other, 'he lives by a trade which he does not understand.' The liberties allowed them were necessarily very great; but this was not always a protection to them. Every one knows the disgracefully severe conduct of archbishop Laud to poor Archee. The Duke d'Espernon, though a man of great haughtiness of spirit, conducted himself on a similar occasion with much more discretion. His Gascon accent was a constant subject of raillery on the part of Maret, the fool of Louis XIII., whose great talent lay in mimicry. Cardinal Richelieu, who took upon him to give the duke some pointed admonitions, ordered him, among other things, to endeavour to get rid of his provincial tones, at the same time counterfeiting his speech, and sarcastically intreating him not to take his advice in bad part. 'But why should I,' replied the duke, 'when I bear as much every day from the king's fool who mocks me in your presence?' Selden has remarked, on a similar occasion, that a gallant man is above ill words, and has left us a story of the forbearance of the old lord Salisbury, whom he calls a great wise man, towards Stone, a celebrated fool in the reign of James the First. Fools, however, did not always escape with impunity; they were liable to, and often experienced, very severe domestic castigation. Whipping was the punishment generally inflicted. On the other hand they appear to have been sometimes used with great tenderness. This is very feelingly exemplified in the conduct of Lear. Stafford, in his *Guide of Honour*, 1634, 18mo, tells us, that he 'had knowne a great and competently wise man who would much respect any man that was good to his foole.' An opportunity here presents itself of explaining the old proverb 'five pounds; you've bled a fool,' which, adverting to the usual privilege or allowance belonging to this character, seems to demand a forfeit from whoever had infringed it by inflicting an improper and unlawful chastisement. This exposition derives support from a passage in Ben Jonson's *Fox*, and also contributes to its illustration.

"In the second act there is a song describing a fool, in which it is said that he 'speaks truth free from slaughter.' This has been with some ingenuity supposed to mean '*free* from hurting any one.' The other construction may perhaps be thought as plausible.

"With respect to his office on the stage, we may suppose it would be nearly the same as in reality; the difference might be that his wit was more highly seasoned. Mr. Malone has already cited a very curious passage on this subject from the play of *The Careless Shepherdess*, 1656.

1656. In Middleton's *Mayor of Quinborough*, a company of actors with a clown make their appearance, and the following dialogue ensues :

'First Cheater.

'This is our clown, Sir.

'Simon.

'Fye, fye, your company
Must fall upon him and beat him; he's too fair, i' faith
To make the people laugh.

'First Cheater.

'Not as he may be dressed, Sir.

'Simon.

'Faith, dress him how you will, I'll give him
That gift, he will never look half scurvily enough.
Oh, the clowns that I have seen in my time.
The very peeping out of one of them would have
Made a young heir laugh, though his father lay a dying;
A man undone in law the day before
(The saddest case that can be) might for his second
Have burst himself with laughing, and ended all
His miseries. Here was a merry world, my masters!
Some talk of things of state, of puling stuff;
There's nothing in a play like to a clown,
If he have the grace to hit on it, that's the thing indeed.

'Simon.

'Away then, shift, clown to thy *motley* crupper.'

"Whoever is desirous of obtaining general and accurate information concerning the great variety of dresses that belong to some of the characters in question at different periods, must study ancient prints and paintings, and especially the miniatures that embellish manuscripts. These will afford sufficient specimens; but the difficulty of ascertaining how the *theatrical fools and clowns* of Shakspeare's time were *always* habited, is insuperable. In some instances the plays themselves assist by peculiar references that leave but little doubt; but this is not the case in general. It is to be lamented that our artists did not appropriate more of their labours to the representation of theatrical subjects, and the fortunate discovery of a single ancient painting of this kind would be of more importance than a volume of conjectural dissertations. As it may be presumed that former theatrical managers exhibited with fidelity on the stage the manners of their own times, a reference to the materials which remain to illustrate the dress of the real fools, may supply the defect before alluded to.

"It may be collected both from the plays themselves, and from various other authorities, that the costume of the domestic fool in Shakspeare's time was of two sorts. In the first of these the coat was motley or parti-coloured, and attached to the body by a girdle, with bells at the skirts and elbows, though not always. The breeches and hose close, and sometimes each leg of a different colour. A hood resembling a monk's cowl, which, at a very early period, it was certainly designed to imitate, covered the head entirely, and fell down over part of the breast and shoulders. It was sometimes decorated with asses' ears, or else, terminated in the neck and head of a cock, a fashion as old as the fourteenth century. It often had the comb or crest only of the animal, whence the term *cockscomb* or *coxcomb* was afterwards used to denote any silly upstart. This fool usually carried in his hand an official sceptre or bauble, which was a short stick ornamented at the end with the figure of a fool's head, or sometimes with that of a doll or puppet. To this instrument there was frequently annexed an inflated skin or bladder,

bladder, with which the fool belaboured those who offended him, or with whom he was inclined to make sport; this was often used by itself, in lieu, as it should seem, of a bauble. The form of it varied, and in some instances was obscene in the highest degree. It was not always filled with air, but occasionally with sand, or pease. Sometimes a strong bat or club was substituted for the bauble. In the second tale of the priests of Peblis, a man who counterfeits a fool is described 'with *club* and bel and partie-cote with eiris;' but it afterwards appears that he had both a club and a bauble. In an inventory of the goods of the ancient company of Saint George at Norwich, mention is made of 'two habits, one for the *club-bearer*, another for his man, who are now called fools;' and the author of *Tarlton's News out of Purgatory*, 1630, 4to, describes a dream in which he saw 'one attired in russet with a button'd cap on his head, a great bag by his side, and a *strong bat* in his hand, so artificially attired for a clowne, as I began to call Tarlton's wounted shape to remembrance.'

"In some old prints the fool is represented with a sort of flapper or rattle ornamented with bells. It seems to have been constructed of two round and flat pieces of wood or pasteboard, and is, no doubt, a vestige of the crotalum used by the Roman mimes or dancers. This implement was used for the same purpose as the bladder, and occasionally for correcting the fool himself whenever he behaved with too much licentiousness. Such a castigation is actually exhibited in one ancient German edition of the *Ship of Fools*, by Sebastian Brandt; but the usual punishment on this occasion was a simple whipping. In some old plays the fool's *dagger* is mentioned, perhaps the same instrument as was carried by the *Vice* or buffoon of the Moralities; and it may be as well to observe in this place, that the domestic fool is sometimes, though it is presumed improperly, called the Vice. The dagger of the latter was made of a thin piece of lath; and the use he generally made of it was to belabour the Devil. It appears that in Queen Elizabeth's time the archbishop of Canterbury's fool had a wooden dagger and coxcomb. In Greene's play of *Fryer Bacon*, the fool speaks of his dagger. In Beaumont and Fletcher's *Noble Gentleman*, a person being compared to a fool, it is added that he should wear a guarded coat and a *great wooden dagger*. In Chapman's *Widow's Tears*, an upstart governor is termed 'a wooden dagger *gilded* o'er;' and Rabelais has made Panurge give Triboulet the fool a wooden sword. In an old German print a fool is represented with a sword like a *saw*.

"The other dress, and which seems to have been more common in the time of Shakspeare, was the long petticoat. This originally appertained to the idiot or natural fool, and was obviously adopted for the purposes of cleanliness and concealment. Why it came to be used for the allowed fool is not so apparent. It was, like the first, of various colours, the materials often costly, as of velvet, and guarded or fringed with yellow. In one instance we have a *yellow leather* doublet. In Bancroft's *Epigrams*, 1639, quarto, there is one addressed 'to a giglot with her greene sicknesse,' in which are these lines:

'Thy sickness mocks thy pride, that's seldom seene,
But in *foole's yellow*, and the lover's greene.'

And a manuscript note in the time of

of the commonwealth states yellow to have been the *fool's colour*. This petticoat dress continued to a late period, and has been seen not many years since in some of the interludes exhibited in Wales.

"But the above were by no means the only modes in which the domestic fools were habited. Many variations can be traced. The hood was not always surmounted with the cock's comb, in lieu of which a single bell and occasionally more appeared. Sometimes a feather was added to the comb. In the old morality of *The longer thou livest the more foole thou art*, Moros the fool says,

'By my trouth the thing that I desire most
Is in my cappe to have a *goodly feather*.'

"The head was frequently shaved in imitation, or perhaps ridicule of a monk's crown. This practice is very ancient, and can be traced to the twelfth century. In one instance the hair exhibits a sort of triple or Papal crown. The tails of foxes or squirrels were often suspended to the garment. Godfrey Gobilive, the fool in Haws's *Pastime of Pleasure*, 1517, 4to, is described as so habited. In *The Pope's Funerall*, 1605, 4to, the author says, 'I shall prove him such a noddy before I leave him, that all the world will deeme him worthy to weare in his forehead a coxcombe for his foolishness, and on his back, a *fox tayle* for his badge.' It was likewise the dress of the fool in the plough pageant and morris dance. One might almost conclude that this custom was designed to ridicule a fashion that prevailed among the ladies in the reign of Edward the Third, and which is mentioned by the author of the old chronicle of England, erroneously ascribed to Caxton the printer, in the following terms, 'And the women more nysely yet passed the men in aray and coriouslaker, for they were so streyt clothed that they let hange *fox tailles* sowed bineth within hir clothes for to hele and hide thir a—, the which disguisinges and pride peradventure afterward brouzt forth and encaused many myshappes and meschief in the reame of Englond.' The idiot or natural was often clothed in a calf or sheep's skin.

"A large purse or wallet at the girdle is a very ancient part of the fool's dress. Tarlton, who personated the clowns in Shakspeare's time, appears to have worn it The budget given by Panurge to Triboulet the fool, is described as made of a tortoise-shell.

"We may suppose, that the same variety of dress was observed on the stage which we know to have actually prevailed in common life. The fools, however, did not always appear in a discriminative habit, and some of their portraits still remaining, confirm this observation. A very fine painting by Holbein, in Kensington Palace, represents Will Somers the fool of Henry the Eighth, in a common dress. In a wardrobe account of that sovereign, we find these articles: 'For making a dubblette of wursteede lyned with canvas and cotton, for William Som'ar oure foole. Item for making of a coote and a cappe of grene clothe fringed with red crule and lyned with fryse, for our saide foole. Item for making of a dublette of fustian, lyned with cotton and canvas for oure same foole.' Yet he sometimes wore the usual hood instead of a cap; for in the same account is an article 'For making of a coote of grene clothe with a *hoode* to the same, fringed with white crule lyned with fryse and bokerham, for oure foole aforesaid;' and there is a print of him after a picture by Holbein, in which he is represented

sented in a long tunic with a chain and horn in his hand. In the celebrated picture of Sir Thomas More's family by Holbein, Patenson the fool is not distinguished by any peculiarity of dress; and, in one instance at least, the same remark applies to Archy the fool of James I. In those families where the fool acted as a menial servant, it is possible that he might have reserved his official habit for particular occasions. The paucity of materials that illustrate the theatrical character in question, must necessarily leave this part of the subject still more imperfect than the rest; but the plays of Shakspeare have furnished more information than those of any other writer. It is surprising, on the whole, that the character of the domestic fool is so seldom found in the old dramas that remain; because it was not only capable of affording considerable mirth to the unrefined part of the audience, but of giving the authors an opportunity of displaying a great deal of ingenuity so far as regarded extemporary wit. It is certain that the fools in Shakspeare's plays were pre-eminent above all others. For this we have the authority of Shadwell, who makes one of his characters say, that they had more wit than any of the wits and critics of his time. Beaumont and Fletcher have but rarely introduced them; Ben Jonson and Massinger never. Indeed the originals had rapidly declined at the period in which most of their plays were written, and another character of a mixed nature had been substituted in their room. This was the witty servant or clown, (Class II. No. 3.) and of course his dress was not distinguished by any peculiarity.

"The practice of introducing the fools and clowns between the acts and scenes, and after the play was finished, to amuse the audience with extemporaneous wit and buffoonery, has been so well illustrated by the able historian of the English stage, that very little can remain to be said on the subject. It has been traced from the Greek and Roman theatres; and, as their usages were undoubtedly preserved in those of the middle ages that belonged to the countries were Roman influence had been spread, it would not of course be peculiar to the early stage in England. Indeed the records of the French theatre amply demonstrate the truth of this position, and furnish several examples of the practice in question. In the mystery of *Saint Barbara* we find this stage direction, 'Pausa. Vadant, et Stultus loquitur;' and he is several times introduced in like manner between the scenes, in order that the amusement of the spectators might not be suspended whilst something was in agitation for the further prosecution of the piece. Perhaps the most singular *pause* in any dramatic composition whatsoever is one which occurs in the very rare morality of *La Condamnacion des Banquetz*, in the following words, 'Pause pour pisser le fol. Il prent ung coffinet en lieu de orinal & pisce dedans, et tout coule par bas,' sign. M iiij. Nor was the English stage in Shakspeare's time allowed to remain empty. Lupton has related a story of the clown at the Red Bull Theatre, who was suddenly called for between the acts, and forgot his fool's cap. Puttenham, speaking of verses that rhime in the middle and end, observes, that 'they were more commodiously uttered by the buffoons or vices in playes then by any other person.' It was likewise a part of the stage fool's office to introduce, at his own discretion, a great many old songs, or at least the fragments of them.

"The

"The first symptoms of the decline of the domestic fools, and the causes of it, have been already touched on; and the same reasons may partly be assigned for their exile from the stage. In the præludium to Goffe's *Careless Shepherdess*, 1656, 4to, there is a panegyric on them, and some concern is manifested for the fool's absence in the play itself. It is likewise expressly stated, that 'the motly coat was banish'd with trunkhose.' Yet during the reign of Charles the Second occasional efforts were made to restore the character. In the tragedy of *Thorney Abbey, or the London Maid*, 1662, 12mo, the prologue is spoken by a fool, who uses these words, 'the poet's a fool who made the tragedy to tell a story of a king and a court and leave a fool out on't, when in Pacy's and Sommer's and Patche's and Archee's times, my venerable predecessours, a fool was always the principal verb.' Shadwell's play of *The Woman Captain*, 1680, is perhaps the last in which a regular fool is introduced, and even there his master is made to say, that the character was then exploded on the stage."

Of Portuguese Literature during the Sixteenth Century.

[From Mr. Irving's Memoirs of Buchanan.]

"OF the Portuguese who have cultivated vernacular literature, Lobeira and Camoëns have obtained the most extensive celebrity among foreign nations. Vasco Lobeira, who flouished in the fourteenth century, is the author of *Amadis of Gaul*, one of the earliest, and certainly the most famous of all the romances of chivalry: Luis de Camoëns, who died in extreme poverty in the year 1579, was a poet of no common talents; and among other monuments of original genius, bequeathed to his ungrateful country an epic poem adorned with many of the flowers of genuine poetry. The compositions of these two writers have, with great felicity, been incorporated in our national literature: Lobeira's romance has been exhibited in an English dress by Mr. Southey; the Lusiad of Camoëns has been translated by Mr. Mickle, and a selection of his other poems by Lord Strangford.

"Osorius informs us, that the Latin tongue was much cultivated in Portugal, from the reign of Alphonzo the First till that of Denys; and commemorates Alphonzo himself as the author of a Latin book, written with tolerable propriety. Barbarism, he adds, afterwards ensued, and the purity of that language was miserably contaminated. King Denys died in the year 1325. Antonius de Macedo and other Portuguese writers have affirmed, that it was he who founded the university of Coimbra; but this is an assertion which cannot fail to excite considerable suspicion. That a respectable school was established there by King Denys, is sufficiently credible: but the original founder of the university was undoubtedly John the Third; and it probably assumed its regular form about the year 1540. The other Portuguese university, that of Evora, was also founded during the reign of King John; whom

whom his countrymen have, with one voice, extolled as a liberal patron of literature.

"The great restorers of polite learning in Portugal and Spain were Arius Barbosa and Ælius Antonius Nebrissensis. Barbosa, a native of Aveiro in Portugal, after having studied in the university of Salamanca, betook himself to Florence for the purpose of attending the prelections of Politian. He became a proficient in classical literature, and was the first who introduced the Greek language into modern Spain. In the year 1495 he returned to Salamanca, where he taught for the space of twenty years. He was afterwards attracted to his native country to undertake the tuition of Don Alphonzo, the brother of King John. He has left several works in verse and in prose; and has often been commemorated as a man of talents. His learned friend Nebrissensis, who was born at Lebrixa in Spain in the year 1444, likewise prosecuted his studies at Salamanca and in Italy. He was successively a professor at Salamanca and Alcala; and was engaged by Cardinal Ximenez in the famous Alcala edition of the Bible. His various erudition has been commemorated by Erasmus, and by other eminent scholars of that century; but in the knowledge of the Greek language he was inferior to Barbosa. He died in the year 1522.

"Lucius Andreas Resendius, who seems to have taught in the university of Coimbra, and at the same period with Buchanan, was the earliest Portuguese author who investigated the antiquities of his native country with erudition and judgment. He composed various works in verse as well as in prose; and, in the opinion of a learned Belgian, is a poet worthy of being compared with the ancients. Resendius, who was born at Evora in 1493, and died in 1573, prosecuted his studies at Alcala under Nebrissensis, and at Salamanca under his countryman Barbosa. The esteem and admiration which he has so frequently and so earnestly testified for Erasmus, may be recorded as a proof of his intelligence and liberality; for Erasmus's free spirit of disquisition was very far from recommending him to the majority of his ecclesiastical brethren. The following lines contain perhaps the highest compliment that has yet been paid to his genius and erudition.

'Funus acerbum,
Funus, Erasme, tuum O utinam pensare daretur
Funere posse meo: vixes dignissime vita.
Hanc animam pro te potius crudelibus umbris,
Vilem, indefletam, ignotam, nullaque patenteis
Clade affecturam terras, Libitina tulisset,

"Michael Cabedius, an eminent lawyer, who was born at Cetuval in 1525, and died at Lisbon in 1577, cultivated Latin poetry with a degree of success which at least secured him the applause of his countrymen. He translated the *Plutus* of Aristophanes, and composed some original poems with considerable felicity. Vasconcellus, in his hendecasyllables written in celebration of Lisbon, introduces the name of Cabedius with very honourable mention.

'Haud nostræ genius valet Thaliæ
Tantæ pondera sustinere molis.
Id præstere tibi mei Cabedi
Felix Musa potest, parem vetustis
Quem Cetobrica protulit poetis,
Felices ubi Jaspidum colonos
Piscosi sinus alluit profundi.
Huic altam tribuit Minerva mentem:
Dulci pectora condiens lepore,
Excultum eloquium dedere Musæ,
Miscentes Latiis sales Pelasgos:
Phœbus plectra dedit, quibus Maronem
Donarat, Colophoniumque vatem.
Hausit Cæsarei fluenta juris

Puris

Puris fontibus, omniumque nodos
Legum solvere, vel Papiniano
Novit rectius elegantiusque.'

"The family of Govea, so intimately connected with Buchanan, was remarkable for its talents and literature. James Govea was principal of the college of St. Barbe at Paris, where he superintended the studies of three promising nephews, who were educated at the charge of the Portuguese monarch, King John. They were natives of Beja. Martial, the eldest of these learned brothers, published a Latin grammar at Paris in the year 1534; and likewise composed various poems, which are not, however, known to have been printed. Andrew, who belonged to the ecclesiastical order, and who, according to Beza, was a doctor of the Sorbonne, taught grammar, and afterwards philosophy, in the college over which his uncle presided. He at length obtained the principality himself: Andrew Govea, principal of St. Barbe, was chosen rector of the university of Paris on the 23d of June, 1533. In the course of the following year, he was invited to Bourdeaux, where he governed the college of Guienne with great moderation and address. He died at Coimbra on the 9th of June, 1548, after having reached the age of about fifty. His friend Vinetus, in an epistle to Andreas Schottus, has commemorated him as a man of liberal sentiments, and as an encourager of learning. He does not, however, belong to the list of authors.

"Anthony Govea was the youngest, and the most renowned of these brothers. While he prosecuted his studies in the college of St. Barbe, he made very unusual progress in ancient literature and philosophy; and at Avignon and Toulouse, he afterwards applied to the study of jurisprudence with the same assiduity and success. He studied at Toulouse about the year 1539; but before that period he had taught humanity in the college of Guienne. In 1542 he was a regent in some Parisian college under his uncle: and in the course of the ensuing year, he was engaged in a dispute with Ramus, which occasioned prodigious combustion in that university. Ramus, it is well known, had laudably undertaken to impugn the philosophy of Aristotle; and Govea, notwithstanding his youth, was the first who entered the lists against him. He was seconded by Perionius and other strenuous advocates of old opinions; and the contest at length rose to such a height, that it was determined by a royal mandate. Govea afterwards returned to the college of Guienne, where he was left by the colony which departed for Coimbra. He successively taught jurisprudence at Toulouse, Cahors, Valence, and Grenoble, to crowded auditories; but when France began to be annoyed with the tumults of a civil war, he retired into Italy, and found an honourable asylum at the court of Savoy. From the duke he is said to have obtained the offices of counsellor, and master of the requests. He died at Turin, at the age of about sixty. Manfred, one of his sons, was also a man of learning; he published several works, among which are Latin poems, and annotations on the writings of Julius Clarus. Anthony Govea, according to Thuanus, was the only man of that age, who, by the common consent of the learned, was considered as a very elegant poet, a great philosopher, and a most able civilian. The purity of his Latin style is highly commended by the same admirable historian.

Besides his juridical writings, and his answer to Ramus, he published Latin poems, editions of Virgil, Terence, and some of the works of Cicero, and a Latin translation of Porphyry's Introduction to Aristotle's Logic. Joseph Scaliger represents him as an excellent French poet. But his chief praise is that of having been deemed the most formidable rival of Cujacius. He is highly extolled by Gravina, the most elegant civilian of the last century; and Cujacius himself had awarded him the superiority over all the interpreters of the Justinian law in ancient or modern times.

"Govea was the intimate friend of Buchanan; who has recorded his attachment in immortal verse. Muretus thus addresses him in one of his epigrams:

"Summe poetarum quos secula nostra tulerunt,
Cui sacra Castalii fluminis unda subest,
Accipe non tetrica juvenilia carmina fronte,
A domino limam jussa subire tuam,
Ut tibi si (quod vix ausim sperare) probentur,
Olim se lucem posse videre putent:
Sin minus, æterna damnentur, ut omnia, nocte,
Aspectu tanti facta beata viri."

"Jacobus Tevius, the friend of Buchanan and Govea, was a native of Braga. Having completed his studies in the university of Paris, he obtained a regency at Bourdeaux; where, as we have already seen, he was associated with Buchanan. After his removal to Coimbra, he composed an historical work which has been highly commended for the elegance of its Latinity. Schottus informs us that he also published some orations, as well as some Portuguese and Latin poems. It was his intention to compose a general history of his native country; but this plan he did not live to execute.

"Buchanan has repeatedly testified his affection for this associate in his learned labours. When Tevius published his historical Commentary, Buchanan furnished him with a very happy address to King John; which is prefixed to the various editions of that work. In his elegy to Tastæus and Tevius, he addresses him with all the warmth of friendship:

'O animæ, Ptolemæe, meæ pars altera tuque
Altera pars animæ, Tevi Jacobe, meæ.'

In a little poem inscribed to Anthony Govea, he has strongly indicated his regard for each of these Portuguese scholars.

'Si quicquam, Goveane, fas mihi est
Invidere tibive, Teviove,
Et te nostro ego Tevio inviderem,
Et nostrum tibi Tevium inviderem.
Sed cum me nihil invidere sit fas
Vel tibi, Goveane, Teviove,
Si fas est quod amor dolorque cogit,
Vobis imprecor usque et imprecabor
Uterque ut mihi sed cito rependat
Hoc parvum ob facinus malum
pœnas:
Te mi Tevius invidere possit,
Tu possis mihi Tevium invidere.
Ambobus mihi si frui licebit,
Cœlum Diis ego non suum invidebo,
Sed sortem mihi Dii meam invidebu

"Hieronymus Osorius, bish of Sylves, has likewise illustrate portion of the Portuguese hist with more than common elegan He was born at Lisbon in 1506, died at Tavilla in 1580. At the quest of King John, he had tau theology in the newly-founded u versity of Coimbra. As a Cice nian, he stands unrivalled among countrymen; and in the judgm of Metamorus, may even cont with Longolius, or any other imi tor of the Roman orator. Asch was also of opinion, that, since days of Cicero, no author had w ten with greater purity and quence; but Lord Bacon, who however, a less competent judg style, has characterized his vei

composition by the epithet *watery*. The most celebrated of his productions seem to be his five books *De Gloria*. This treatise bears the form of a dialogue; and one of the interlocutors is his very learned friend Antonius Augustinus, Archbishop of Tarragona, in whom Spain deservedly glories as a philologer and civilian of the first order. Osorius attracted the particular attention of English scholars by his epistle to Queen Elizabeth, and his subsequent altercation with Haddon. This was certainly no despicable antagonist; though Osorius and his zealous friend Manuel d'Almada have treated him with the utmost contempt. His work *De Justitia* Osorius inscribed to Cardinal Pole; who was himself distinguished for the elegance of his Latinity.

"Gyraldus has enumerated several of the Portuguese who had cultivated Latin poetry; but to Didacus Pyrrhus, who is one of the interlocutors in his second dialogue, he assigns the superiority over all the rest. Hermicus Caiadus, Georgius Cœlius, and Michael Sylvius, flourished during the earlier part of the sixteenth century: and their poetical attempts were not altogether slighted by the fastidious scholars of Italy. Ignatius Moralis, Ludovicus Crucius, and Manuel Pimenta, who succeeded them, were likewise poets of a temporary reputation. Crucius executed a paraphrase of the Psalms; and, in the preface, he has treated his predecessor Buchanan with abundant acrimony. This is only what might have been expected from a Portuguese Jesuit; but his own compositions are nearly consigned to irremediable oblivion, while those of Buchanan continue to resist the overwhelming stream of time. Achilles Statius and Thomas Correa likewise aspired to distinction as writers of Latin verse, but they were more conspicuous for their merit as philologers: the former, in particular, is entitled to a station among the most learned of his countrymen.

"Besides Anthony Govea, Portugal produced several other civilians. The name of Amatus Lusitanus is inserted in the catalogue of illustrious physicians; and Hector Pintus, who was a professor at Coimbra, is represented as a learned and eloquent divine. But the most famous of the Portuguese theologians was Franciscus Forerius, who had distinguished himself in the council of Trent, and who presided over the Dominican monastery of Almada Hill. Manuel Alavrez, an acute and learned Jesuit, born in the island of Madeira, is regarded as one of the ablest grammarians of modern times. Petrus Nonius, a native of Alcazar do Sal, and a professor in the university of Coimbra, is denominated by Osorius the prince of mathematicians; and the learned of various nations have assigned him a conspicuous station among the cultivators of science."

On the Primeval Language of Mankind.

[From Mr. Kirwan's Essay in the Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy, Vol. X.]

"THE origin of vocal language, that combination of sounds, by which the thoughts and sentiments of men are communicated to each other, thus forming the principal link of their social intercourse, has always excited the astonishment of those who have attended to its investigation.

"On this subject two opinions have been proposed. The first was held, or rather suspected, by persons unacquainted with the most ancient and authentic record of the origin of our species. They supposed that men originally lived in a savage unconnected state, destitute of any language; that their mutual wants and dangers induced them at last to unite; and, that by uttering different sounds, as often as they pointed at different objects, they gradually formed a language. Thus its origin is explained by Diodorus and by Lucretius:

'At varios linguæ sonitus natura subegit
Mittere, et utilitas expressit nomina rerum.'

'Then nature next, the tongue's innumerous tones
Urged them to try; and sage convenience soon
To things applied them.'—Good.

And again,

'Postremo quid in hoc mirabile tanto pere est,
Si genus humanum, cui vox et lingua vigerit,
Pro vario sensu, varias res voce notaret?'

'But why so wond'rous seems it that mankind,
With voice and tongue endowed, to notice things
That voice should vary with the things themselves?'—Good.

"But we are surprised to see so eminent a critic as P. Simon agree with these unenlightened heathens, and abandon, without any necessity, and in opposition to all just rules of interpretation, the literal sense of the second chapter of Genesis, in which language is expressly mentioned as co-existing with the first pair. Even the celebrated Warburton, though he expressly deduces the origin of language from inspiration, appears to me to have been too liberal in allowing the possibility of any other origin. Its impossibility has been demonstrated, both theoretically, by the subtle and eloquent Rousseau, and experimentally, in the person of the savage of Aveyron. Among many curious observations, of which he was the object, it was discovered, not only that the organs of speech grow torpid by inaction, and can with great difficulty utter any articulate sound; but what was still more extraordinary, this savage was, with equal difficulty, taught to connect those he was enabled to produce, with the objects presented to him, as signs to denote them. The Chinese cannot pronounce the letters B, D, R, X; because, not being in their language, they were not taught, in their infancy, to utter the sounds annexed to them.

"The second opinion, therefore, namely, that the gift of speech was originally bestowed on our first parents by the great Author of their existence, is the only one which can,

can, with any appearance of reason, be entertained, and is confirmed by the Mosaic history of the origin of our species. It fully proves that the power of communicating their thoughts to each other was possessed by our first parents, and coeval with their existence.

"That the language thus imparted to man possessed, at its origin, that degree of perfection which it afterwards attained, is a supposition neither necessary nor analagous to the usual conduct of Divine Providence. The designs of Providence would be sufficiently answered by inspiring such sounds, and suggesting the knowledge of their signification, as denoted the objects with which they were necessarily conversant: such as the names of the various animals which they were instructed to use or to avoid; and the relations which they themselves stood in with respect to each other. Accordingly we find that Moses, notwithstanding his usual attention to brevity, does not fail to mention both these circumstances. Gen. chap. ii.

"On this foundation further improvements might afterwards have been superstructed, either by the invention of new names for new objects, or by devising such modifications, as should render the expression and discrimination of the relations of objects to each other more precise and accurate, during the long space of time that intervened between the Creation and the Flood.

"The primeval language must have been, at first, monosyllabic, or, at least, dissyllabic; these being the simplest enunciations: but, soon after, it, for the most part, assumed this last form, or became more compound; these forms being the most convenient for expressing the different relations, which objects bear to each other, and to the various modifications of existence, action, passion, and adjacent circumstances; as such relations may be denoted by the variations of the terminating syllables. This mode of signifying relations, is much more natural than that employed in many ancient and modern languages; and, therefore, must have preceded it. For, as a profound philosopher, the celebrated Adam Smith, hath well observed, to express a relation in this 'manner, 'did not require any effort of ab-'straction. It was not expressed, 'as in the languages alluded to, by 'a peculiar word, denoting relation, 'and nothing but relation, but by 'a simple variation of the correla-'lative term. It was express-'ed as it appears in nature, and not 'as something separate and de-'tached (as by our particles *of*, *to*, '*from*, &c.), but as mixed and 'blended with the correlative ob-'ject.'

"The relations of verbs to person, number, and time, whether stated as actual or possible, or under the modifications of interrogation, command, or velleity, are still more complex; and must have been, with less effort of abstraction, denoted by variations or additions to the radical term, than by any words or abstract signs of such relations; such as are employed in languages of posterior origin.

"Numbers, while mankind and all animals existed only in pairs, would naturally be marked by terminations which denoted one individual or both: and hence the dual number must have preceded the plural, which was denoted only when more than two were brought into existence.

"In the same manner the sexes and

and inanimate objects must have been originally distinguished by the termination of their appellations; but the latter, being of no sex, and having, in their different classes, a strong resemblance to each other, were naturally considered as an unit or a single object.

"During the life of Adam various arts were invented, as that of agriculture, that of metallurgy, and also architecture (as cities were built), and many more, which these presuppose; consequently the sphere of language was much enlarged, many new radicals being invented.

"The numbers of mankind must have prodigiously increased long before the death of Adam; for it is ridiculous to think that he had no more than three sons, or that they had not attained the age of puberty, at the period that men do at present. He must have had many more sons as well as daughters, though none are mentioned by Moses, as he intended tracing little more than the pedigree of Noah, and the remote and immediate causes of the Flood.

"Cain, when sentence of banishment was pronounced against him, apprehending he might be put to death by some of his brethren, retired to a considerable distance from them; and his family, having little or no intercourse with the remaining descendants of Adam for many ages, it is highly probable that, in his family, the primitive language was gradually altered: at least it could not receive the improvements which that more favoured by Adam had received. In this peace was preserved, at least during the life of Adam; but in the family of Cain crimes of every kind appear to have been committed; in so much that, in the days of Enos, the grandson of Adam, the descendants of Seth, and probably many more, who formed the community in which Adam resided, were distinguished from the family of Cain by the honourable appellation of *Sons of God*. But, in process of time, when both families had multiplied to a great degree, and the earth had been fully peopled, both unfortunately intermixed with each other; and, as it frequently happens, the wicked seduced the good; contention soon arose; legitimate governments were subverted; war, violence, conquest, or anarchy, every where prevailed; nor was even the presence of God, which was long, at least occasionally, manifested to Adam and his favoured family, and emphatically called the *Spirit of God*, sufficient to repress these disorders. Hence the necessity of destroying the whole race, all to one family, namely, that of Noah.

"It is not necessary to suppose that the whole range of the primitive language was known to Noah or his family; but its structure, its idioms, and radical words, might be retained by them; and several books, written in that language, were certainly preserved by them, as will be seen in the sequel.

"Thus this language subsisted, as we are informed by Moses, for some generations (about five hundred years) among the greater part of the descendants of Noah; not but other languages might have arisen, during that interval, among other families, sprung from banished criminals, as before the Flood. But these, formed without any preconcerted plan, in the intercourse of a turbulent and ignorant multitude, could be nothing more than uncouth jargons, as defective and ill connected as those of the lowest ranks of society, in all countries, generally are. The practice of punishing

ng the most atrocious crimes by banishment was anciently the most usual; and in those early ages such crimes were very frequent. Each new criminal with his family resorting to those of a similar description, soon forgot his native language, and adopted that of the tribe with which his family had been incorporated. How soon a language, spoken by comparatively few families, is lost in that of the society to which they are aggregated, appears in many instances. The Jews lost theirs at Babylon in about seventy years; and Barrow, in his highly entertaining and instructive account of China, tells us, the French refugees, at the Cape of Good Hope, lost theirs in less than seventy years; and so it must ever happen, when communication with the parent stock is not frequent and easy. Even at present the English language has undergone some variation in America.

"But the great and sudden transition, from the primeval language to a multitude of heterogeneous languages, happened, as Moses relates, several centuries after the flood, in the plains of Shinaar. Immediately after that catastrophe, the children of Noah were ordered to people the earth: for this purpose, it was necessary they should separate. But, having antecedently associated the idea of separation with that of exile, they long persisted in remaining together; and, after passing several years in the eastern regions, they removed, in a body, to the western. They lived in tents, and led a pastoral life; as appears by the ninth chapter of Genesis: if they had cultivated any tracts, they, most probably, would have been attached to them. The example of Noah, who was an agriculturist, does not seem to have been followed by his posterity. The culture of vines (from the misfortune which their product had occasioned, and the curse, entailed on some of them, originating from it, and possibly, the recollection, that Cain, the agriculturist, must have been drunk when he killed his brother), appears to have been neglected for several ages, for its discovery, in after times, was highly celebrated; and to this day the use of any intoxicating liquor is interdicted to the four casts of the Hindoos; nor do I find it mentioned in any account of China.

"Charmed with the fertility of the Babylonian plains, they seemed to have designed to proceed no farther, but resolved to erect a tower, as high as possible, as a signal, by which their situation, in distant rambles, might, at all times, be determined. It was, however, evident, that, extensive as these plains were, their products would, at last, be insufficient for the maintenance of such multitudes, as they must, in process of time, amount to; whence numberless disorders would have arisen. The gentlest method of forcing them to separate was employed. Their different tribes, and their subdivisions, were rendered unintelligible to each other, by obliterating the memory of their ancient language, and substituting, in its stead, new sounds, different in each tribe, and intelligible only to those that composed it; or altering the signification of the primitive sounds. It is not necessary to suppose that all these tribes lost their original language; the views of Providence would equally be attained, if it subsisted in one tribe only, or one fraction thereof.

"To estimate the degree of perfection which language must have attained before the flood, it will be proper to examine what degree of knowledge men must have possessed some ages before that catastrophe.

"Among

"Among the proofs of antediluvian knowledge still existing, the most incontestible are the astronomical tables of the Bramins; and particularly those of Tirvalore, discovered by Mr. Gentil, about the middle of the last century. Their epoch coincides with the famous æra of the Calyougham, that is, with the year 3102 before Christ: and this æra must have been ascertained by observation; as Mr. Playfair shews, after a strict and masterly examination, in the second volume of the Edinburgh Transactions. And, if founded on preceding observations, as is most probable, these observations must have commenced 1200 years earlier, that is, 4300 years before Christ. The Deluge happened 3169 years before the birth of Christ, according to Jackson's chronology, (which I adopt); therefore the Calyougham commenced sixty-seven years after the flood; and the observations, on which it was grounded, commenced 1133 years before the flood: which agrees remarkably well with the tradition of the Jews; for Josephus expressly mentions, that the children of Seth addicted themselves to astronomy before the flood.

"The learned professor farther adds, that the construction of these tables implies a great knowledge of geometry, arithmetic, and even of the theoretic parts of astronomy; that those who framed them must have possessed a calculus equivalent to trigonometry; and that, upon the whole, it appears there existed, at that period, a body of science really astonishing.

"That such a body of science could exist, and be communicated to subsequent ages, without the art of writing, is incredible: yet these tables afford a sufficient proof, that astronomical science, at least, had so descended, and were, consequently, written. It may also be inferred, that alphabetic writing had been known before the flood; for the Sanscrit writing, in which these tables exist, is alphabetic; and into this their original language was soon translated. Moses also informs us, that a written account, (or rather history) of the descendants of Adam existed; from this he transcribed, in the fifth chapter of Genesis, the names of the ancestors of Noah. But it certainly contained much more, and related the most important transactions of the antediluvian ages; for St. Peter expressly tells us, Noah preached repentance to the antediluvians 120 years before the flood; a circumstance unnoticed by Moses.

"While science was thus improved, we may conclude language received similar improvements; as we have always seen its progress to perfection to keep pace with that of knowledge; it certainly did so among the Romans; and still more obviously, in modern times. Among the Greeks, indeed, a singular exception occurred, as the perfection of their language long preceded their improvements in science; the reason of which will soon be seen. When, therefore, we consider the length of time the primeval language had been spoken, namely, by the lowest computation, 1300 years, and, more probably, 2000; the longevity of those who spoke it, the few generations that succeeded one another, during that period, not more than four, and the consequent stability it must have acquired; it being impossible to suppose it much altered, during so short a transmission; the undisturbed state in which the more favoured descendants of Adam remained, during the greater part of that interval; we have sufficient reason to conclude, that this language attained a far higher

higher degree of perfection, than any subsequent language, that could not enjoy the same advantages, was enabled, by any possibility, to acquire.

"Three things are indispensibly necessary to the perfection of a language: 1st, That it should be capable of expressing, with energy and precision, and, consequently, without any ambiguity, all the various objects, which the senses may present, the understanding define, the imagination depict, and the different shades and modifications of the invisible passions and sentiments which actuate the human breast.

"2dly, That melody should exist in the prolation of its sounds, and under the direction of genius, in the structure of its periods, their cadence, and versification.

"3dly, That its construction should be so unfettered, that its designation of relations should not require any particular fixed situation, but be capable, without ambiguity, of all that variety of position which melody, either in prose or verse, may require.

"Having thus ascertained in what the perfection of a language consists, and the probability that it may justly be ascribed to the primitive language; and having also indicated the distinctive characters by which, if it still exists, it may yet be recognised, I now proceed to examine, whether they apply to any, or to which, of the most ancient languages now known to us; being furnished with *criteria*, by which their respective pretensions may be decided.

"The principal languages, whose claims have hitherto been severally insisted upon, are, the Hebrew, the Egyptian, the Chinese, and the Greek; though the claim of this last has, as far as I can find, found only one advocate, namely John Erick, a German professor; whose proofs, being chiefly drawn from distorted etymologies, were, by others, treated with the utmost contempt.

OF THE HEBREW.

"The first distinctive character of the primeval language, namely, the most natural designation of the relations of nouns, is not found in the Hebrew. Mr. Wilson, in his Hebrew Grammar, (the best and easiest I have seen), tells us, 'that 'nice attention to the changes of 'termination, so requisite in acquiring the knowledge of other ancient languages, has here no existence; the relations and dependencies of nouns, are not distinguished by terminations or cases, but by 'particles or prepositions prefixed.' These, it is true, are also incorporated with the word, but not only they are general, but they indicate the relation in the most clumsy manner; for it is often difficult to distinguish, whether they form the radical, or only denote its relation, which, Mr. Wilson acknowledges, is very apt to perplex the learner, 'as he must strip the noun of these 'signs, before the primitive form 'can appear.'

"The comparison of adjectives is performed in the same awkward manner; and is often so ambiguous, as to be unintelligible. The superlative is formed in the most inartificial and infantine manner, by a mere repetition of the positive.

"Nouns have but two genders, the masculine and feminine; thus inanimate things are not distinguished from the animate: just so the vulgar, among us, frequently express themselves. Probably this defect was productive of idolatry.

"There is no dual in the Hebrew, except when things which are

are naturally double, are mentioned; as the eyes, the ears, the hands, &c. (hence, also, it never occurs in the New Testament). Wilson, indeed, does not make even this exception; but I find it mentioned by Bythner, and Amama. Here, also, it differs from the primeval language: in many instances, the singular and plural coincide, and can be distinguished only by the sense, or other words in the sentence.

"Lastly, in verbs, neither persons, moods, or tenses, are marked by the changes of their last syllables; but by means of letters of a particular order, which appear, sometimes in the beginning, sometimes in the middle, and sometimes at the end of the original word. Another wide departure from the original language.

"From these, and many other inherent defects, the learned Le Clerc, himself a professor of the Hebrew language, declares, that perhaps no language is fuller of ambiguity and obscurity. Can such be the language polished and improved for twenty centuries?

"To this our late pious and learned primate, Newcome, answers, that the difficulties, respecting these and other modifications of the Hebrew verb, are considerable, but not invincible; that it is true, that the substitutions of one gender, number, or person, for others, are bold and frequent, but not inexplicable. As much may be said of the jargon spoken by the English in the days of Henry III.; or in France, during the reign of Lewis IX.

"The advocates of the Hebrew found its claim chiefly on the two following grounds:—

"1st, That many, or all the antediluvian names are significant, in the Hebrew language, and derivable from it. But the learned Mr. Lanigan, lately Scriptural Professor in the University of Pavia, in the first volume of his Biblical Institutions, observes, that these names are as easily derivable from the Chaldaic or Syriac, and still more easily from the Arabic. Grotius, Huet, and Le Clerc think, that the real antediluvian names were translated into the Hebrew; and they give many instances of similar translations: thus the translator of Sanchoniatho into Greek, calls Adam *Protogon*. Mr. Lanigan, indeed, thinks, that many of them cannot be deemed translations; as their derivation from the Hebrew is forced and wiredrawn. It follows, then, that they are not of Hebrew origin. We have no reason to suppose, that Moses was acquainted with the antediluvian language: he found those names in his family memoirs; and derived them, as he could, from the Hebrew, or from the Arabic, which he well understood. Of such names, our learned Professor mentions four, Cain, Tubal Cain, Noah, and Babel: the true derivation of these, and some others, I shall soon have occasion to mention. Le Clerc thinks, that many of these names were given, not at the time of the births of the Patriarchs, but were rather by-names, derived from some remarkable event, that happened in their time. And, indeed, this is evident, with respect to Phaleg or Peleg; as Moses expressly tells us, he was so called, because, in his time, the earth was divided between the descendants of Noah. Gen. x. 25.

"The second ground, on which the advocates for the Hebrew rest its claim, is, that a number of words, of Hebraic origin, are found in many other ancient languages; as the Chaldaic, Syriac, Phœnician, and

and Persian. These, they think, are remnants of the ancient primeval language; and, since these are also Hebrew, they think that language must also be the Hebrew. But this mixture of Hebrew words, in those languages, is easily accounted for. It is now generally allowed, that the Phœnician, Canaanitish, and Hebrew, were one and the same language. The Phœnicians traded to all nations, and must have left them many words; as the French do with us at this day. The Medes, Persians, and other Eastern nations, may have received more, from the Israelites dispersed among them. So the Greek colony, established at Marseilles, it is well known, communicated many words, which still remain in the French language.

"After what has been said of the ambiguity of this language, it is needless to mention its uncouth guttural sounds, its unsusceptibility of the varieties of position, and other marks of imperfection.

THE EGYPTIAN.

"This language exhibits the same defects as the Hebrew, and still greater. The Copts neither decline their nouns, nor conjugate their verbs, otherwise than by prefixing particles, sometimes of one or more syllables, and sometimes a single letter, which denote the case, gender, number, and person; several of them being joined together in one word, and the primitive word usually placed last. So that the difficulty of their language consists, in the incredible combination of the words and particles, in the change of the vowels, in transposing the middle parts of the words, and adding superfluous letters, to distinguish which requires great labour and skill.

THE CHINESE.

"Of the Chinese language a very satisfactory account has been given, by our late accomplished and intelligent travellers, Sir George Staunton, and Mr. Barrow. The construction of this language, Mr. Barrow tells us, is extremely simple: it admits of no inflection of termination, either in the verb, or in the noun; each word being the same invariable monosyllable, in number, gender, case, or tense. The cases they distinguish, by general abstract signs, as we do in English; which, alone, as already seen, plainly shews this could not be the original language of mankind; men never beginning by abstraction. Comparison is also made by adventitious particles; and the superlative is marked, in the same awkward manner as in Hebrew, by a repetition of the positive: the tenses of verbs, of which there are only three, are also distinguished by abstract particles. Sir George, indeed, thinks, that this language furnishes a practical proof, that the laborious structure, and intricate machinery, of the Greek and Arabic tongues, are by no means necessary, either to a complete communication on all the business of life, or even to the grace of elocution, or the harmony of verse.

"I am much disposed to entertain a different opinion on each of these particulars. There are many shades and discriminations of verbs, which cannot be indicated by particles, suggesting the difference of time merely in the gross. The difference between definite and indefinite time is lost; and thus all pretensions to precision, the principal excellence, and the most necessary of all the qualifications of language, are abandoned. Indeed, of all known languages,

guages, spoken by a civilized nation, the Chinese hath the smallest pretension to precision. Every word has, at least, twenty different significations, besides the different aspirations; and these significations are only distinguished by the difference of tone or accent, to perceive which, Sir George acknowledges, requires a nice ear, and delicate vocal powers, to render them exactly. How the grace of elocution, and the harmony of verse, can subsist, in such a confusion of discordant sounds, I am at a loss to conjecture: yet, even this contrivance is not always sufficient to express the sense of a word; recourse must be had to the ultimate *criterion*, tracing with the finger, in the air, or otherwise, the form of the written character of the doubtful sound. Such a language is, no doubt, very simple; but so is the *Lingua Franca*, which, in many respects, resembles it, but whose perfection, I suppose, nobody will vaunt. Of this similarity, Mr. Barrow gives some examples, page 281, and Sir G. Staunton, page 418, (in 8vo.) Adam Smith justly remarks, 'that the simplification 'of the rudiments of languages renders them more imperfect, and 'less proper, for the purposes of 'language: for, if precision be required, (which, indeed, the Chinese does not aim at), such languages become more prolix; several words being necessary to express what might have been expressed by a single word. Thus, 'the words *Dei*, and *Deo*, in Latin, 'sufficiently shew, without any addition, what relation the object 'signified is understood to stand in, 'to the objects expressed by the 'other words in the sentence; 'whereas, in English, and other 'modern languages, we must employ, at least two words, and say, '*of God*, *to God*, and sometimes 'four; for the single word *amavissem*, we must say, *I would have* '*loved*. This prolixity evidently 'enervates the eloquence of most 'modern languages.' Dr. James Gregory adds, that 'the moods of 'verbs, like other inflections of 'words, express, much better than 'any *succession* of words can do, 'the intimate connexion and relation of various thoughts, which are 'not successive, but simultaneous, 'or co-existent, and which appear 'unnaturally disjointed, and, in 'some measure altered, when they 'are expressed by a series of words, 'denoting each of them separately, 'and in succession.'

"2dly, This simplification of the principles of languages, renders them less agreeable to the ear: the variety of termination in the Greek and Latin, occasioned by their declensions and conjugations, gives a sweetness to their language, altogether unknown to any modern language.

"3dly, This simplification not only renders the sounds of our language less agreeable to the ear, but it also restrains us from disposing the sounds in the manner that might be the most agreeable; tying down words to a particular situation, and forbidding almost every kind of inversion or transposition.

THE GREEK.

"In this, and this only, most of the characters of the primeval language are found. It is perfectly original, being underived, in the opinion of the most profound antiquarian and ablest linguist of the last century, from any other oriental language, with the exception of a few words, borrowed from the Phœnicians

Phœnicians, Thracians, and Scythians; and, in its structure, it totally differs from all of them.

"In this, the relation of nouns to each other, and of verbs to time, person, and number, are denoted in the most natural manner, and with the greatest precision and accuracy, by mere changes of, or additions to, the termination.

"It is equally happy, in expressing every modification of perception, passion, and emotion, which may arise in, occupy, or agitate the human mind.

"The dual number, in all cases, it almost exclusively possesses. Adam Smith, from misinformation, conceived this number to exist in the Sclavonic, and in other oriental tongues. In the Swedish it certainly exists, and in languages derived from it; as the Anglo-Saxon and Islandic: but the Swedes borrowed it from the Goths, who long resided in Thrace, and derived it from the neighbouring Macedonians, who certainly spoke a Greek dialect, though corrupt. In the Anglo-Saxon, and Islandic, the dual is retained only in the pronouns; as the great Swedish antiquarian, Ihre, assures us. He denies it to be found in the Sclavonic, or any other oriental dialect, with which he was acquainted.

"The plural number of nouns of the neuter gender, being originally considered, from their similarity to each other, as one object, admitted a construction with verbs in the singular number; a mode of construction, which was afterwards unwarrantably abused. Even animated beings, considered merely as *things*, were often expressed by neutral nouns.

"Again, if we examine the degree of perfection which the Greek attained, and still exhibits, we shall find it acknowledged, by the best judges, to exceed that which any other known language has ever reached. In proof of a fact, so well known, it is needless to accumulate authorities; one alone, of perhaps the ablest judge of the delicacies of expression, that has appeared in the last century, will be sufficient. It may be easily perceived I mean the celebrated Voltaire. Of the Greek, he thus speaks:—

'The most perfect of all lan-
'guages must be, that which is at
'once the most complete, the most
'sonorous, the most varied in its
'modes of expression, and the most
'regular in its arrangement; which
'has most of compound words,
'whose prosody best expresses the
'slow or impetuous emotions of the
'mind; and whose sounds are most
'musical. The Greek possesses all
'these advantages: it has not the
'rudeness of the Latin, of which so
'many words end in *um, ur, us.*
'It has all the pomp of the Spanish,
'and all the sweetness of the Italian;
'and by its long and short syllables,
'it is superior, in musical expres-
'sion, to all living languages; so
'that, even disfigured as it is, at
'this day, in Greece, it may still be
'regarded as the most beautiful
'language in the universe.'

"Now, if we compare the degree of excellence, which this language attained, in the earliest ages after the flood, with the state of civilization of those who spoke it in those ages, we shall find the utmost disproportion betwixt them; the inverse of what happened in any other age or country. Homer wrote 9-10 years before the Christian æra, when Greece was far from being thoroughly civilized: yet, in him, it is acknowledged, the Greek language appears as polished and refined,

fined, as in Sophocles, Euripides, or even Demosthenes, who wrote in the most civilized periods. And, if we pierce higher into antiquity, we find Linus, who lived 1500 years before Christ, and 300 years before the Trojan war, and his disciple, the first Orpheus, both so much admired, that the former, in subsequent ages, was thought the son of a Muse; and the latter, of Apollo. Museus wrote a poem, called The Rape of Proserpine, 1400 years before Christ, according to the Parian Marbles. Tatian, who flourished in the second century, mentions many other poets, who preceded Homer. Nor were there barely poets, but also many historians, before Homer; as Corinnus, Dictys Cretensis, &c. who wrote immediately after the Trojan war; and, consequently, near 1200 years before Christ. But if we attend to the state of society at the times of Linus and Orpheus, we shall find it highly barbarous, by the avowal of the most credible Greek historians themselves; and scarcely improved, in the age that immediately preceded the siege of Troy, and called the Heroic.

"Thucydides, who wrote about 410 years before Christ, tells us, that, in the earliest times, Greece enjoyed little or no repose. The various tribes that inhabited it, had no intercourse with each other; the stronger continually expelled the weaker from the more fertile parts; these sought refuge in the territory of Attica, which, being the most barren, was at first thinly inhabited; but from these new accessions, became very populous. Yet its inhabitants did not form a political union with each other, nor had they any common laws before the reign of Cecrops, about the year 1556 before Christ. In the ages, called Heroic, robbery and piracy were universally practised; the law of the strongest was almost the only one which they acknowledged and openly avowed. After the siege of Troy, almost all the cities of Greece were disturbed by seditions; and the return of the Heraclidæ, eighty years after that siege, occasioned new commotions, in so much, that many years elapsed before peace was restored. This universal fermentation forced many to migrate to Asia, and join their countrymen, long established in Ionia, Æolia, and Doris: yet it was in this tempestuous period, that Homer was born, and flourished. It does not appear that any, either in that or the preceding ages, applied themselves to the improvement of their mother tongue; neither, were it requisite, would their ignorance or circumstances permit them to effect it. When then, did it attain, or from what source did it derive, the excellence it possessed in the most barbarous ages?

"This forms a paradox, which can be solved only by supposing that it originally descended to the Ionic race, from the earliest ages, in the same, or rather in a far superior degree of perfection; for, during that transmission, it probably contracted those defects which may be observed in the earliest compositions that we now possess.

"To explain, more particularly, how this transmission was effected, we must recur to the information conveyed to us in the Sacred History; and to a few facts, which occur, also, in the profane.

"Moses relates, that Noah had three sons, who survived the Deluge, Sem, Cham, and Japhet. Though Japhet is the last named, yet it appears that he was the eldest of the three, in the judgment of the most judicious

judicious commentators; of whom I need name no other, than Bishop Usher, and Le Clerc.

"Five hundred and thirty-one years after the Deluge, a multiplicity of languages was supernaturally introduced. During the period that intervened betwixt the flood and this event, the posterity of Noah became very numerous. Japhet had seven sons, Gomer, Magog, Madai, Javan (or Jon), Thubal, Mosoch, and Thiras. Javan, in whose line the Greek tongue descended, had four sons, Elisah, Tharsis, Chittim, and Dodanim. Sem and Cham had also several sons and grandsons, whose names need not be mentioned; but it may not be amiss to observe, that the languages spoken after the confusion, by the peculiar descendants of each of the three original patriarchs, differed more widely from those spoken by the descendants of the other two patriarchs, than the languages spoken by the descendants of each, differed from each other. Thus, the languages spoken by the descendants of Japhet, differed more from those spoken by the descendants of Sem or Cham, than the Japhetic languages did from each other. A difference also, with each other, but in a lesser degree, betwixt the languages spoken by the immediate descendants of each of the sons of the same patriarch, may be observed. Thus, a difference may be observed betwixt the languages spoken by the sons of Gomer, and those spoken by the sons of Javan. But the difference betwixt the languages spoken by the descendants of each of these sons, for instance, of each of the four sons of Javan, is the smallest of all, as some communication betwixt persons so nearly connected would be suffered to subsist. Thus, the language of the Mantchoo Tartars, descendants from Magog, is, as we are informed by Mr. Barrow, and Monsieur l'Evêque, rich, sonorous, and energetic, and more like the Greek than any of the oriental languages. It is alphabetic, or, more properly speaking, syllabic; and the different parts of speech are susceptible of expressing number, case, gender, time, modes of action, passion, &c. by change of termination, preposition, or interposition.

"The posterity of Javan gradually descended from the plains of Shinaar, to the opposite coasts of Lesser Asia, on the Egean sea, and from them the whole country was denominated *Ionia*, as Josephus attests, Antiq. Lib. I. cap. 6. But in process of time they grew too numerous to remain together, and being also pressed upon by the neighbouring barbarians, they passed into many of the islands of the Egean sea, and thence into Thrace, Macedonia, Greece, and Epire. Moses expressly tells us, that the islands of the nations were peopled by them, Genesis x. 4. And not only islands, strictly so called, are to be understood by that name, but Greece itself, for being much intersected by the sea, it was, in a loose sense, susceptible of that appellation. Tharsis appears to have passed into Thrace, Chittim into Macedonia. This is solidly proved by Le Clerc. The author of the book of Maccabees expressly says, Alexander came from the land of Chittim, cap. i. 1. Dodanim seems to have passed into Epire.

"From the invective of Alexander against Philotas, one would be apt to imagine the Macedonian language was different from the Greek; but it is evident, from Philotas's reply, that the Macedo-

nians

nians understood it, and that Alexander himself addressed the army in Greek. It was, certainly, the language introduced by Ptolemy into Egypt; and exclusively spoken in the court of his successors. However, from a mixture of several barbarian nations, the Macedonian dialect was much debased; besides, as already noticed, some difference occurred in the languages spoken by the families descended from the different sons of Javan.

"The Thracians and Epirots, being still more exposed to the inroads of the neighbouring barbarians, many of whom settled among them, difficultly retained any traces of their original language, particularly the former. However, it was long retained in some parts of Thrace, as appears by the poems of Orpheus and Linus, composed in Greek. Pieria and Olympus were anciently parts of Thrace, though they were afterwards accounted to belong to Macedonia. From the prevailing mixture of barbarians, the Thracians were deemed to be also barbarians.

"That Epire was also inhabited by Greeks, though intermixed with many barbarian tribes, appears by Strabo, who tells us, the Molossi, an Epirotic tribe, were governed by kings of the race of Æacus; as was afterwards all Epire by Phyrrus. Besides, we find the Molossi sent a colony to Ionia: now the Ionians would certainly not have received them, if they were not of Greek origin. It is true, they also received the Pelasgic Arcadians; for this reason only, that the Pelasgi were incorporated with the Arcadians, and could not be distinguished. See Herodot. Lib. I. cap. cxlvi.; as they were also with the Athenians. Plin. Lib. IV. cap. i. reckons Macedonia, Epire, and Thrace, as part of Greece; and so does Homer, Iliad II. v. 635.

"The descendants of Elisah, the eldest son of Javan, passed into Greece, properly so called, extending from Macedonia, on the north, to the southern extremity of Peloponnesus, and from the eastern to the western sea, and the adjacent islands. Thus, we see the territories of all the sons of Jon bordered on each other; and, I believe, it generally happened, that the progeny of *each* of the original patriarchs, Japhet, Sem, and Cham, settled at a great distance from that of the other patriarchs; but the progeny of *each* of the sons of the *same* patriarch, for instance of Japhet, settled at a less considerable distance from each other; and the descendants of each of the grandsons, for instance the descendants from Javan, settled at a still less distance from each other.

"Elisah, in the Samaritan copy, is written *Helas;* and from him, after some ages, for reasons we shall presently mention, the Greeks were then called *Hellenes*. The Hellenes, then, not being permanently exposed to barbarians, as the other descendants of Jon were, preserved the Greek language unmixed. Greece, before the arrival of the Hellenes, was inhabited by various barbarian tribes; as Strabo informs us from Hecateus; of whom the most powerful were the Pelasgi, who originally dwelled in the maritime parts, afterwards called Ionia. Hence, it is plain, by the testimony of a profane historian also, that the descendants of Jon passed into Greece, from the continent of Lesser Asia, after they had expelled the Pelasgi, who inhabited the coasts afterwards called Ionia. The Pelasgi, thus expelled from Ionia, passed, probably, into the country

afterwards

afterwards called Attica, as being nearest to them; but this being barren, they settled, in greater numbers, in Peloponnesus, and founded the kingdoms of Sicyon and Argos: the former, 2171 years before Christ, and the latter, 1779. Hence Ephorus, quoted by Strabo, says, Peloponnesus was anciently called Pelasgia; and Æschylus, in *Supplices*, 598, 600, (or rather 327 and 350, in my edition); and Pliny, Lib. IV.

"Thus have I proved, that the primeval language was introduced into Greece by the Ionians, who inhabited Attica; and shewn how, from them, it was extended to the different regions that composed it."

ARTS AND SCIENCES.

On the DECOMPOSITION and COMPOSITION of the FIXED ALKALIES.

[From MR. DAVY'S BAKERIAN LECTURE in the TRANSACTIONS of th ROYAL SOCIETY.]

"I. *Introduction.*

"IN the Bakerian Lecture which I had the honour of presenting to the Royal Society last year, I described a number of decompositions and chemical changes produced in substances of known composition by electricity, and I ventured to conclude from the general principles on which the phenomena were capable of being explained, that the new methods of investigation promised to lead to a more intimate knowledge than had hitherto been obtained, concerning the true elements of bodies.

"This conjecture, then sanctioned only by strong analogies, I am now happy to be able to support by some conclusive facts. In the course of a laborious experimental application of the powers of electro-chemical analysis, to bodies which have appeared simple when examined by common chemical agents, or which at least have never been decomposed, it has been my good fortune to obtain new and singular results.

"Such of the series of experiments as are in a tolerably mature state, and capable of being arranged in a connected order, I shall detail in th following sections, particularly thos which demonstrate the decompos tion and composition of the fixed a kalies, and the production of th new and extraordinary bodies whic constitute their bases.

"In speaking of novel methods investigation, I shall not fear to l minute. When the common mea of chemical research have been em ployed, I shall mention only resul A historical detail of the progress the investigation, of all the difficu ties that occurred, and of the ma ner in which they were overcom and of all the manipulations em ployed, would far exceed the lim assigned to this lecture. It is prop to state, however, that when ge ral facts are mentioned, they such only as have been deduc from processes carefully perform and often repeated.

"II. *On the Methods used for the I composition of the fixed Alkalie*

"The researches I had made the decomposition of acids, and of kaline and earthy neutral compoun proved that the powers of electri decomposition were proportiona

the strength of the opposite electricities in the circuit, and to the conducting power and degree of concentration of the materials employed.

" In the first attempts that I made on the decomposition of the fixed alkalies, I acted upon aqueous solutions of potash and soda, saturated at common temperatures, by the highest electrical power I could command, and which was produced by a combination of Voltaic batteries belonging to the Royal Institution, containing 24 plates of copper and zinc of 12 inches square, 100 plates of six inches, and 150 of 4 inches square, charged with solutions of alum and nitrous acid; but in these cases, though there was a high intensity of action, the water of the solutions alone was affected, and hydrogene and oxygene disengaged with the production of much heat and violent effervescence.

" The presence of water appearing thus to prevent any decomposition, I used potash in igneous fusion. By means of a stream of oxygene gas from a gasometer applied to the flame of a spirit lamp, which was thrown on a platina spoon containing potash, this alkali was kept for some minutes in a strong red heat, and in a state of perfect fluidity. The spoon was preserved in communication with the positive side of the battery of the power of 100 of 6 inches, highly charged; and the connection from the negative side was made by a platina wire.

" By this arrangement some brilliant phenomena were produced. The potash appeared a conductor in a high degree, and as long as the communication was preserved, a most intense light was exhibited at the negative wire, and a column of flame, which seemed to be owing to the developement of combustible matter, arose from the point of contact.

" When the order was changed, so that the platina spoon was made negative, a vivid and constant light appeared at the opposite point: there was no effect of inflammation round it; but aeriform globules, which inflamed in the atmosphere, rose through the potash.

" The platina, as might have been expected, was considerably acted upon; and in the cases when it had been negative in the highest degree.

" The alkali was apparently dry in this experiment; and it seemed probable that the inflammable matter arose from its decomposition. The residual potash was unaltered; it contained indeed a number of dark grey metallic particles, but these proved to be derived from the platina.

" I tried several experiments on the electrization of potash rendered fluid by heat, with the hopes of being able to collect the combustible matter, but without success; and I only attained my object, by employing electricity as the common agent for fusion and decomposition.

" Though potash, perfectly dried by ignition, is a non-conductor, yet it is rendered a conductor, by a very slight addition of moisture, which does not perceptibly destroy its aggregation; and in this state it readily fuses and decomposes by strong electrical powers.

" A small piece of pure potash, which had been exposed for a few seconds to the atmosphere, so as to give conducting power to the surface, was placed upon an insulated disc of platina, connected with the negative side of the battery of the power of 250 of 6 and 4, in a state of intense activity: and a platina wire, communicating with the positive side,

was brought in contact with the upper surface of the alkali. The whole apparatus was in the open atmosphere.

"Under these circumstances a vivid action was soon observed to take place. The potash began to fuse at both its points of electrization. There was a violent effervescence at the upper surface; at the lower or negative surface, there was no liberation of elastic fluid; but small globules having a high metallic lustre, and being precisely similar in visible characters to quicksilver, appeared, some of which burnt with explosion and bright flame, as soon as they were formed, and others remained, and were merely tarnished, and finally covered by a white film which formed on their surfaces.

"These globules, numerous experiments soon shewed to be the substance I was in search of, and a peculiar inflammable principle the basis of potash. I found that the platina was in no way connected with the result, except as the medium for exhibiting the electrical powers of decomposition; and a substance of the same kind was produced when pieces of copper, silver, gold, plumbago, or even charcoal, were employed for completing the circuit.

"The phenomenon was independent of the presence of air; I found that it took place when the alkali was in the vacuum of an exhausted receiver.

"The substance was likewise produced from potash fused by means of a lamp, in glass tubes confined by mercury, and furnished with hermetically inserted platina wires, by which the electrical action was transmitted. But this operation could not be carried on for any considerable time; the glass was rapidly dissolved by the action of the alkali, and this substance soon penetrated through the body of the tube.

"Soda, when acted upon in the same manner as potash, exhibited an analogous result; but the decomposition demanded greater intensity of action in the batteries, or the alkali was required to be in much thinner and smaller pieces. With the battery of 100 of 6 inches in full activity, I obtained good results from pieces of potash weighing from 40 to 70 grains, and of a thickness which made the distance of the electrified metallic surfaces nearly a quarter of an inch; but with a similar power it was impossible to produce the effects of decomposition on pieces of soda of more than 15 or 20 grains in weight, and that only when the distance between the wires was about one-eighth or one-tenth of an inch.

"The substance produced from potash remained fluid at the temperature of the atmosphere at the time of its production; that from soda, which was fluid in the degree of heat of the alkali during its formation, became solid on cooling, and appeared having the lustre of silver.

"When the power of 250 was used, with a very high charge for the decomposition of soda, the globules often burnt at the moment of their formation, and sometimes violently exploded and separated into smaller globules, which flew with great velocity through the air in a state of vivid combustion, producing a beautiful effect of continued jets of fire.

"III. *Theory of the Decomposition of the fixed Alkalies; their Composition, and Production.*

"As in all decompositions of compound

pound substances which I had previously examined, at the same time that combustible bases were developed at the negative surface in the electrical circuit, oxygene was produced, and evolved or carried into combination at the positive surface, it was reasonable to conclude that this substance was generated in a similar manner by the electrical action upon the alkalies; and a number of experiments made above mercury, with the apparatus made for excluding external air, proved that this was the case.

"When solid potash, or soda in its conducting state, was included in glass tubes furnished with electrified platina wires, the new substances were generated at the negative surfaces; the gas given out at the other surface proved by the most delicate examination to be pure oxygene; and unless an excess of water was present, no gas was evolved from the negative surface.

"In the synthetical experiments, a perfect coincidence likewise will be found.

"I mentioned that the metallic lustre of the substance from potash immediately became destroyed in the atmosphere, and that a white crust formed upon it. This crust I soon found to be pure potash, which immediately deliquesced, and new quantities were formed, which in their turn attracted moisture from the atmosphere till the whole globule disappeared, and assumed the form of a saturated solution of potash.

"When globules were placed in appropriate tubes containing common air or oxygene gas confined by mercury, an absorption of oxygene took place; a crust of alkali instantly formed upon the globule; but from the want of moisture for its solution, the process stopped, the interior being defended from the action of the gas.

"With the substance from soda, the appearances and effects were analogous.

"When the substances were strongly heated, confined in given portions of oxygene, a rapid combustion with a brilliant white flame was produced, and the metallic globules were found converted into a white and solid mass, which in the case of the substance from the potash was found to be potash, and in the case of that from soda, soda.

"Oxygene gas was absorbed in this operation, and nothing emitted which affected the purity of the residual air.

"The alkalies produced were apparently dry, or at least contained no more moisture than might well be conceived to exist in the oxygene gas absorbed; and their weights considerably exceeded those of the combustible matters consumed.

"The processes on which these conclusions are founded will be fully described hereafter, when the minute details which are necessary will be explained, and the proportions of oxygene, and of the respective inflammable substances which enter into union to form the fixed alkalies, will be given.

"It appears, then, that in these facts there is the same evidence for the decomposition of potash and soda into oxygene and two peculiar substances, as there is for the decomposition of sulphuric and phosphoric acids and the metallic oxides into oxygene and their respective combustible bases.

"In the analytical experiments, no substances capable of decomposition are present but the alkalies and a minute portion of moisture; which seems in no other way essential

to the result, than in rendering them conductors at the surface: for the new substances are not generated till the interior, which is dry, begins to be fused; they explode when, in rising through the fused alkali, they come in contact with the heated moistened surface; they cannot be produced from crystallized alkalies, which contain much water; and the effect produced by the electrization of ignited potash, which contains no sensible quantity of water, confirms the opinion of their formation independently of the presence of this substance.

"The combustible bases of the fixed alkalies seem to be repelled as other combustible substances, by positively electrified surfaces, and attracted by negatively electrified surfaces, and the oxygene follows the contrary order; or the oxygene being naturally possessed of the negative energy, and the bases of the positive, do not remain in combination when either of them is brought into an electrical state opposite to its natural one. In the synthesis, on the contrary, the natural energies or attractions come in equilibrium with each other; and when these are in a low state at common temperatures, a slow combination is effected; but when they are exalted by heat, a rapid union is the result; and as in other like cases with the production of fire. A number of circumstances relating to the agencies of the bases of the alkalies will be immediately stated, and will be found to offer confirmations of these general conclusions.

"IV. *On the Properties and Nature of the Basis of Potash.*

"After I had detected the bases of the fixed alkalies, I had considerable difficulty to preserve and confine them so as to examine their properties, and submit them to experiments; for, like the *alkahests* imagined by the alchemists, they acted more or less upon almost every body to which they were exposed.

"The fluid substance amongst all those I have tried, on which I find they have least effect, is recently distilled naphtha.—In this material, when excluded from the air, they remain for many days without considerably changing, and their physical properties may be easily examined in the atmosphere when they are covered by a thin film of it.

"The basis of potash at 60° Fahrenheit, the temperature in which I first examined it, appeared, as I have already mentioned, in small globules possessing the metallic lustre, opacity, and general appearance of mercury; so that when a globule of mercury was placed near a globule of the peculiar substance, it was not possible to detect a difference by the eye.

"At 60° Farenheit it is, however, only imperfectly fluid, for it does not readily run into a globule when its shape is altered; at 70° it becomes more fluid; and at 100° its fluidity is perfect, so that different globules may be easily made to run into one. At 50° Fahrenheit it becomes a soft and malleable solid, which has the lustre of polished silver; and at about the freezing point of water it becomes harder and brittle, and when broken in fragments, exhibits a crystallized texture, which in the microscope seems composed of beautiful facets of a perfect whiteness and high metallic splendour.

"To be converted into vapour, requires a temperature approaching that of the red heat: and when the experiment is conducted under pro-

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per circumstances, it is found unaltered after distillation.

" It is a perfect conductor of electricity. When a spark from the Voltaic battery of 100 of 6 inches is taken upon a large globule in the atmosphere, the light is green, and combustion takes place at the point of contact only. When a small globule is used, it is completely dissipated with explosion, accompanied by a most vivid flame, into alkaline fumes.

" It is an excellent conductor of heat.

" Resembling the metals in all these sensible properties, it is, however, remarkably different from any of them in specific gravity; I found that it rose to the surface of naphtha distilled from petroleum, and of which the specific gravity was 861, and it did not sink in double distilled naphtha, the specific gravity of which was about 770, that of water being considered as 1. The small quantities in which it is produced by the highest electrical powers, rendered it very difficult to determine this quality with minute precision. I endeavoured to gain approximations on the subject by comparing the weights of perfectly equal globules of the basis of potash and mercury. I used the very delicate balance of the Royal Institution, which, when loaded with the quantities I employed, and of which the mercury never exceeded ten grains, is sensible at least to the $\frac{1}{2000}$ of a grain. Taking the mean of 4 experiments, conducted with great care, its specific gravity at 62° Fahrenheit, is to that of mercury as 10 to 223, which gives a proportion to that of water nearly as 6 to 10; so that it is the lightest fluid body known. In its solid form it is a little heavier, but even in this state when cooled to 40° Fahrenheit, it swims in the double distilled naphtha.

" The chemical relations of the basis of potash are still more extraordinary than its physical ones.

" I have already mentioned its alkalization and combustion in oxygene gas.—It combines with oxygene slowly and without flame at all temperatures that I have tried below that of its vaporization.—But at this temperature combustion takes place and the light is of a brilliant whiteness, and the heat intense. When heated slowly in a quantity of oxygene gas not sufficient for its complete conversion into potash, and at a temperature inadequate to its inflammation, 400° Fahrenheit, for instance, its tint changes to that of a red brown, and when the heat is withdrawn, all the oxygene is found to be absorbed, and a solid is formed of a greyish colour, which partly consists of potash, and partly of the basis of potash in a lower degree of oxygenation,—and which becomes potash by being exposed to water, or by being again heated in fresh quantities of air.

" The substance consisting of the basis of potash combined with an under proportion of oxygene, may likewise be formed by fusing dry potash and its basis together under proper circumstances.—The basis rapidly loses its metallic splendour; the two substances unite into a compound, of a red brown colour when fluid, and of a dark grey hue when solid; and this compound soon absorbs its full proportion of oxygene when exposed to the air, and is wholly converted into potash.

" And the same body is often formed in the analytical experiments when the action of the electricity is intense, and the potash much heated.

" The basis of potash when introduced into oxmuriatic acid gas burns spontaneously with a bright red

red light, and a white salt, proving to be muriate of potash, is formed.

" When a globule is heated in hydrogene at a degree below its point of vaporization, it seems to dissolve in it, for the globule diminishes in volume, and the gas explodes with alkaline fumes and bright light, when suffered to pass into the air; but by cooling, this spontaneous detonating property is destroyed, and the basis is either wholly or principally deposited

" The action of the basis of potash on water exposed to the atmosphere is connected with some beautiful phenomena. When it is thrown upon water, or when it is brought into contact with a drop of water at common temperatures, it decomposes it with great violence, an instantaneous explosion is produced with brilliant flame, and a solution of pure potash is the result.

" In experiments of this kind, an appearance often occurs similar to that produced by the combustion of phosphuretted hydrogene; a white ring of smoke, which gradually extends as it rises into the air.

" When water is made to act upon the basis of potash out of the contact of air, and preserved by means of a glass tube under naphtha, the decomposition is violent; and there is much heat and noise, but no luminous appearance, and the gas evolved, when examined in the mercurial or water pneumatic apparatus, is found to be pure hydrogene.

" When a globule of the basis of potash is placed upon ice, it instantly burns with a bright flame, and a deep hole is made in the ice, which is found to contain a solution of potash.

" The theory of the action of the basis of potash upon water exposed to the atmosphere, though complicated changes occur, is far from being obscure. The phenomena seem to depend on the strong attractions of the basis for oxygene and of the potash formed for water. The heat, which arises from two causes, decomposition and combination, is sufficiently intense to produce the inflammation. Water is a bad conductor of heat; the globule swims exposed to air; a part of it, there is the greatest reason to believe, is dissolved by the heated nascent hydrogene; and this substance being capable of spontaneous inflammation, explodes and communicates the effect of combustion to any of the basis that may be yet uncombined.

" When a globule confined out of the contact of air is acted upon by water, the theory of decomposition is very simple, the heat produced is rapidly carried off, so that there is no ignition; and a high temperature being requisite for the solution of the basis in hydrogene, this combination probably does not take place, or at least it can have a momentary existence only.

" The production of alkali in the decomposition of water by the basis of potash is demonstrated in a very simple and satisfactory manner by dropping a globule of it upon moistened paper tinged with turmeric. At the moment that the globule comes into contact with the water, it burns, and moves rapidly on the paper, as if in search of moisture, leaving behind it a deep reddish brown trace, and acting upon the paper precisely as dry caustic potash.

" So strong is the attraction of the basis of potash for oxygene, and so great the energy of its action upon water, that it discovers and decomposes the small quantities of water contained in alcohol and ether, even when they are carefully purified.

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"In ether this decomposition is connected with an instructive result. Potash is insoluble in this fluid; and when the basis of potash is thrown into it, oxygene is furnished to it, and hydrogene gas disengaged, and the alkali, as it forms, renders the ether white and turbid.

"In both these inflammable compounds the energy of its action is proportional to the quantity of water they contain, and hydrogene and potash are the constant result.

"The basis of potash, when thrown into solutions of the mineral acids, inflames and burns on the surface. When it is plunged by proper means beneath the surface enveloped in potash, surrounded by naphtha, it acts upon the oxygene with the greatest intensity, and all its effects are such as may be explained from its strong affinity for this substance. In sulphuric acid a white saline substance with a yellow coating, which is probably sulphate of potash surrounded by sulphur, and a gas which has the smell of sulphureous acid, and which probably is a mixture of that substance with hydrogene gas, are formed. In nitrous acid, nitrous gas is disengaged, and nitrate of potash formed.

"The basis of potash readily combines with the simple inflammable solids, and with the metals; with phosphorus and sulphur, it forms compounds similar to the metallic phosphurets and sulphurets.

"When it is brought in contact with a piece of phosphorus, and pressed upon, there is a considerable action: they become fluid together, burn, and produce phosphate of potash. When the experiment is made under naphtha, their combination takes place without the liberation of any elastic matter, and they form a compound which has a considerably higher point of fusion than its two constituents, and which remains a soft solid in boiling naphtha. In its appearance it perfectly agrees with a metallic phosphuret; it is of the colour of lead, and when spread out, has a lustre similar to polished lead. When exposed to air at common temperatures, it slowly combines with oxygene, and becomes phosphate of potash. When heated upon a plate of platina, fumes exhale from it, and it does not burn till it attains the temperature of the rapid combustion of the basis of potash.

"When the basis of potash is brought in contact with sulphur in fusion, in tubes filled with the vapour of naphtha, they combine rapidly with the evolution of heat and light, and a grey substance, in appearance like artificial sulphuret of iron, is formed, which, if kept in fusion, rapidly dissolves the glass, and becomes bright brown. When this experiment is made in a glass tube hermetically sealed, no gas is liberated if the tube is opened under mercury; but when it is made in a tube connected with a mercurial apparatus, a small quantity of sulphuretted hydrogene is evolved, so that the phenomena are similar to those produced by the union of sulphur with the metals in which sulphuretted hydrogene is likewise disengaged, except that the ignition is stronger. When the union is effected in the atmosphere, a great inflammation takes place, and sulphuret of potash is formed. The sulphuretted basis likewise gradually becomes oxygenated by exposure to the air, and is finally converted into sulphate.

"The new substance produces some extraordinary and beautiful results with mercury. When one part of it is added to 8 or 10 parts of mercury

mercury in volume at 60° Fahrenheit, they instantly unite, and form a substance exactly like mercury in colour, but which seems to have less coherence, for small portions of it appear as flattened spheres. When a globule is made to touch a globule of mercury about twice as large, they combine with considerable heat; the compound is fluid at the temperature of its formation; but when cool it appears as a solid metal, similar in colour to silver. If the quantity of the basis of potash is still farther increased, so as to be about $\frac{1}{30}$th the weight of the mercury, the amalgam increases in hardness, and becomes brittle. The solid amalgam, in which the basis is in the smallest proportion, seems to consist of about 1 part in weight of basis, and 70 parts of mercury, and is very soft and malleable.

" When these compounds are exposed to air, they rapidly absord oxygene; potash which deliquesces is formed, and in a few minutes the mercury is found pure and unaltered.

" When a globule of the amalgam is thrown into water, it rapidly decomposes it with a hissing noise; potash is formed, pure hydrogene disengaged, and the mercury remains free.

" The fluid amalgam of mercury and this substance dissolves all the metals I have exposed to it; and in this state of union, mercury acts on iron and platina.

" When the basis of potash is heated with gold, or silver, or copper, in a close vessel of pure glass, it rapidly acts upon them; and when the compounds are thrown into water, this fluid is decomposed, potash formed, and the metals appear to be separated unaltered.

" The basis of potash combines with fusible metal, and forms an alloy with it, which has a higher point of fusion than the fusible metal.

" The action of the basis of potash upon the inflammable oily compound bodies, confirms the other facts of the strength of its attraction for oxygene.

" On naphtha colourless and recently distilled, as I have already said, it has very little power of action; but in naphtha that has been exposed to the air it soon oxidates, and alkali is formed, which unites with the naphtha into a brown soap that collects round the globule.

" On the concrete oils (tallow, spermaceti, wax, for instance), when heated, it acts slowly, coaly matter is deposited, a little gas is evolved, and a soap is formed; but in these cases it is necessary that a large quantity of the oil be employed. On the fluid fixed oils it produces the same effects, but more slowly.

" By heat likewise it rapidly decomposes the volatile oils; alkali is formed, a small quantity of gas is evolved, and charcoal is deposited.

" When the basis of potash is thrown into camphor in fusion, the camphor soon becomes blackened, no gas is liberated in the process of decomposition, and a saponaceous compound is formed; which seems to shew that camphor contains more oxygene than the volatile oils.

" The basis of potash readily reduces metallic oxides when heated in contact with them. When a small quantity of the oxide of iron was heated with it, to a temperature approaching its point of distillation, there was a vivid action; alkali and grey metallic particles, which dissolved with effervescence in muriatic acid, appeared. The oxides of lead and the oxides of tin were revived still more rapidly; and when the basis of potash was in excess, an alloy was formed with the revived metal.

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"In consequence of this property, the basis of potash readily decomposes flint glass and green glass, by a gentle heat; alkali is immediately formed by oxygene from the oxides, which dissolves the glass, and a new surface is soon exposed to the agent.

"At a red heat, even the purest glass is altered by the basis of potash: the oxygene in the alkali of the glass seems to be divided between the two basis, the basis of potash and the alkaline basis in the glass, and oxides, in the first degree of oxygenation, are the result. When the basis of potash is heated in tubes made of plate glass filled with the vapour of naphtha, it first acts upon the small quantity of the oxides of cobalt and manganese in the interior surface of the glass, and a portion of alkali is formed. As the heat approaches to redness, it begins to rise in vapour, and condenses in the colder parts of the tube; but at the point where the heat is strongest, a part of the vapour seems to penetrate the glass, rendering it of a deep red brown colour; and by repeatedly distilling and heating the substance in a close tube of this kind, it finally loses its metallic form, and a thick brown crust, which slowly decomposes water, and which combines with oxygene when exposed to air forming alkali, lines the interior of the tube, and in many parts is found penetrating through its substance.

"In my first experiments on the distillation of the basis of potash, I had great difficulty in accounting for these phenomena; but the knowledge of the substance it forms in its first degree of union with oxygene, afforded a satisfactory explanation.

"V. *On the Properties and Nature of the Basis of Soda.*

"The basis of soda, as I have already mentioned, is a solid at common temperatures. It is white, opaque, and when examined under a film of naphtha, has the lustre and general appearance of silver. It is exceedingly malleable, and is much softer than any of the common metallic substances. When pressed upon by a platina blade, with a small force, it spreads into thin leaves, and a globule of the $\frac{1}{10}$th or $\frac{1}{12}$th of an inch in diameter is easily spread over a surface of a quarter of an inch, and this property does not diminish when it is cooled to 32° Fahrenheit.

"It conducts electricity and heat in a similar manner to the basis of potash; and small globules of it inflame by the voltaic electrical spark, and burn with bright explosions.

"Its specific gravity is less than that of water. It swims in oil of sassafras, of 1.096, water being 1, and sinks in naphtha of specific gravity .861. This circumstance enabled me to ascertain the point with precision. I mixed together oil of sassafras and naphtha, which combine very perfectly, observing the proportions, till I had composed a fluid, in which it remained at rest above or below: and this fluid consisted of nearly twelve parts naphtha, and five of oil of sassafras, which gives a specific gravity to that of water, nearly as nine to ten, or more accurately as .9348 to 1.

"The basis of soda has a much higher point of fusion than the basis of potash; its parts begin to lose their cohesion at about 120° Fahrenheit, and it is a perfect fluid at about 180°, so that it readily fuses under boiling naphtha.

"I have not yet been able to ascertain at what degree of heat it is volatile; but it remains fixed in a state of ignition at the point of fusion of plate glass.

"The chemical phenomena produced by the basis of soda, are analogous

logous to those produced by the basis of potash; but with such characteristic differences as might be well expected.

" When the basis of soda is exposed to the atmosphere, it immediately tarnishes, and by degrees becomes covered with a white crust, which deliquesces much more slowly than the substance which forms on the basis of potash. It proves, on minute examination, to be pure soda.

" The basis of soda combines with oxygene slowly, and without luminous appearance at all common temperatures; and when heated, this combination becomes more rapid; but no light is emitted till it has acquired a temperature nearly that of ignition.

" The flame that it produces in oxygene gas is white, and it sends forth bright sparks, occasioning a very beautiful effect; in common air, it burns with light of the colour of that produced during the combustion of charcoal, but much brighter.

" The basis of soda when heated in hydrogene, seemed to have no action upon it. When introduced into oxymuriatic acid gas, it burnt vividly with numerous scintillations of a bright red colour. Saline matter was formed in this combustion, which, as might have been expected, proved to be muriate of soda.

" Its operation upon water offers most satisfactory evidence of its nature. When thrown upon this fluid, it produces a violent effervescence, with a loud hissing noise; it combines with the oxygene of the water to form soda, which is dissolved, and its hydrogene is disengaged. In this operation there is no luminous appearance; and it seems probable that even in the nascent state hydrogene is incapable of combining with it.

" When the basis of soda is thrown into hot water, the decomposition is more violent, and in this case a few scintillations are generally observed at the surface of the fluid; but this is owing to small particles of the basis, which are thrown out of the water sufficiently heated, to burn in passing through the atmosphere. When, however, a globule is brought in contact with a small particle of water, or with moistened paper, the heat produced (there being no medium to carry it off rapidly) is usually sufficient for the accension of the basis.

" The basis of soda acts upon alcohol and ether precisely in a similar manner with the basis of potash. The water that they contain is discomposed; soda is rapidly formed, and hydrogene disengaged.

" The basis of soda, when thrown upon the strong acids, acts upon them with great energy. When nitrous acid is employed, a vivid inflammation is produced; with muriatic and sulphuric acid, there is much heat generated, but no light.

" When plunged, by proper means, beneath the surface of the acids, it is rapidly oxygenated; soda is produced, and the other educts are similar to those generated by the action of the basis of potash.

" With respect to the fixed and volatile oils and naphtha in their different states, there is a perfect coincidence between the effects of the two new substances, except in the difference of the appearances of the saponaceous compounds formed: those produced by the oxydation and combination of the basis of soda being of a darker colour, and apparently less soluble.

" The basis of soda, in its degrees of oxydation, has precisely similar habits with the basis of potash.

" When

"When it is fused with dry soda, in certain quantities, there is a division of oxygene between the alkali and the base; and a deep brown fluid is produced, which becomes a dark grey solid on cooling, and which attracts oxygene from the air, or which decomposes water, and becomes soda.

"The same body is often formed in the analytical processes of decomposition, and it is generated when the basis of soda is fused in tubes of the purest plate glass.

"There is scarcely any difference in the visible phenomena of the agencies of the basis of soda, and that of potash on sulphur, phosphorus, and the metals.

"It combines with sulphur in close vessels filled with the vapour of naphtha with great vividness, with light, heat, and often with explosion from the vaporization of a portion of sulphur, and the disengagement of sulphuretted hydrogene gas. The sulphuretted basis of soda is of a deep grey colour.

"The phosphuret has the appearance of lead, and forms phosphate of soda by exposure to air, or by combustion.

"The basis of soda in the quantity of $\frac{1}{40}$, renders mercury a fixed solid of the colour of silver, and the combination is attended with a considerable degree of heat.

"It makes an alloy with tin, without changing its colour, and it acts upon lead and gold when heated. I have not examined its habitudes with any other metals, but in its state of alloy, it is soon converted into soda by exposure to air, or by the action of water, which it decomposes with the evolution of hydrogene.

"The amalgam of mercury and the basis of soda, seems to form triple compounds with other metals. I have tried iron and platina, which I am inclined to believe remain in combination with the mercury, when it is deprived of the new substance by exposure to air.

"The amalgam of the basis of soda and mercury likewise combines with sulphur, and forms a triple compound of a dark grey colour.

"VI. *On the Proportions of the peculiar Bases and Oxygene in Potash and Soda.*

"The facility of combustion of the basis of the alkalies, and the readiness with which they decomposed water, offered means fully adequate for determining the proportions of their ponderable constituent parts.

"I shall mention the general methods of the experiments, and the results obtained by the different series, which approach as near to each other as can be expected in operations performed on such small quantities of materials.

"For the process in oxygene gas, I employed glass tubes containing small trays made of thin leaves of silver, or other noble metals, on which the substance to be burnt, after being accurately weighed or compared with a globule of mercury equal in size, was placed; the tube was small at one end, curved, and brought to a fine point, but suffered to remain open; and the other end was fitted to a tube communicating with a gazometer, from which the oxygene gas was introduced, for neither water nor mercury could be used for filling the apparatus. The oxygene gas was carried through the tube till it was found that the whole of the common air was expelled. The degree of its purity was ascertained by suffering a small quantity to pass into

into the mercurial apparatus. The lower orifice was then hermetically sealed by a spirit lamp, and the upper part drawn out and finally closed, when the aperture was so small, as to render the temperature employed incapable of materially influencing the volume of the gas; and when the whole arrangement was made, the combination was effected by applying heat to the glass in contact with the metallic tray.

" In performing these experiments many difficulties occurred. When the flame of the lamp was immediately brought to play upon the glass, the combustion was very vivid, so as sometimes to break the tube; and the alkali generated partly rose in white fumes, which were deposited upon the glass.

" When the temperature was slowly raised, the basis of the alkalies acted upon the metallic tray, and formed alloys, and in this state it was very difficult to combine them with their full proportion of oxygene; and glass alone could not be employed, on account of its decomposition by the alkaline bases; and porcelain is so bad a conductor of heat, that it was not possible to raise it to the point required for the process, without softening the glass.

" In all cases the globules of the alkaline bases were carefully freed from naphtha before they were introduced; of course a slight crust of alkali was formed before the combustion, but this could not materially affect the result; and when such a precaution was not used, an explosion generally took place from the vaporization and decomposition of the film of naphtha surrounding the globule.

" After the combustion, the absorption of gas was ascertained, by opening the lower point of the tube under water or mercury. In some cases the purity of the residual was ascertained, in others the alk formed in the tray was weighed.

" From several experiments o the synthesis of potash by combu tion, I shall select two, which we made with every possible attentio to accuracy, and under favourab circumstances for a mean result.

" In the first experiment 0.1 grains of the basis were employe The combustion was made upon pl tina, and was rapid and complete; a the basis appeared to be perfect saturated, as no disengagement hydrogene took place when the pl tina tray was thrown into wate The oxygene gas absorbed equall in volume 190 grain measures quicksilver; barometer being 29.6 inches, thermometer 62° Fa renheit; and this reduced to a ten perature of 60° Fahrenheit, a under a pressure equal to that ind cated by 30 inches, would becom 186.67 measures, the weight which would be about .0184 grai troy; but .0184 : .1384 :: 13.29 100; and according to this estimati 100 parts of potash will consist 86.7 basis, and 18.3 oxygene nearl

" In the second experiment .0 grains of the basis absorbed at tem perature 63° of Fahrenheit, a under pressure equal to 30.1 baro meter inches, a quantity of oxyge equal in volume to 121 grain mea sures of mercury, and the prope corrections being made, as in the for mer case, this gas would weig .01189 grains.

" But as .07 + .01189 = .08189 : 07 :: 100 : 85.48 nearly and 100 parts of potash will consi of 85.5 of basis and 14.5 of oxygen nearly. And the mean of the tw experiments will be 86.1 of basis t 13.9 of oxygene for 100 parts.

" In the most accurate exper ment that I made on the combus tio

tion of the basis of soda .08 parts of the basis absorbed a quantity of oxygene equal to 206 grain measures of mercury; the thermometer being at 56° Farenheit; and the barometer at 29.4; and this quantity, the corrections being made as before for the mean temperature and pressure, equals about .02 grains of oxygene.

"And as .08 + .02 = .10 : .08, : : 100 : 80, and 100 parts of soda, according to this estimation, will consist of 80 basis to 20 of oxygene.

"In all cases of slow combustion, in which the alkalies were not carried out of the tray, I found a considerable increase of weight, but as it was impossible to weigh them except in the atmosphere, the moisture attracted rendered the results doubtful; and the proportions from the weight of the oxygene absorbed are more to be depended on. In the experiments in which the processes of weighing were most speedily performed, and in which no alkali adhered to the tube, the basis of potash gained nearly 2 parts for 10, and that of soda between 3 and 4 parts.

"The results of the decomposition of water by the basis of the alkalies were much more readily and perfectly obtained than those of their combustion.

"To check the rapidity of the process, and, in the case of potash, to prevent any of the basis from being dissolved, I employed the amalgams with mercury, used a known weight of the basis, and made the amalgams under naphtha, using about two parts of mercury in volume to one of basis.

"In the first instances I placed the amalgams under tubes filled with naphtha, and inverted in glasses of naphtha, and slowly admitted water to the amalgam at the bottom of the glass; but this precaution I soon found unnecessary, for the action of the water was not so intense but that the hydrogene gas could be wholly collected.

"I shall give an account of the most accurate experiments made on the decomposition of water by the basis of potash and soda.

"In an experiment on the basis of potash conducted with every attention that I could pay to the minutiæ of the operations, hydrogene gas, equal in volume to 298 grains of mercury, were disengaged by the action of .08 grains of the basis of potash which had been amalgamated with about 3 grains of mercury. The thermometer at the end of the process indicated a temperature of 56° Fahrenheit, and the barometer an atmospheric pressure equal to 29.6 inches.

"Now this quantity of hydrogene would require for its combustion a volume of oxygene gas about equal to that occupied by 154.9 grains of mercury, which gives the weight of oxygene required to saturate the .08 grains of the basis of potash at the mean temperature and pressure nearly .0151 grains. And .08 + .0151 = .0951 : .08 : : 100 : 84.1 nearly.

"And according to these indications 100 parts of potash consist of about 84 basis and 16 oxygene.

"In an experiment on the decomposition of water by the basis of soda, the mercury in the barometer standing at 30.4 inches, and in the thermometer at 52° Fahrenheit, the volume of hydrogene gas evolved by the action of .54 grains of basis equalled that of 326 grains of quicksilver. Now this at the mean temperature and pressure would require for its conversion into water, .0172 of oxygene, and .054 + .0172 = .0712 : .054 : : 100 : 76 nearly; and, according to these indications, 100 parts

parts of soda consist of nearly 76 basis, and 24 oxygene.

" In another experiment made with very great care, .052 of the basis of soda were used; the mercury in the barometer was at 29.9 inches, and that in the thermometer at 58° Fahrenheit. The volume of hydrogene evolved was equal to that of 302 grains of mercury; which would demand for its saturation by combustion, at the mean temperature and pressure .01549 grains of oxygene; and 100 parts of soda, according to this proportion, would consist nearly of 77 basis, and 23 oxygene.

" The experiments which have been just detailed, are those in which the largest quantities of materials were employed; I have compared their results, however, with the results of several others, in which the decomposition of water was performed with great care, but in which the proportion of the basis was still more minute: the largest quantity of oxygene indicated by these experiments was, for potash 17, and for soda 26 parts in 100, and the smallest 13, and 19; and comparing all the estimations, it will probably be a good approximation to the truth, to consider potash as composed of about 6 parts basis and 1 of oxygene; and soda, as consisting of 7 basis and 2 oxygene.

" VII. *Some general Observations on the Relations of the Basis of Potash and Soda to other Bodies.*

" Should the basis of potash and soda be called metals? The greater number of philosophical persons to whom this question has been put, have answered in the affirmative. They agree with metals in opacity, lustre, malleability, conducting powers as to heat and electricity, and in their qualities of chemical combination.

" Their low specific gravity does not appear a sufficient reason for making them a new class; for amongst the metals themselves there are remarkable differences in this respect, platina being nearly four times as heavy as tellurium; and in the philosophical division of the classes of bodies, the analogy between the greater number of properties must always be the foundation of arrangement.

" On this idea, in naming the basis of potash and soda, it will be proper to adopt the termination which, by common consent, has been applied to other newly-discovered metals, and which, though originally Latin, is now naturalized in our language.

" Potasium and Sodium are the names by which I have ventured to call the two new substances: and whatever changes of theory, with regard to the composition of bodies, may hereafter take place, these terms can scarcely express an error; for they may be considered as implying simply the metals produced from potash and soda. I have consulted with many of the most eminent scientific persons in this country, upon the methods of derivation, and the one I have adopted has been the one most generally approved. It is perhaps more significant than elegant. But it was not possible to found names upon specific properties not common to both; and though a name for the basis of soda might have been borrowed from the Greek, yet an analogous one could not have been applied to that of potash, for the ancients do not seem to have distinguished between the two alkalies.

" The more caution is necessary in avoiding any theoretical expression

sion in the terms, because the new electro-chemical phenomena that are daily becoming disclosed, seem distinctly to shew that the mature time for a complete generalization of chemical facts is yet far distant; and though, in the explanations of the various results of experiments that have been detailed, the antiphlogistic solution of the phenomena has been uniformly adopted, yet the motive for employing it has been rather a sense of its beauty and precision, than a conviction of its permanency and truth.

"The discovery of the agencies of the gasses destroyed the hypothesis of Stahl. The knowledge of the powers and effects of the etherial substances may at a future time possibly act a similar part with regard to the more refined and ingenious hypothesis of Lavoisier; but in the present state of our knowledge, it appears the best approximation that has been made to a perfect logic of chemistry.

"Whatever future changes may take place in theory, there seems, however, every reason to believe that the metallic basis of the alkalies, and the common metals, will stand in the same arrangement of substances; and as yet we have no good reasons for assuming the compound nature of this class of bodies.

"The experiments in which it is said that alkalies, metallic oxides, and earths, may be formed from air and water alone, in processes of vegetation, have been always made in an inconclusive manner; for distilled water, as I have endeavoured to show, may contain both saline and metallic impregnations; and the free atmosphere almost constantly holds in mechanical suspension solid substances of various kinds.

"In the common processes of nature, all the products of living beings may be easily conceived to be elicited from known combinations of matter. The compounds of iron, of the alkalies, and earth, with mineral acids, generally abound in soils. From the decomposition of basaltic, porphyritic, and granitic rocks, there is a constant supply of earthy, alkaline, and ferruginous materials to the surface of the earth. In the sap of all plants that have been examined, certain neutro-saline compounds, containing potash, or soda, or iron, have been found. From plants they may be supplied to animals; and the chemical tendency of organization seems to be rather to combine substances into more complicated and diversified arrangements, than to reduce them into simple elements.

"VIII. *On the Nature of Ammonia and Alkaline Bodies in general; with Observations on some Prospects of Discovery offered by the preceding Facts.*

"Ammonia is a substance, the chemical composition of which has always been considered of late years as most perfectly ascertained, and the apparent conversion of it into hydrogene and nitrogene, in the experiments of Scheele, Priestley, and the more refined and accurate experiments of Berthollet, had left no doubt of its nature in the minds of the most enlightened chemists.

"All new facts must be accompanied, however, by a train of analogies, and often by suspicions with regard to the accuracy of former conclusions. As the two fixed alkalies contain a small quantity of oxygene united to peculiar bases, may not the volatile alkali likewise contain it? was a query which soon occurred to me in the course of inquiry; and in perusing the accounts

of the various experiments made on the subject, some of which I had carefully repeated, I saw no reason to consider the circumstance as impossible. For, supposing hydrogene and nitrogene to exist in combination with oxygene in low proportion, this last principle might easily disappear in the analytical experiments of decomposition by heat and electricity, in water deposited upon the vessels employed or dissolved in the gasses produced.

" Of the existence of oxygene in volatile alkali I soon satisfied myself. When charcoal carefully burnt and freed from moisture was ignited by the Voltaic battery of the power of 250 of 6 and 4 inches square, in a small quantity of very pure ammoniacal gas, a great expansion of the æriform matter took place, and a white substance formed, which collected on the sides of the glass tube employed in the process; and this matter, exposed to the action of diluted muriatic acid, effervesced, so that it was probably carbonate of ammonia.

" A process of another kind offered still more decisive results. In this the two mercurial gazometers, of the invention of Mr. Pepys, described in No XIV. of the Phil. Trans. for 1807, were used with the same apparatus, as that employed by Messrs. Allen and Pepys, for the combustion of the diamond, and these gentlemen kindly assisted in the experiment.

" Very pure ammoniacal gas was passed over iron wire ignited in a platina tube, and two curved glass tubes were so arranged as to be inserted into a freezing mixture; and through one of these tubes the gas entered into the platina tube, and through the other, it passed from the platina tube into the airholder arranged for its reception.

" The temperature of the atmosphere was 55°; but it was observed that no sensible quantity of water was deposited in the cooled glass tube transmitting the unaltered ammonia; but in that receiving it after its exposure to heat, moisture was very distinct, and the gas appeared in the airholder densely clouded.

" This circumstance seems distinctly to prove the formation of water in this operation for the decomposition of ammonia; unless indeed it be asserted that the hydrogene and nitrogene gasses evolved hold less water in solution or suspension than the ammonia decomposed, an idea strongly opposed by the conclusions of Mr. Dalton, and the experiments of Messrs. Desormes and Clement.

" After the gas had been passed several times through the ignited tube from one gazometer to the other, the results were examined. The iron wire became converted superficially into oxide, and had gained in weight $\frac{44}{100}$ parts of the grain; about $\frac{4}{10}$ of a grain of water were collected from the cooled glass tubes by means of filtrating paper, and 33.8 cubic inches of gas were expanded into 55.3 cubic inches, and by detonation with oxygene it was found that the hydrogene gas in these was to the nitrogene as 3 to 1 in volume.

" It will be useless to enter into the more minute details of this experiment, as no perfectly accurate data for proportions can be gained from them; for the whole of the ammonia was not decomposed; and as the gas had been prepared by being sent from a heated mixture of sal ammoniac and quicklime, in the airholder, it was possible that some solution of ammonia might have been deposited, which, by giving out new gas during the operation

ration, would increase the absolute quantity of the material acted upon.

"In examining the results of M. Berthollet's elaborate experiments on the decomposition of ammonia by electricity, I was surprised to find that the weight of the hydrogene and nitrogene produced, rather exceeded than fell short of that of the ammonia considered as decomposed, which was evidently contradictory to the idea of its containing oxygene. This circumstance, as well as the want of coincidence between the results and those of Priestley and Van Marum on the same subject, induced me to repeat the process of the electrization of ammonia, and I soon found that the quantities of the products, in their relations to the apparent quantity of gas destroyed, were influenced by many different causes.

"Ammonia, procured over dry mercury from a mixture of dry lime and muriate of ammonia, I found deposited moisture upon the sides of the vessel in which it was collected; and in passing the gas into the tube for electrization, it was not easy to avoid introducing some of this moisture, which must have been a saturated solution of ammonia, at the same time.

"In my first trials made upon gas, passed immediately from the vessel in which it had been collected into the apparatus, I found the expansion of 1 of ammonia vary in different instances from 2.8 to 2.2 measures, but the proportions of the nitrogene and hydrogene appeared uniform, as determined by detonation of the mixed gas with oxygene, and nearly as 1 to 3 in volume.

"To exclude free moisture entirely, I carefully prepared ammonia in a mercurial airholder, and after it had been some hours at rest, passed a quantity of it into the tube for decomposition, which had been filled with dry mercury. In this case 50 parts became 103 parts by electrization, and there was still reason to suspect sources of error.

"I had used iron wires not perfectly free from rust, for taking the spark, and a black film from the mercury appeared on the sides of the tube. It was probable that some ammonia had been absorbed by the metallic oxides both upon the iron and the mercury, which might again have been given out in the progress of the operation.

"I now used recently distilled mercury, which did not leave the slightest film on the glass tube, and wires of platina. The ammonia had been exposed to dry caustic potash, and proved to be equally pure with that mentioned in page 36. 60 measures of it, each equal to a grain of water, were electrized till no farther expansion could be produced; the gas filled a space equal to that occupied by 108 grains of water. The thermometer in this experiment was at 56°, and the barometer at 30.1 inches. The wire of platina transmitting the spark was slightly tarnished. The 108 measures of gas carefully analyzed, were found to consist of 80 measures in volume of hydrogene, and 28 measures of nitrogene.

"The results of an experiment that I made in 1799, give the weight of 100 cubic inches of ammonia, as 18.18 grains at the mean temperature and pressure. I had reasons, however, for suspecting that this estimation might be somewhat too low, and on mentioning the circumstance to Messrs. Allen and Pepys, they kindly undertook the examination of the subject, and Mr. Allen soon furnished me with the following data. 'In the first experiment 21 cubic inches of ammonia

weighed 4.05 grains; in a second experiment, the same quantity weighed 4.06 grains, barometer 30.65. thermometer 54° Fahrenheit.'

"Now, if the corrections for temperature and pressure be made for these estimations, and a mean taken, 100 cubic inches of ammonia will weigh 18.67 grains, barometer being at 30, and thermometer at 60° Fahrenheit; and if the quantity used in the experiment of decomposition be calculated upon as cubic inches, 60 will weigh 11.2 grains. But the hydrogene gas evolved equal to 80 will weigh 1.93 grains, and the nitrogene equal to 28, 8.3. And 11.2 grains, $-$ 1.9 $+$ 8.3 $=$ 10.2. and 11.2 $-$ 10.2 $=$ 1, all the estimations being made according to the standard temperature and pressure.

"So that in this experiment on the decomposition of ammonia, the weight of the gasses evolved is less by nearly $\frac{1}{11}$ than that of the ammonia employed; and this loss can only be ascribed to the existence of oxygene in the alkali; part of which probably combined with the platina wires employed for electrization, and part with hydrogene.

"After these ideas the oxygene in ammonia cannot well be estimated at less than 7 or 8 parts in the hundred; and it possibly exists in a larger proportion, as the gasses evolved may contain more water than the gas decomposed, which of course would increase their volume and their absolute weight.

"In supposing ammonia a triple compound of nitrogene, hydrogene, and oxygene, it is no less easy to give a rational account of the phenomena of its production and decomposition, than in adopting the generally received hypothesis of its composition.

"Oxygene, hydrogene, and nitrogene, are always present in cases in which volatile alkali is formed; and it usually appears during the decomposition of bodies in which oxygene is loosely attached, as in that of the compounds of oxygene and nitrogene dissolved in water.

"At common temperatures, under favourable circumstances, the three elements may be conceived capable of combining and of remaining in union: but at the heat of ignition the affinity of hydrogene for oxygene prevails over the complex attraction, water is formed, and hydrogene and nitrogene are evolved; and according to these conclusions, ammonia will bear the same relations to the fixed alkalies, as the vegetable acids with compound bases do to the mineral ones with simple bases.

"Oxygene then may be considered as existing in, and as forming an element in all the true alkalies; and the principle of acidity of the French nomenclature, might now likewise be called the principle of alkalescence.

"From analogy alone it is reasonable to expect that the alkaline earths are compounds of a similar nature to the fixed alkalies, peculiar highly combustible metallic bases united to oxygene. I have tried some experiments upon barytes and strontites; and they go far towards proving that this must be the case. When barytes and strontites, moistened with water, were acted upon by the power of the battery of 250 of 4 and 6, there was a vivid action and a brilliant light at both points of communication, and an inflammation at the negative point. In these cases the water might possibly have interfered. Other experiments gave, however, more distinct results.

"Barytes and strontites, even when heated to intense whiteness, in the electrical circuit, by a flame supported

supported by oxygene gas, are non-conductors; but by means of combination with a very small quantity of boracic acid, they become conductors; and in this case inflammable matter, which burns with a deep red light in each instance, is produced from them at the negative surface. The high temperature has prevented the success of attempts to collect this substance; but there is much reason to believe that it is the basis of the alkaline earth employed.

"Barytes and strontites have the strongest relations to the fixed alkalies of any of the earthy bodies; but there is a chain of resemblances, through lime, magnesia, glucina, alumina, and silex. And by the agencies of batteries sufficiently strong, and by the application of proper circumstances, there is no small reason to hope, that even these refractory bodies will yield their elements to the methods of analysis by electrical attraction and repulsion.

"In the electrical circuit we have a regular series of powers, of decomposition, from intensity of action, so feeble as scarcely to destroy the weakest affinity existing between the parts of a saline neutral compound, to one sufficiently energetic to separate elements in the strongest degree of union, in bodies undecomposable under other circumstances.

"When the powers are feeble, acids and alkalies, and acids and metallic oxides, merely separate from each other; when they are increased to a certain degree, the common metallic oxides and the compound acids are decomposed; and by means still more exalted, the alkalies yield their elements. And as far as our knowledge of the composition of alkalies extends, all substances attracted by positive electricity, are oxygene, or such as contain oxygene in excess; and all that are attracted by negative electricity, are pure combustibles, or such as consist chiefly of combustible matter.

"The idea of muriatic acid, fluoric acid, and boracic acid containing oxygene, is highly strengthened by these facts. And the general principle confirms the conjecture just stated concerning the nature of the earths.

"In the electrization of boracic acid moistened with water, I find that a dark-coloured combustible matter is evolved at the negative surface; but the researches upon the alkalies have prevented me from pursuing this fact, which seems, however, to indicate a decomposition.

"Muriatic acid and fluoric acid in their gaseous states are non-conductors: and as there is every reason to believe that their bases have a stronger attraction for oxygene than water, there can be little hope of decomposing them in their aqueous solutions, even by the highest powers. In the electrization of some of their combinations there is, however, a probability of success.

"An immense variety of objects of research is presented in the powers and affinities of the new metals produced from the alkalies.

"In themselves they will undoubtedly prove powerful agents for analysis; and having an affinity for oxygene stronger than any other known substances, they may possibly supersede the application of electricity to some of the undecompounded bodies.

"The basis of potash I find oxidates in carbonic acid and decomposes it, and produces charcoal when heated in contact with carbonate of lime. It likewise oxidates in muriatic acids; but I have had

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no opportunity of making the experiment with sufficient precision to ascertain the results.

" In sciences kindred to chemistry, the knowledge of the nature of the alkalies, and the analogies arising in consequence, will open many new views; they may lead to the solution of many problems in geology, and shew that agents may have operated in the formation of rocks and earths which have no hitherto been suspected to exist.

" It would be easy to pursue the speculative part of this inquiry to a great extent, but I shall refrain from so occupying the time of the Society, as the tenour of my object in this lecture has not been to state hypothesis, but to bring forward new series of facts."

On Cretinism.

[From Dr. Reeve's Paper in the same work.]

" FELIX PLATER, in one of his observations, gives the history of a species of mental imbecility, which he saw in passing through the village of Bremis in the Valais. Cretinism, a word of uncertain derivation, is the name employed by the inhabitants of Switzerland to denote this disease, which is endemial in several districts of that country. It had probably existed long in those parts; for Plater mentions cretins as being very common both in the Valais and in Carinthia, but the peculiar marks of these wretched beings were not generally known before he described them. Mons. De Saussure has furnished the most minute and accurate account both of the appearances of the disorder, and of the circumstances which seem to produce it; and Mr. Coxe and several travellers have noticed the symptoms of cretinism, without adducing any satisfactory explanation of the causes to which it may be ascribed. Malacarni of Turin, and Professor Ackermann, have given a very accurate description of several cretins that they dissected; and besides some detached essays by different authors a very full account of this malady to be found in an '*Essai sur Goitre et Cretinisme, par* M. Fodere published at Paris in 1800.

" My curiosity led me some time ago to inquire more particularly into the nature and causes cretinism, because it is usually connected with goitre, or bronchocel I was indeed led to this inquiry partly by the hope of discoveri some function for the thyroid glan more than what is commonly a leged; but in these expectations have been disappointed.

" In the summer of 1805, I h an opportunity of seeing several cr tins at Martigny and Sion, and oth villages in the Valais; and I w glad to compare what had be written upon that subject, w what my own observation cou suggest. By inquiries on the sp I intended to learn what connecti subsisted between weakness of t intellectual faculties and the swe ing of the thyroid gland: wh were the moral and physical circu stances which could influence t condition of the inhabitants, so as

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make idiocy so prevalent; and what were the most efficient modes of relief. The following results I beg leave to lay before the Royal Society.

"Cretinism is found not only in the valleys of the Alps, both on the French and Italian side of these mountains, but in the mountainous parts of Germany and Spain; and it was observed in Chinese Tartary by Sir George Staunton, in a part of that country much resembling Switzerland and Savoy in its alpine appearance. The enlargement of the thyroid gland called goitre, is the most striking feature in the unsightly aspect of a cretin; but this is not a constant attendant. His head also is deformed, his stature diminutive, his complexion sickly, his countenance vacant and destitute of meaning, his lips and eye-lids coarse and prominent, his skin wrinkled and pendulous, his muscles loose and flabby. The qualities of his mind correspond to the deranged state of the body which it inhabits; and cretinism prevails in all the intermediate degrees, from excessive stupidity to complete fatuity.

"At a small village, not far distant from Martigny, I examined four cretins. One lad, twelve years old, could speak a few words; he was of a weak and feeble frame, silly, but had no goitre. Another boy, nine years old, was deaf and dumb, idiotic, with no goitre, the only child of his mother, who has a large goitre, which affects her respiration and her voice, though in other respects she is intelligent and well formed, and the father enjoys good health; they are not natives of this place. I saw a family in which all the children were cretins; the eldest died a year ago, a miserable object; the second, a girl, twelve years old, is deaf and dumb and cross-eyed, and has a monstrous goitre, with just intelligence enough to comprehend a few natural signs; the third, is a boy six years old, small and feeble, abdomen enlarged, no goitre, very feeble in mind and body, not entirely deficient in understanding; the mother had a moderate sized goitre, but was quite free from any mental affection; the father neither goitrous nor stupid, but of a delicate constitution.

"There is no necessary connexion between goitre and cretinism, notwithstanding the assertions and ingenious reasoning adduced by Fodere. It is probable, the one has been assumed as the cause of the other, from the enlargement of the thyroid gland being a frequent occurrence in cretins; and as it forcibly strikes the observer from the deformity it occasions, this strong impression may have converted an accidental, though frequent occurrence, into a general and necessary cause. Cretinism is frequently observed without any affection of the thyroid gland, and that gland is often very much enlarged without any affection of the intellectual faculties. There seems to be some similarity between cretinism and rickets, as they both take place in infancy, are both characterised by feebleness of body, and sooner or later by feebleness of mind, and they both affect males and females equally; but there is no sort of connexion between persons afflicted with bronchocele in England, and with rickets. For, although it might be granted, that there is some delicacy of frame in females about the period of pubescence, when bronchocele usually occurs, yet neither irregular formation of the bones, nor weakness of the intellectual powers, are common symptoms attending bronchocele in Britain.

"To what peculiarities, then, in the

the physical constitution of certain districts, are we to ascribe the production of this singular malady? Saussure's description of the Valais is exceedingly precise and accurate, and the causes which he has alleged appear sufficient to account for the phenomena. The valleys where cretinism is most frequent, are surrounded by very high mountains; they are sheltered from the currents of air, and exposed to the direct, and still more to the reflected rays of the sun. The effluvia from the marshes are very strong, and the atmosphere humid, close, and oppressive. All the cretins that I saw, were in adjoining houses, in the little village called La Batia, situated in a narrow corner of the valley, the houses being built up under ledges of the rocks, and all of them very filthy, very close, very hot, and miserable habitations. In villages situated higher up the mountains, no cretins are to be seen; and the mother of one of the children told me, of her own accord, without my asking the question, that her child was quite a different being when he was up the mountain, as she called it, for a few days.

"The production of cretinism, by the bad quality of the air and the food, the neglect of moral education, and other evils attendant upon poverty, is supported by facts so pointed, that the greater number of cases in mountainous districts where snow-water abounds, may safely be ascribed to these general causes. The notion of snow-water being the cause of goitre, and consequently of cretinism, seems to have been derived from Pliny (Lib. II. cap. 37,) and copied by almost every succeeding writer, because it coincided with their hypothesis of cold and crude matters, although directly contradicted by facts. In the first place, persons born in places contiguous to the glaciers, who drink no other water than what flows from the melting of ice and snow, are not subject to this disorder; and, secondly, the disorder is observed in places where snow is unknown.

"The theory of water impregnated with calcareous matter being the cause, is equally unfounded; because the common waters of Switzerland excel those of every other country in Europe for purity and flavour. There is not a village, nor a valley, but what is enlivened by limpid rivulets or streams gushing from the rocks. The water usually drank at La Batia and Martigny is from the river Dranse, which flows from the glacier of St. Bernard, and falls into the Rhone; it is remarkably free from earthy matter, and well tasted. At Martigny, there are two or three pumps, the water of which is pure and equally fit for culinary purposes, but said to be unwholesome, without any good reason. At Bern, the water is extremely pure, yet, as Haller remarks, swellings of the throat are not uncommon in both sexes, although cretinism is rare. With regard to the alleged causes of goitre, the general opinion of its being endemial in mountainous countries, is of no value, because the disease is rare in Scotland, and very common in the county of Norfolk.

"The causes of cretinism begin to operate upon the system soon after, perhaps even before birth; the want of energy in the parent is communicated to the offspring; the children become deformed and cachectic very early in life, the growth and developement of the body is impeded, the abdomen becomes enlarged, and the glands swelled in various degrees; and the powers of the

the mind remain dormant, or become entirely obliterated, partly from want of proper organization, and partly from the total neglect of every thing like education.

" It might be expected, that the dissection of cretins would throw some light upon the series of phenomena associated together in the origin and progress of this singular affection; but the people are so superstitious, that it is very difficult to procure bodies for anatomical examination. However, some dissections have been made, and the appearances in the cranium are very curious. From the description of a cretin's skull by Ackermann, it appears that the cavity for the reception of the pons varolii and medulla oblongata was completely obliterated, and that in which the cerebellum is lodged so much diminished, that it scarcely exceeded one-third of its natural capacity. The return of the venous blood must have been considerably impeded by the malconfirmation of the foramina. Appearances nearly similar were observed by Malacarni and by Fodere.

" In the anatomical museum at Vienna I saw a cretin's skull, from which Professor Prochaska was so obliging as to permit me to have two drawings taken. It is the cranium of a cretin, who died at the age of thirty, yet the fontanelle is not closed, the second set of teeth are not out of their sockets, and none of the bones are distinctly and completely formed. The head is very large, the face small; it is like the skull of an adult joined to the face of a child; every part bears marks of irregularity in the growth and formation; and irregular action must have been the concomitant of such a morbid structure, whether the appearances be considered as cause or effect.

" The four angles of the os malæ are not well defined; the zygomatic and maxillary processes of this bone are wanting; the nasal processes of the superior maxillary bone are very large, and exhibit no marks of union with the os malæ; the ossa nasi are very small; the temporal bone is imperfectly formed; the zygomatic process terminates at the coronoid process of the lower jaw; the mastoid and styloid processes are wanting, and the pars petrosa remarkably small; the squamous portion not distinctly marked; the os occipitis unusually large, and numerous additional bones, ossa triquetra, along the whole course of the lambdoid suture. These appearances will be readily seen by referring to the figures; the other deviations of the natural structure corresponded with those already described by different writers.

" There is no fact in the natural history of man, that affords an argument so direct and so impressive, in proof of the influence of physical causes on the mind, as cretinism. It shows, moreover, that the growth of every part is essentially connected with the conditions in which it is fit to exercise its peculiar functions; and, in this respect, it fares with the intellectual as with the bodily powers.

" The most decisive argument in proof of this opinion is, that cretinism may be prevented by removing children from the confined and dirty places where it prevails, and nursing and educating them in the higher parts of the mountains.—Within these last ten years, the number of cretins has diminished, the condition of the lowest class of society is somewhat bettered, and more attention is paid towards that diseased constitution which is the forerunner of mental imbecility. I did

did not find that the poor creatures took any pride in having any of their children idiots or *bien heureux*, as some authors assert; on the contrary, the parents were very much ashamed of acknowledging that any cretins belonged to their families; and it was after repeated attempts, only by declaring myself to be a physician, that I could get access into their houses to examine any of these wretched beings in the human form. The burnt sponge is known as a remedy for the goitre among the people where it is most prevalent; but it is seldom administered, because the disease is so common, that it does not attract notice, nor affect in general the ordinary functions of life. And as to cretinism, that seems to be looked upon as belonging to indigence and poverty; for in every place where I saw cretins, many well looking persons of both sexes resided, and these were, without exception, persons of a higher class of society, who lived in better houses, and could supply both their moral and physical necessities.

"I might, perhaps, have insisted more upon the analogy between cretinism and rickets, for there is a remarkable coincidence in the literary history of these two diseases, as well as in many other points. Glisson first described rickets, as it appeared in this country, in the middle of the seventeenth century, about the same time that Plater mentions cretinism. The origin of both names is equally obscure; and since some of the remote causes are now discovered, it is to be hoped the diseases themselves will gradually disappear, and in some happier age be known only by description."

Application of Coal Gas to Economical Purposes.

[From Mr. Murdoch's Paper in the same.]

"THE facts and results intended to be communicated in this paper, are founded upon observations made, during the present winter, at the cotton manufactory of Messrs. Philips and Lee at Manchester, where the light obtained by the combustion of the gas from coal is used upon a very large scale; the apparatus for its production and application having been prepared by me at the works of Messrs. Boulton, Watt, and Co. at Soho.

"The whole of the rooms at this cotton mill, which is, I believe, the most extensive in the united kingdom, as well as its counting-houses and store-rooms, and the adjacent dwelling-house of Mr. Lee, are lighted with the gas from coal. The total quantity of light used during the hours of burning, has been ascertained, by a comparison of shadows, to be about equal to the light which 2500 mould candles of six in the pound would give; each of the candles, with which the comparison was made, consuming at the rate of 4-10ths of an ounce (175 grains) of tallow per hour.

"The quantity of light is necessarily liable to some variation, from the difficulty of adjusting all the flames, so as to be perfectly equal at all times: but the admirable preci-

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sion and exactness with which the business of this mill is conducted, afforded as excellent an opportunity of making the comparative trials I had in view, as is perhaps likely to be ever obtained in general practice; and the experiments being made upon so large a scale, and for a considerable period of time, may, I think, be assumed as a sufficiently accurate standard for determining the advantages to be expected from the use of gas lights under favourable circumstances.

"It is not my intention, in the present paper, to enter into a particular description of the apparatus employed for producing the gas; but I may observe generally, that the coal is distilled in large iron retorts, which, during the winter season, are kept constantly at work, except during the intervals of charging; and that the gas, as it rises from them, is conveyed by iron pipes into large reservoirs, or gazometers, where it is washed and purified, previous to its being conveyed through other pipes, called mains, to the mill. These mains branch off into a variety of ramifications (forming a total length of several miles,) and diminish in size, as the quantity of gas required to be passed through them becomes less. The burners, where the gas is consumed, are connected with the above mains, by short tubes, each of which is furnished with a cock to regulate the admission of the gas to each burner, and to shut it totally off when requisite. This latter operation may likewise be instantaneously performed, throughout the whole of the burners in each room, by turning a cock, with which each main is provided, near its entrance into the room.

"The burners are of two kinds: the one is upon the principle of the Argand lamp, and resembles it in appearance; the other is a small curved tube with a conical end, having three circular apertures or perforations, of about a thirtieth of an inch in diameter, one at the point of the cone, and two lateral ones, through which the gas issues, forming three divergent jets of flame, somewhat like a fleur-de-lis. The shape and general appearance of this tube, has procured it, among the workmen, the name of the cockspur burner.

"The number of burners employed in all the buildings, amounts to 271 Argands, and 633 cockspurs; each of the former giving a light equal to that of four candles of the description abovementioned; and each of the latter, a light equal to two and a quarter of the same candles; making, therefore, the total of gas light a little more than equal to that of 2500 candles. When thus regulated, the whole of the above burners require an *hourly* supply of 1250 cubic feet of the gas produced from cannel coal; the superior quality and quantity of the gas produced from that material having given it a decided preference in this situation, over every other coal, notwithstanding its higher price.

"The time during which the gas light is used, may, upon an average of the whole year, be stated at least at two hours per day of twenty-four hours. In some mills, where there is over work, it will be three hours; and in the few where night-work is still continued, nearly twelve hours. But taking two hours per day as the common average throughout the year, the consumption in Messrs. Philips' and Lee's mill, will be $1250 \times 2 = 2500$ cubic feet of gas per day; to produce which, seven hundred weight of cannel coal is required in the retort. The price of the

the best Wigan cannel (the sort used) is 13½*d.* per cwt. (22*s.* 6*d.* per ton), delivered at the mill, or say about eight shillings for the seven hundred weight. Multiplying by the number of working days in the year (313), the annual consumption of cannel will be 110 tons, and its cost 125*l.*

"About one-third of the above quantity, or say forty tons of good common coal, value ten shillings per ton, is required for fuel to heat the retorts; the annual amount of which is 20*l.*

"The 110 tons of cannel coal, when distilled, produce about 70 tons of good coke, which is sold upon the spot, at 1*s.* 4*d.* per cwt. and will therefore amount annually to the sum of 93*l.*

"The quantity of tar produced from each ton of cannel coal, is from eleven to twelve gallons, making a total annual produce of about 1250 ale gallons, which not having been yet sold, I cannot determine its value; but whenever it comes to be manufactured in large quantities, it cannot be such as materially to influence the economical statement, unless indeed new applications of it should be discovered.

"The quantity of aqueous fluid which came over in the course of the observations which I am now giving an account of, was not exactly ascertained, from some springs having got into the reservoir; and as it has not been yet applied to any useful purpose, I may omit further notice of it in this statement.

"The interest of the capital expended in the necessary apparatus and buildings, together with what is considered as an ample allowance for wear and tear, is stated by Mr. Lee at about 550*l.* per annum: in which some allowance is made for this apparatus being made upon a scale adequate to the supply of a still greater quantity of light, than he has occasion to make use of.

"He is of opinion, that the cost of attendance upon candles would be as much, if not more, than upon the gas apparatus; so that in forming the comparison, nothing need be stated upon that score, on either side.

"The economical statement for one year then stands thus:

Cost of 110 tons of cannel coal - - - - - -	£125
Ditto of 40 tons of common ditto - - - -	20
	145
Deduct the value of 70 tons of coke - - -	93
The annual expenditure in coal, after deducting the value of the coke, and without allowing any thing for the tar, is therefore - - - -	52
And the interest of capital, and wear and tear of apparatus - - - - - -	550

making the total expence of the gas apparatus about 600*l.* per annum.

"That of candles, to give the same light, would be about 2000*l.* For each candle consuming at the rate of 4-10ths of an ounce of tallow per hour, the 2500 candles burning upon an average of the year two hours per day, would, at one shilling per pound, the present price, amount to nearly the sum of money above mentioned.

"If the comparison were made upon an average of three hours per day, the advantage would be still more in favour of the gas light; the interest of the capital, and wear and tear of the apparatus, continuing nearly the same as in the former case; thus,

1250 × 3 = 3750 cubic feet of

gas

gas per day, which would be produced by $10\frac{3}{4}$ cwt. of cannel coals; this multiplied by the number of working days, gives 168 tons per annum, which, valued as before, amounts to - - - - - - £188

And 60 tons common coal for burning under the retorts, will amount to 30

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Deduct 105 tons of coke at 26*s.* 8*d.* - - - - 140

Leaving the expenditure in coal, after deduction of the coke, and without allowance for the tar, at - - - - - - 78

Adding to which the interest and wear and tear of apparatus, as before, the total annual cost will not be more than 650*l.* whilst that of tallow, rated as before, will be 3000*l.*

"It will readily occur, that the greater number of hours the gas is burnt, the greater will be its comparative economy; although in extending it beyond three hours, an increase of some parts of the apparatus would be necessary.

"If the economical comparison were made with oils, the advantages would be less than with tallow.

"The introduction of this species of light into the establishment of Messrs. Philips and Lee, has been gradual; beginning in the year 1805, with two rooms of the mill, the counting-houses, and Mr. Lee's dwelling-house. After which, it was extended through the whole manufactory, as expeditiously as the apparatus could be prepared.

"At first, some inconvenience was experienced from the smell of the unconsumed, or imperfectly purified gas, which may, in a great measure, be attributed to the introduction of successive improvements in the construction of the apparatus, as the work proceeded. But since its completion, and since the persons to whose care it is confided, have become familiar with its management, this inconvenience has been obviated, not only in the mill, but also in Mr. Lee's house, which is most brilliantly illuminated with it, to the exclusion of every other species of artificial light.

"The peculiar softness and clearness of this light, with its almost unvarying intensity, have brought it into great favour with the work people. And its being free from the inconvenience and danger resulting from the sparks and frequent snuffing of candles, is a circumstance of material importance, as tending to diminish the hazard of fire, to which cotton mills are known to be much exposed.

"The above particulars, it is conceived, contain such information, as may tend to illustrate the general advantages attending the use of the gas light; but nevertheless the Royal Society may, perhaps, not deem it uninteresting, to be apprised of the circumstances which originally gave rise in my mind to its application, as an economical substitute for oils and tallow.

"It is now nearly sixteen years since, in the course of experiments I was making at Redruth in Cornwall, upon the quantities and qualities of the gasses produced by distillation from different mineral and vegetable substances, I was induced, by some observations I had previously made upon the burning of coal, to try the combustible property of the gasses produced from it, as well as from peat, wood, and other inflammable substances. And being struck with the great quantities of gas which they afforded, as well as with the brilliancy

brilliancy of the light, and the facility of its production, I instituted several experiments with a view of ascertaining the cost at which it might be obtained, compared with that of equal quantities of light yielded by oils and tallow.

"My apparatus consisted of an iron retort, with tinned copper and iron tubes through which the gas was conducted to a considerable distance; and there, as well as at intermediate points, was burned through apertures of varied forms and dimensions. The experiments were made upon coal of different qualities, which I procured from distant parts of the kingdom, for the purpose of ascertaining which would give the most economical results. The gas was also washed with water, and other means were employed to purify it.

"In the year 1798, I removed from Cornwall to Messrs. Boulton, Watt, and Co's. works for the manufactory of steam-engines at the Soho Foundry, and there I constructed an apparatus upon a larger scale, which, during many successive nights, was applied to the lighting of their principal building, and various new methods were practised, of washing and purifying the gas.

"These experiments were continued with some interruptions, until the peace of 1802, when a public display of this light was made by me in the illumination of Mr. Boulton's manufactory at Soho, upon that occasion.

"Since that period, I have, under the sanction of Messrs. Boulton, Watt, and Co. extended the apparatus at Soho Foundry, so as to give light to all the principal shops, where it is in regular use, to the exclusion of other artificial light; but I have preferred giving the results from Messrs. Philips' and Lee's apparatus, both on account of its greater extent, and the greater uniformity of the lights, which rendered the comparison with candles less difficult.

"At the time I commenced my experiments, I was certainly unacquainted with the circumstance of the gas from coal having been observed by others to be capable of combustion; but I am since informed, that the current of gas escaping from Lord Dundonald's tar ovens had been frequently fired; and I find that Dr. Clayton, in a paper in Volume XLI. of the Transactions of the Royal Society, so long ago as the year 1739, gave an account of some observations and experiments made by him, which clearly manifest his knowledge of the inflammable property of the gas which he denominates 'the spirit of coals;' but the idea of applying it as an economical substitute for oils and tallow, does not appear to have occurred to this gentleman; and I believe I may, without presuming too much, claim both the first idea of applying, and the first actual application of this gas to economical purposes."

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On the General Structure *and* Physiology *of* Plants *compared with* Animals.

[From Mr. Good's Anniversary Oration delivered before the Medical Society of London.]

"AMIDST the maxims of an almost universal application, to be met with in the writings both of Harvey and Linnæus, the following is one of the most prominent, *Omne vivum ex ovo.* It is indeed the very basis of the sexual system, it has been propounded in every age in which such a system has been taught, and is altogether as applicable to plants as to animals. For although in both we meet with occasional instances of propagation by other means, by buds and bulbs, by slips and cuttings, the exceptions are either so few or so irrelevant, as rather to confirm the general rule than to subvert it, and to evince a double or triple mode of increase than to oppose the generation of eggs as the common mode.

"The egg of the plant is its seed. The seed is sometimes naked, but more generally covered with a pericarp, whence plants become naturally divided into the two grand classes of gymnospermous, and agiospermous. The pericarp is of various forms and structures; and of these the more common are the legume, silique, or silicle, being merely varieties of what, among ourselves, is denominated in popular language cod or pod; the loment, which is a kind of pod not so frequent as either of the former, but of which we have an instance in a plant well known to most of us, the *cassia fistula* of Linnæus, or the *cassia fistularis* of the dispensatories; the pome, or core-apple, of which we have instances in the common apple, and the orange; the drupe, or stone-apple, instances of which occur to us in the plum, cherry, and almond; the glume or chaff; the berry; the *acinus* or conglomerate berry, as in the rasp; the nut; and the capsule.

"Stripping off this outer covering, we find the seed to consist internally of a *corculum*, corcle, or little heart, and externally of a parenchymatous substance surrounded with a double integument, sometimes single, sometimes bifid, and sometimes more than bifid; and hence denominated monocotyledonous, dicotyledonous, polycotyledonous. It was very generally supposed formerly, and is still supposed by some botanists, that the seeds of various orders of plants, as the mosses, fungi, and algæ, are acotyledonous, or totally destitute of a cotyledon of any kind. But as many, perhaps most plants of this kind, have of late been discovered to possess such parenchyma, we have great reasons to believe that this organ is universal, and that there is no such thing as an acotyledonous seed in the whole vegetable kingdom. In reality the cotyledon appears absolutely necessary for the germination and future growth of the seed, and may hence be denominated its lungs or placentule. Like the perfect plant, it possesses lymphatics and air-vessels. Through the former of these it absorbs the moisture of the soil into which it is plunged, decomposes a part of it into its elementary principles, and conducts those principles together with the undecomposed water to the corcle, which become

comes stimulated to the process of germination by the oxygen thus set at liberty; while through the latter it breathes forth its excess of oxygen, together with a considerable portion of carbonic acid, and hydrogen gasses, and generally some portion of azot.

"It is the corcle, then, which is the true *punctum saliens* of vegetable life, and to this the cotyledon is subservient. The corcle consists of two parts, an ascending and a descending; the former called its plumule, which gives birth to the trunk and branches, the latter, denominated its rostel, which gives birth to the root and radicles. The position of the corcle in the seed is always in the vicinity of the *hilum* or eye, which is a cicatrix or umbilicus remaining after the separation of the *funis* or umbilical cord from the pericarp to which the seed has hereby been attached. The first radicle or germinating branch of the rostel uniformly elongates, and pushes into the earth, before the plumule evinces any change; like the cotyledon, the radicles consist chiefly of lymphatics and air-vessels, which serve to separate the water from the soil, in order that the oxygen may be separated from the water.

"Hence originates the root, unquestionably the most important part of the plant, and which in some sense may be regarded as the plant itself; for if every other part of the plant be destroyed, and the root remain uninjured, this organ will regerminate, and the whole plant be renewed; but if the root perish, the plant becomes lost irrecoverably. Yet there are various phenomena in vegetable life that manifest a smaller difference in the nature of the root and the trunk, than we should at first be induced to suppose; for in several species, and especially those of the prunus and salix tribes, if the stem branches be bent down to the earth, plunged into it, and continued in this situation for a few months, these branches will throw forth radicles; and if, after this, the original root be dug up, and suffered to ascend into the air, so that the whole plant becomes completely inverted, the original root will throw forth stem-branches and bear the wild fruit peculiar to its tribe. The *rhizophora*, mangle or man-grove-tree, grows naturally in this manner; for its stem-branches, having reached a certain perpendicular height, bend downwards of their own accord, and throw forth root-branches into the soil, from which new trunks arise, so that it is not uncommon, in some parts of Asia and Africa, to meet with a single tree of this species covering the oozy waters in which it grows, with a forest of half a mile in length.

"The solid parts of the trunk of the plant consist of *cortex*, cuticle, or outer bark; *liber*, *cutis* or inner bark; *alburnum*, or soft wood; *lignum*, or hard wood; and *medulla*, or pith. Linnæus gave the name of medulla to the pith of plants, upon a supposition that it had a near resemblance to the *medulla spinalis* of quadrupeds. A closer investigation, however, has since proved that this resemblance is very faint, and that the pith or medulla of vegetables consists of nothing more than a mere spongy cellular substance, forming indeed an admirable reservoir for moisture, and hence of the utmost importance to young plants, which, in consequence of their want of leaves and branches, whose surfaces are covered with the bibulous mouths of innumerable lymphatics, would otherwise be frequently in danger of perishing through absolute drought; but gradually of less use

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as the plant advances in age, and becomes possessed of these ornamental appendages; and hence, except in a few instances, annually encroached upon, and at length totally obliterated by the surrounding lignum.

"All these lie in concentric circles; and the trunk enlarges, by the formation of a new liber or inner bark every year; the whole of the liber of one year, excepting indeed its outermost layer, which is transformed into cortex, becoming the alburnum of the next, and the alburnum becoming the lignum. Whence it is obvious, that a mark of any kind, which has penetrated through the outer into the inner bark, must in a long process of years be comparatively transferred to the central parts of the trunk; on which account we often find in felling trees of great longevity, as the oak for example, the date of very remote national æras, and the initials of monarchs, who flourished in very early periods of our national history, stamped in the very heart of the timber on its being subdivided.

"As these series of concentric circles, moreover, produced by the growth of every year, are still visible after the conversion of every other part into lignum, or hard wood, we can trace the age of a tree, with a considerable degree of certainty, by allowing a year for every outer circle, and about two or three years for the complete lignification of the innermost.

"Independently of these more solid parts of the trunk or stem, we generally meet with some portion of parenchyma and cellular substance, and always with the different systems of vegetable vessels disposed in one common and uniform arrangement. The lower orders of plants, indeed, such as the annuals and biennials, consist almost exclusively of parenchyma or cellular substance, with an inner and outer bark, and the respective vessels of the vegetable system.

"These vessels are adducent and reducent or arteries and veins, pneumatic or air-vessels, and lymphatics. The lymphatics lie immediately under the cuticle and in the cuticle. They anastomose in different ways through their minute intermediate branches, and, by surrounding the apertures of the cuticle, perform the alternating economy of inhalation and exhalation. Their direction varies in different species of plants, but is always uniform in the same species.

"Immediately below these lie the adducent vessels, or arteries; they are the largest of all the vegetable vessels, rise immediately from the root, and communicate nutriment in a perpendicular direction: and when the stem of a plant is cut horizontally, they instantly appear in circles. Interior to these lie the reducent vessels or veins; which are softer, more numerous, and more minute than the arteries; and in young shoots run down through the cellular texture and the pith. Between the arteries and veins are situated the air-vessels, which are delicate membranous tubes stretching in a spiral direction, the folds being sometimes close to each other, and sometimes more distant, but generally growing thicker towards the root, and especially in ligneous plants. These vessels also are very minute, and according to numerous observations of Hedwig made with the microscope, seldom exceed a 290th part of a line, or a 3000th part of an inch in diameter.

"The lymphatics of a plant may be often seen with great ease by merely stripping off the cuticle with a delicate hand, and then subjecting

jecting it to a microscope; and in the course of the examination we are also frequently able to trace the existence of a great multitude of valves, by the action of which the apertures of the lymphatics are commonly found closed. Whether the other systems of vegetable vessels possess the same mechanism, we have not been able to determine decisively; the following experiment, however, should induce us to conclude that they do. If we take the stem of a common balsamine, or of various other plants, and cut it horizontally at its lower end, and plunge it, so cut, into a decoction of Brazil-wood, or any other coloured fluid, we shall perceive that the arteries or adducent vessels, as also the air-vessels, will become filled or injected by an absorption of the coloured liquor, but that the veins, or reducent vessels, will not become filled; of course evincing an obstacle, in this direction, to the ascent of the coloured fluid. But if we invert the stem, and in like manner cut horizontally the extremity which till now was uppermost, and plunge it so cut, into the same fluid, we shall then perceive that the veins will become injected, or suffer the fluid to ascend, but that the arteries will not: proving clearly the same kind of obstacle in the course of the arteries in this direction, which was proved to exist in the veins in the opposite direction; and which reverse obstacles we can scarcely ascribe to any other cause than the existence of valves.

"By this double set of vessels, moreover, possessed of an opposite power, and acting in an opposite direction, the one to convey the sap or vegetable blood forwards, and the other to bring it backwards, we are able very sufficiently to establish the phenomenon of a circulatory system: and, according to several of the experiments of M. Willdenow, it seems probable that this circulatory system is maintained by the projectile force of a regular and alternate contraction and dilatation of the vegetable vessels. Yet the great minuteness of these vessels must ever render it extremely difficult to obtain any thing like absolute certainty upon this subject. Even in the most perfectly established circulatory systems of animals, in man himself, it is not once in five hundred instances, that we are able to acquire any palpable proof of such a fact: we are positive of the existence of an alternating systole and diastole in the larger arteries, because their pulsation gives proof of it to the finger; but throughout all the minuter arteries, which are infinitely more numerous, we reason rather than perceive, we infer a similarity of action, because, from mere analogy, we ascribe a similarity of power. How much less, then, ought we to expect any full demonstration of this point in the vessels of vegetables, in every instance so much more minute than those of the more perfect animals, and seldom exceeding, as I have already observed, a three thousandth part of an inch in diameter!

"It becomes me, however, to confess, that no experiments which have hitherto been made, have detected the existence of muscular or nervous fibres in vegetables, although very high degrees of galvanic electricity have for this purpose been applied to the most irritable of them; as the *dionæa muscipula*, or Venus's fly-trap; *oxalis sensitiva*; different species of *drosera*, or sun-dew; *acacias* of various kinds, and other *mimosas*; and especially the *mimosa pudica*, and *sensitiva*, the common sensitive plants of our green-houses. Humboldt has uniformly failed

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Rafn appears to have succeeded in one or two instances, but his general want of success prevents us from being able to lay any weight on the single case or two in which he seems to have been more fortunate.

"Yet, notwithstanding all that has been advanced, as to the necessity of a regular and alternate contraction and dilatation for the production of a circulatory system both in animals and vegetables, still must we admit the competency of other powers to produce the same result, while we reflect on the facility with which the human *cutis* or skin, an organ destitute of all muscular fibres whatever, contracts and relaxes generally on the application of a variety of other powers; powers different in their nature, and in their effect palpable to the external senses: whilst we recal to mind that it is contracted by austere, and relaxed by oleaginous preparations; constringed by cold, and dilated by warmth: and that the opposite passions of the mind have a still more powerful influence on the same organ, since fear, apprehension, horror, will not only freeze and corrugate the *skin*, but, in the language of the poet, which is also the language of nature, freeze the *blood* itself, making

'——each particular hair to stand on end
Like quills upon the fretful porcupine:'

while hope, pleasure, agreeable expectation, smooth, soften, and expand it to an equal degree, and figuratively, perhaps literally, lubricate it with the *oil of joy*. More especially must we come to this conclusion, while, in conjunction herewith, we survey, in various species of the vegetable kingdom, as strong a contractibility and irritability as are to be met with in the most contractile and irritable muscles of the most sentient animals.

"Yet, could it even be proved that the vessels of plants are incapable of being made to contract by any power whatever, still should we have no great difficulty in conceiving a perfect circulatory system in animals or vegetables without any such cause, whilst we reflect that one half of the circulation of the blood in man himself is accomplished without such a contrivance; and this, too, the more difficult half, as every one knows that the veins have, for the most part, to oppose the attraction of gravitation, instead of being able to take advantage of it.

"To argue, therefore, against the existence of a circulation of blood or sap in plants, from the single circumstance that we are not able to prove demonstrably their possession either of muscular fibres, or of a regular systole and diastole, is merely to argue *ex ignorantiâ*, and in defiance of facts and experiments which, if not absolutely decisive, are perhaps as decisive as the nature of the case will allow. We have, at this moment, nearly as much reason for believing in the circulation of the blood of vegetables, as we had in that of animals anterior to the confirmation of this important reality by the observations of the immortal Harvey.

"In fine, the great mass of the facts and phenomena of vegetable life has so close a resemblance and parallelism to the facts and phenomena of animal life, if we except those which relate to the rational and immortal mind, with which I have no concern at present, as clearly to indicate the application of one common system to both, as far as one common system can be made to apply; and, if I mistake not, to demonstrate one common derivation from one common and almighty cause. And having thus far sub-

mitted to your attention a brief outline of the general structure of vegetables, I shall now proceed to point out a few of their resemblances to the economy or habits of animals, and shall endeavour to select those which are either most curious or most prominent.

" Plants, then, like animals, are propagated by sexual connection. This, which, as an opinion, was entertained by Aristotle, and, as a doctrine studied and taught still earlier, by Empedocles and Theophrastus, is in the present day a position incontrovertibly established by the discoveries of Zaluzianski, the still more accurate observations of Linnæus, and the concurrent labours of a host of later botanists who have pursued their footsteps. And although among vegetables we meet with a few instances of propagation by other means, as, for instance, by slips and offsets, or by buds and bulbs, the parallelism, instead of being hereby diminished, is only drawn the closer; for we meet with just as many instances of the same varieties of propagation among animals. Thus the hydra, or polype, as it is more generally called, the asterias, and several species of the leech, as the *hirudo viridis*, for example, are uniformly propagated by lateral sections, or instinctive slips or offsets; while almost every genus of zoophytic worms is only capable of increase by buds, bulbs, or knobs.

" The blood of plants, like that of animals, instead of being simple is compound, and consists of a great multitude of compacter corpuscles, globules for the most part, but not always globules, floating in a looser and almost diaphanous fluid. From this common current of vitality, plants, like animals, secrete a variety of substances of different, and frequently of opposite powers and qualities,—substances nutritive, medicinal, or destructive. And as in animal life, so also in vegetable, it is often observed that the very same tribe, or even individual, that in some of its organs secretes a wholesome aliment, in other organs secretes a deadly poison. As the viper pours into the reservoir situated at the bottom of his hollow tusk a fluid fatal to other animals, while in the general substance of his body he offers us not only a healthful nutriment, but, in some sort, an antidote for the venom of his jaw: so the *jatropha manihot*, or Indian cassava, secretes a juice extremely poisonous in its root, while its leaves are regarded as a common esculent in the country, and are eaten like spinach leaves among ourselves.

" In like manner the *amyris*, in one of its species offers the balm-of-Gilead tree, in another the gum elemi tree, and in a third the poison ash. It is from a fourth species of this genus I will just observe, as I pass along, in order the more completely to familiarize it to us, that we obtain that beautiful plant, which under the name of rosewood, is now so great a favourite in our drawing rooms.

" The *mimosa nilotica*, or gum Arabic tree, is a rich instance in proof of the same observation. The root throws forth a fluid that smells as offensively as asafœtida; the juice of its stem is severely sour and astringent; the secernents of its cup exude a sweet, saccharine, nutritive gum, the common gum-Arabic of the shops, and its flowers diffuse a highly fragrant and regaling odour.

" But perhaps the *laurus*, as a genus, offers us the most extensive variety of substances of different qualities. This elegant plant, one of its species, gives us the cin-

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namon-tree; in another, the cassia, or wild cinnamon; in a third, the camphor-tree; in a fourth, the alligator-pear; in a fifth, the sassafras; in a sixth, a sort of gum-Benjamin, though not the real gum-Benjamin, which is a *styrax*; while in a seventh, the *L. caustica*, it exhibits a tree with a sap as poisonous as that of the manchineel.

"And truly extraordinary is it, and highly worthy of notice, that various plants, or juices of plants, which are fatally poisonous to some animals, may not only be eaten with impunity by others, but will afford them a sound and wholesome nutriment. How numerous are the insect tribes that feed and fatten on all the species of *euphorbia*, or noxious spurge! The *dhanesa*, or Indian buceros, feeds to excess on the *colubrina* or *nux vomica*; and the land-crab on the berries of the *hippomane* or manchineel-tree. The leaves of the *kalmia latifolia* are feasted upon by the deer, and the round-horned elk, but are mortally poisonous to sheep, to horned cattle, to horses, and to man. The bee extracts honey without injury from its nectary, but the man who partakes of that honey after it is deposited in the hive-cells, falls a victim to his repast. Some very singular cases in proof of this assertion occurred at Philadelphia no longer ago than the year 1790, in the autumn and winter of which an extensive mortality was produced amongst those who had partaken of the honey that had been collected in the neighbourhood of Philadelphia, or had feasted on the common American pheasant, or pinnated grous, as we call it in our country. The attention of the American government was excited by the general distress, a minute examination into the cause of the mortality ensued, and it was satisfactorily ascertained that the honey had been chiefly extracted from the flowers of the *kalmia latifolia*, and that the pheasants which proved thus poisonous had fed harmlessly on its leaves. In consequence of which a public proclamation was issued, prohibiting the use of the pheasant, as a food, for that season. The account is given in detail in the fifth volume of the American Philosophical Transactions, by that very accurate and excellent physiologist Dr. Barton, president of the American Linnæan, Society, and professor of medicine in the university of Philadelphia; to whom I beg leave thus publicly to return my very sincere thanks for some very valuable physiological observations he has lately transmitted to me, and the rather because I see before me a learned correspondent and friend of the professor's, who will not suffer this public testimony of my gratitude to pass unnoticed.

"So differently constituted are the digestive powers of some animals compared with those of others; and so true is the observation of the first poet and natural philosopher of ancient Rome, an observation, too, made in the contemplation of this very fact,—

'Tantaque in hiis rebus distantia, differitasque est,
Ut quod aliis cibus est, aliis fuat acre venenum.'

"Animals, as we all know, are liable to a great variety of diseases; so, too, are vegetables; to diseases as numerous, as varied, and as fatal; to diseases epidemic, endemic, sporadic; to scabies, pernio, ulcer, gangrene; to polysarcia, atrophy, and, above all, to invermination. Whatever, in fine, be the system of nosology to which we are attached, to Sauvage's, Vogel's, or Cullen's, it

it is impossible for us to put our hand upon any one class or order of diseases which they describe, without putting our hand, at the same time, upon some disease to which plants are subject in common with animals. A simple, succinct, and perspicuous vegetable nosology would, indeed, be a production of no small value to the world. M. Willdenow has done much towards putting us into possession of such a treasure; let us hope that some future phytologist will complete what he has so admirably essayed, or that this excellent naturalist may yet live to give perfection to his own labours.

"There are some tribes of animals that exfoliate their cuticle annually, such are grasshoppers, spiders, several species of crabs, and serpents. Among vegetables we meet with a similar variation from the common rule, in the shrubby cinquefoil, indigenous to Yorkshire, and the plane tree of the West Indies.

"Animals are occasionally divided into the two classes of locomotive or migratory, and fixed or permanent; vegetables may partake of a similar classification. Unquestionably the greater number of animals are of the former section, yet in every order of worms we meet with some instances that naturally appertain to the latter, while almost every genus and species of the zoophytic order, its millepores, madrepores, tubipores, gorgonias, isises, corallines, and sponges, can only be included under it. Plants, on the contrary, are for the most part stationary, yet there are many that are fairly intitled to be regarded as locomotive or migratory. The natural order *senticosæ*, the *icosandria polygynia* of the sexual system, offers us a variety of instances, of which the *fragaria* or strawberry may be selected as a familar example. The palmate, the testicular and the premorse rooted afford us similar proofs:—many of these grow from a new bulb, or knob or radicle, while the old root, of whatever description it may be, dies away; in consequence of which we can only conclude that the vital principle of the plant has quitted an old, dilapidated, and ruinous mansion, to take possession of a new one. Insomuch, that were a person, on the point of travelling to the East Indies, to plant the root of an orchis, or a scabius, in a particular spot in his garden, and to search for it in the same spot on his return home, he would be in no small degree disappointed; and if he were to remain abroad long, he must carry his pursuit to half an acre's distance, for thus far would some of these roots perhaps have travelled in a few years.

"Plants, like animals, have a wonderful power of maintaining their common temperature, whatever be the temperature of the atmosphere that surrounds them; and hence occasionally of raising the thermometer, and occasionally of depressing it. Like animals, too, they are found to exist in most astonishing degrees of heat and cold, and to accommodate themselves accordingly. Wherever the interest or curiosity of man has led him into climates of the highest northern latitudes; wherever he has been able to exist himself, or to trace a vestige of animal being around him; there too, has he beheld plants of an exquisite beauty and perfection; perfuming, perhaps, in many instances, the dead and silent atmosphere with their fragrances, and embellishing the barren scenery with their corals.

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"It is said that animals of a certain character, the cold-blooded and amphibious, have a stronger tenacity to life than vegetables of any kind. But the assertion seems to have been hazarded too precipitately; for, admitting that the common water newt has been occasionally found imbedded in large masses of ice, perfectly torpid and apparently frozen; and that the common eel, when equally frozen and torpefied, is capable of being conveyed a thousand miles up the country, as from St. Petersburgh, for example, to Moscow, in which country, we are told, it is a common practice thus to convey it; and that both, on being carefully thawed, may be restored to as full a possession of health and activity as ever; yet the torpidity hereby induced, can only be compared to that of deciduous plants in the winter months; during which season we all know that, if proper care be exercised, they may be removed to any distance whatever without the smallest inconvenience.

"Plants, again, are capable of existing in very high degrees of heat. M. Sonnerat found the *vitex agnus castus*, and two species of *aspalathus*, on the banks of a thermal rivulet in the island of Lucon, the heat of which raised the thermometer to 174° of Fahrenheit, and so near the water that its roots swept into it. Around the borders of a volcano, in the isle of Tanna, where the thermometer stood at 210°, Mr. Forster found a variety of flowers flourishing in the highest state of perfection; and confervas and other water-plants, are by no means unfrequently traced in the boiling springs of Italy, raising the thermometer to 212°, or the boiling point.

"Animals are capable of enduring a heat quite as extreme. Air has often been breathed by the human species with impunity at 264°. Tillet mentions its having been respired at 300°; and Morantin, one instance, at 325°, and that for the space of five minutes. Sonnerat found fishes existing in a hot spring at the Manillas at 158°; and M. Humboldt and M. Bonpland, in travelling through the province of Quito, in South America, perceived other fishes thrown up alive, and apparently in health, from the bottom of a volcano, in the course of its explosions, along with water and heated vapour, that raised the thermometer to 210°, being only two degrees short of the boiling point. This last assertion has been discredited by some naturalists in our own country, but I think too hastily; and I am happy to have it in my power, on this occasion, to add in no small degree to the testimony of these enterprising and very observant travellers. The manuscript now in my hands is an autographic note, written by the late Lord Bute, himself an excellent zoologist, to his friend the late reverend William Jones, of Nayland in Suffolk, as justly celebrated for his philosophical as for his theological publications, and was communicated to me by Edward Walker, Esq. of Gestingthorpe, Essex, (who married Mr. Jones's only daughter,) a gentleman who is himself well versed in botanical science. In this note, after deservedly complimenting Mr. Jones on a philosophical work he had just produced, his noble correspondent adds, 'Lord Bute 'cannot help imparting to Mr. Jones 'a singular observation made by him 'in June last, at the baths of Abano, 'near the Euganian mountains, in the 'borders of the Paduan state, famous 'in ancient authors; they are strong 'sulphur

'sulphur boiling springs, oozing out 'of a rocky eminence in great num-'bers, spreading over an acre of the 'top of a gentle hill. In the midst 'of these boiling springs, within 'three feet of five or six of them, 'rises a tepid one, about blood-'warm, the only source used for 'drinking: but the extraordinary 'circumstance is, that not only con-'fervas, &c. were found in the '*boiling springs*, but numbers of 'small black beetles, that died on 'being taken out and plunged into 'cold waters. How amazingly 'must the great Author of nature 'have formed these creatures to bear 'a *constant heat* of above 200° !'

"I take it for granted, that the animals here referred to were not species of the *scarabæus* or genuine beetle, which is not a water insect, but of the *dytiscus* or *hydrophil*, which are so, and which have so near a resemblance to the scarabæus, as to be denominated water-beetles by many zoologists. And upon this explanation suffer me to observe, that it is impossible for any collusion to have taken place between these different witnesses, unconnected in every respect as they must have been with each other, living at different periods, and travelling to different quarters of the globe; and that hence, in the opinion of every man of candour, the testimony of the one cannot fail in a very considerable degree to establish the testimony of the other.

"In reality, without wandering from our own country, we may at times meet with a variety of other phenomena, perfectly consonant in their nature, and altogether as extraordinary and anomalous, if we only attend to them as they rise before us. Thus the eggs of the *musca vomitoria*, our common flesh-fly, or blow-fly, are often deposited in the heat of summer upon putrescent meat, and broiled with such meat over a gridiron in the form of steaks, in a heat not merely of 212°, but of three or four times 212°. And yet, instead of being hereby destroyed, we sometimes find them quickened by this very exposure into their larva or grub state. And although I am ready to allow that, in the simple form of seeds or eggs, plants or animals may be expected to sustain a far higher degree of heat or cold with impunity, than in their subsequent and more perfect state; yet it cannot appear more extraordinary that in such perfect state they should be able to resist a heat of 210° or 212°, than that in the state of seeds or eggs they should be able to exist in, and to derive benefit from, a heat three or four times as excessive.

"In the vegetable world we meet with phenomena quite as anomalous. Thus, the *byssus asbestos* (an *alga*, whose specific name explains the peculiarity of its properties) is altogether incombustible. Throw this plant into the fire, and instead of burning, it becomes instantaneously converted into glass. So among the mosses, the *fontinalis antipyretica* (thus specifically denominated for the very same reason) is nearly as incombustible. This moss is indigenous to the Highlands, but is found still more generally in Scandinavia; and in this last country, the lower orders of the inhabitants, on account of its extreme inaptitude to burn, collect it as a lining for their chimneys, to prevent them from catching fire.

"Animals are often divided into the three classes of terrestrial, aquatic, and aerial. Plants are capable of a similar division. Among animals, it is probable that the largest number consists of the first class; yet,

yet, from the great variety of submarine genera that are known, and from nearly an equal variety, perhaps, that are not known, this is uncertain. Amongst vegetables, however, it is highly probable that the largest number belongs to the submarine class, if we may judge from the almost countless species of *fuci* and other equally prolific tribes of an aqueous and subaqueous origin, and the incalculable individuals that appertain to each species; and more especially, if we take into consideration the greater equality of temperature which must necessarily exist in the submarine hills and valleys.

"Many animals are amphibious, or capable of preserving life in either element; the vegetable world is not without instances of a similar power. The *algæ*, and especially in the *ulva* and *fucus* tribes, offer us a multitude of examples. The *juncus*, in many of its species, is an amphibious plant; so, too, is the *oryza*. In other words, all will flourish entirely covered with water, or with their roots alone shooting into a moist soil.

"Animals of various kinds are aerial: perhaps the term is not used with strict correctness. It will, at least, apply with more correctness to plants. All the most succulent plants of hot climates are of this description: such are several of the palms and of the cannas; and the greater number of plants that embellish the arid Karro fields of the Cape of Good Hope. Succulent as they are, these will only grow in soils or sands so sere and adust, that no moisture can be extracted from them, and are even destroyed by a full supply of wet or by a rainy season. And hence it is an opinion common to many of the ablest physiologists of the present day, that they derive the whole of their nutriment from the surrounding atmosphere; and that the only advantage which they acquire from thrusting their roots into such strata is, that of obtaining an erect position. There are some quadrupeds that appear to derive nutriment in the same manner. Thus the *bradypus*, or sloth, never drinks, and trembles at the feeling of rain; while the olive cavy avoids water of every kind almost as pertinaciously, and yet these are animals almost as succulent as any we are acquainted with.

"But however true this may be with regard to animals, we have palpable proofs that vegetables of certain tribes and descriptions are altogether supported by the atmosphere that surrounds them; for, important as is the organ of a root to plants in general, there are several which have no root whatever, and can derive nutriment in no other way. The water-caltrop is an instance directly in point. The seed of this plant has no rostel, and consequently can never, in the first instance, become rooted. From the horned nut or pericarp of the seed, as it lies in water, which is its natural element, shoots forth a long plumule perpendicularly towards the surface of the stream; during the ascent of which, a variety of capillary, branched leaves shoot forth from the sides of the plumule, some of which bend downward, and fix the whole plant to the bottom, by penetrating into the soil below the stream; the leaves alone in this late stage of germination acting the part of a root, and giving maturity to the still unfinished plant. The *cactus* genus, in some of its very numerous species, offers us an example of similar evolution; and especially in the *opuntia* tribe, or that which embraces the prickly pears

or

or Indian figs of our green-houses, of which the cochineal plant is an individual. Of these, several grow by the mere introduction of one of their thick fleshy leaves into a soil of almost any kind that is sufficiently dry; they obtain an erect position, but never root, or shoot forth radicles: and hence almost the whole of their moisture must necessarily be derived from the surrounding atmosphere.

"Perhaps one half of the *fuci* have no root whatever: many of them, indeed, consist of vesicles or vesicular bulbs alone, sessile upon the matrix of stone or shell that supports them, and propagate their kind by offsets, without any other vegetable organs.

"The *aphyteia* is a curious instance in point. This plant is equally destitute of leaves, stem, and root; and consists alone of a sessile, coriaceous, and succulent flower, eaten as a luxury by the Hottentots, and parasitic to the roots of the *euphorbia Mauritanica;* flower propagating flower from generation to generation.

"But perhaps the plant most decisive upon this subject is the aerial *epidendrum,* first, if I mistake not, described by that excellent Portuguese phytologist Loureiro, and denominated *aerial* from its very extraordinary properties. This is a native of Java, and the East Indies, beyond the Ganges; and in the latter region, it is no uncommon thing for the inhabitants to pluck it up on account of the elegance of its leaves, the beauty of its flower, and the exquisite odour it diffuses, and to suspend it by a silken cord from the ceilings of their rooms; where, from year to year, it continues to put forth new leaves, new blossoms, and new fragrance, excited alone to new life and action by the stimulus of the surrounding atmosphere.

"That stimulus is oxygen; ammonia is a good stimulus, but oxygen possesses far superior powers, and hence, without some portion of oxygen, no plant can ever be made to germinate: hence, too, the use of cow-dung, and other animal recrements, which consist of muriatic acid and ammonia; while in fat oil and other fluids that contain little or no oxygen, and consist altogether, or nearly so, of hydrogen and carbon, seeds may be confined for ages without exhibiting any germination whatever. And hence, again, and the fact deserves to be extensively known, however torpid a seed may be, and destitute of all power to vegetate in any other substance, if steeped in a diluted solution of oxygenated muriatic acid, at a temperature of about 46^0 or 48^0 of Fahrenheit, provided it still possess its principle of vitality, it will germinate in a few hours; and if, after this, it be planted, as it ought to be, in its appropriate soil, will grow with as much speed and vigour as if it had evinced no torpidity whatever."

Contrivance to save Persons in Stranded Ships*.

[From Lieut. Bell's Account in the Transactions of the Society of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce.]

"THE several trials made before a Committee of the Society at Woolwich, on the 29th of August, 1791, of throwing a line on shore on this principle, were as follow:—

"From a boat moored about 250 yards from shore, the shell was thrown 150 yards on shore, with the rope attached to it; the shell was of cast iron, filled with lead, it weighed 75 lbs. its diameter 8 inches; the rope in the trial was a deep sea-line, of which 160 yards weighed 18 lbs. the angle of the mortar, from which the shell was fired, was 45 degrees. By means of the line, Mr. Bell and another man worked themselves on shore upon his raft of casks; there were many kinks in the rope, which were with ease cleared by Mr. Bell, in which he was much assisted by his snatch blocks.

"The second trial was repeated in a similar manner, and with equal success, the shell falling within a few yards of the former place, the gale of wind was brisk, and the water rough. The direction of the shell was nearly from north to south, and the wind blew nearly north-west.

"In the third trial, the mortar was elevated to 70 degrees; the rope attached to the shell was an inch and half tarred rope, of which every 50 yards weighed fourteen pounds and a half; the shell of the kind above-mentioned. It fell 100 yards from the mortar, and buried itself about two-thirds in the ground; the line or rope ran out was about 200 yards, and it required the force of three men to draw the shell out of the ground at that distance.

"The grommet, in all these trials, was of white three-inch rope; and in all the above trials, by means of the line, two men worked themselves on shore upon the raft: each charge of powder was fifteen ounces.

"A fourth experiment was made by firing, from the same mortar, a grapnel, in a wooden case; it did not retain its hold in the ground so well as the shell, but amongst the crevices of rocks, or where the vessel is near shore, will be useful.

"A grapnel of this kind may be fired from a common cannon with an endless rope, running in a pulley

"* Trans. of the Society of Arts for 1807, p. 136. A publicity having been recently given to some experiments off the eastern coasts of this island, for preserving lives in cases of shipwreck, by means of a rope attached to a shell thrown from a mortar; the Society deemed it incumbent on them to remind the public, that, so far back as the year 1792, a bounty of fifty guineas was given to Mr. John Bell, then serjeant, afterwards lieutenant of the Royal Regiment of Artillery, for his invention of throwing a rope on shore, by means of a shell from a mortar, on board the vessel in distress; the particulars of which were published in the tenth volume of the Society's Transactions, page 204; but a descriptive engraving having been omitted at that time, it was thought expedient to insert it in the present publication, with some further particulars then omitted.

"Models and Drawings of the whole apparatus are reserved in the Society's Repository, for the inspection of the public."

or

or small block fixed thereto, by which a raft may be successively drawn to and from the vessel, either by the persons on board the vessel, or those on shore.

" *Observations made by Lieut. Bell, upon throwing a Line on Shore in case of a Ship being stranded.*

" 1st, From the proposed construction of the piece of ordnance, intended to throw the shot and line on shore, I suppose it will be between five and six hundred weight.

" The chamber is to contain one pound of powder, and the bore to admit a leaden ball of sixty pounds or upwards; the length of range, or distance, will depend upon the size of the line made use of; I suppose it will carry a deep sea-line between three and four hundred yards distance.

" 2d, All ships that have iron ballast may use this piece as a part of it, and then there would be only the trifling difference of casting so much of the ballast into the form of the piece; the leaden balls may likewise be used as ballast.

" 3d, I am of opinion, there are various ways, on board of a ship, that the mortar may be placed in a proper position for firing without a carriage expressly made for it; it may be placed upon a coil of rope, or its trunnions rested upon coins, or any thing else, whereby the muzzle can be raised so high, that the groove upon the trunnion appears vertical, as the piece in that position would be elevated nearly 45 degrees.

" 4th, As I imagine all ships carry deep sea-lines, on that account I made use of it in the experiments at Woolwich; but if it should be thought too short for the distance, any other light line might be added to the length of it.

" 5th, Supposing a ship's owner to purchase such a piece of ordnance with the leaden balls, and a block carriage; I do not think the whole would amount to more than ten or eleven pounds expence.

" 6th, Where a ship is driving or unmanageable near the shore, it would be proper to have the piece loaded, the line reeled upon handspikes or poles, and laid upon the deck ready for firing at any time it might be judged necessary. The handspikes or poles the line is reeled upon preserve it in a horizontal form; and they are not to be drawn out until the instant of firing: in this manner the line will deliver itself freely.

" The five water casks should also be prepared in readiness, by lashing them together, and a seaman's chest fixed upon the top of them, having part of its ends or sides cut out, in order to let out such water as may be thrown into it by the surf. I dare undertake to land with such a float upon a lee shore any where upon the coast, when it might be deemed unsafe for a boat to make good its landing.

" 7th, There is every reason to conclude, that this contrivance would be very useful at all ports of difficult access, both at home and abroad, where ships are liable to strike ground before they enter the harbour, as Shields Bar, and other similar situations, when a line might be thrown over the ship, which might pobably be the means of saving both lives and property; and moreover, if a ship was driven on shore near such a place, the apparatus might easily be removed to afford assistance; and the whole performance is so exceedingly simple, that any person, once seeing it done, would not want any further instructions.

JOHN BELL.

Woolwich, Aug. 29, 1791.

" *Some*

"*Some further Observations made by Lieutenant Bell, upon the Application of the Mortars intended for throwing a Line on Shore, in case of a Ship being stranded.*

"1st, In trading ships, this piece would answer for making signals of distress, by filling the chamber with powder, and well wadding it, as the report would be heard some miles distance at sea.

"2d, Such a gun, being accompanied with a few rounds of round and grape shot, would defend a ship much better than a longer gun, against any piratical or other hostile intentions, as, from its shortness, it would be more readily loaded and fired with a larger charge each time.

"3d, Accidents from a gun bursting, which may arise from an unskilful person loading with too great a proportion of powder, are in this piece effectually guarded against, by the chamber being constructed to contain but one pound of powder, a quantity which is only about one third of the usual charge of a cannon.

"4th, From the small size of such a gun and carriage, it might be kept upon deck, without much inconvenience in working the ship, in order to be ready, if necessity required; and when the ship is out at sea, it might then be put below. But from the number of dreadful wrecks, which so frequently happen along the coast, it certainly would be prudent to have it always upon deck when within sight of land, and particularly in stormy weather. JOHN BELL.

Woolwich, Aug. 30, 1791.

To C. TAYLOR, M. D. SEC."

ANTIDOTES AGAINST VIPERS AND SCORPIONS USED BY THE FUNGE AND NUBIANS IN SENNAAR.

[From Mr. MURRAY'S LIFE and WRITINGS of the late JAMES BRUCE, Esq.]

"THE first is called Labreshat, in the language of Sennaar; Lagemi, in that of the southern negroes, or Shankala; it is a root of about a foot in length, and somewhat above an inch around; but more commonly found not above the size of a common whip cord; it is tough and pliable, covered with a thick bark, which easily cracks, but does not easily detach itself from the root; it has something of the form of the white liquorice, but is of a darker colour. This root is generally straight, and shoots perpendicular into the earth, but has no fibres or branches. From the side of this root, generally about half an inch from the top, sprouts out a branch, thin and covered with a smooth deep green bark. This rarely grows above an inch long, and decays at top; and half an inch below, on its side, sets forth another small twig, seldom more than one. On this grow the leaves, disposed, one by one, alternately on opposite sides of the stalk; they are ordinarily about two inches long, and three lines and a half at the top, growing smaller to the point; the ribs are scarcely marked, or distinguishable, joined by a small stalk to the branch. This leaf is at first of the colour of laurel, but turns black and saddish on keeping. The Nubians distinguish male and female by the flower; that of the former being

being red, and the other white. I never saw either flower. The branch which bears the leaves never grows half a foot high out of the earth. It had leaves on the 25th July, 1772, after there had been considerable rain at Sennaar. It grows near the Nile in the red soapy clay, which is the soil there, and where all their dora is sown. This is against all species of the viper kind. The root having been dried in the sun, then pounded, if a piece, very small, be chewed, and the hand be rubbed with this spittle, the viper will suffer himself to be handled without offering to venture a bite; and upon being continued long in the hand, where is this bruised root, or the tincture of it rubbed in the hand, will sicken and die without any offence. It is but little bitter to the taste, and of no strong or disagreeable smell; it something resembles liquorice.

"Second Plant.—From a root, much resembling horse-raddish, nearly in form of an egg at top, and open at the bottom, divided into a fork, or two legs, grows a succulent stalk, or often two or three, of the size of a large earth worm. This stalk is white and feeble as far as it is covered with earth; after which it is a light green, and seldom above eight inches high. From the green parts of this stalk grow the leaves alternately on the opposite side of the stalk; the two opposites are generally less than half an inch distant; there is then a large interval near an inch and a half; and then the two others, which I say are placed alternately on opposite sides. There is no knot, or ring, around where the leaves shoot: these are always three in number; the first large, and in five divisions; it is altogether above an inch and a half broad, of a bright green, something like that of celery. When the large leaf has arrived at its full size, it falls off, and then it is succeeded by the second, which is advanced; the third takes place of the second, and it then shoots a small one for a third. These leaves are fastened to the principal stalk by a thready succulent root, long, near a third of the length of the leaf. The ribs part all from this root, and are considerably raised on the back of the leaf, and hollowed, or sunk, in the front. There are five principal ones. The stalk and leaves of this are perfectly tasteless, and without smell. The Nubians say it bears both fruit and flowers in abundance. I never saw either. It had just shot this succulent root, when I saw it, the 25th of July, near Sennaar, on the banks of the Nile, where it is in great plenty, in the very same ground with the former root. The root is of a dirty yellowish white, full of small knots, which seem to have been roots of fibres; and the root is also surrounded with small fibrous circles horizontally, like hoops around it. The leaves and stalk are covered with a sort of prickly down, scarce perceptible to the touch, which has probably given it its name, Abou Sont, the father of the acacia.

"The root of the third plant is crooked, hard, and woody; its body is about three inches long, when longest; at the bottom shoot out long thready fibres, tough, and of the same consistence with the root. The fibres run strongly into the earth, but a considerable part of the body of the root is out of the earth uncovered. It resembles the root of wild thyme, at first sight. From the sides of this, near the top, shoot forth a great number of green branches, fluted and seldom above four inches long; upon these the leaves are disposed, two, and two, on opposite sides of the stalk. These are generally three in number, one large, and two lesser, joined to the principal

principal stalk by a foot of about an inch long. The leaf is generally about three-fourths of an inch in length; and, at the shoulders, above half an inch in breadth, lightly serrated, like the nettle, of a deep green on the right side, but pale on the reverse; the ribs are faintly marked; the branches, or stalks, terminated with a head of white flowers of the form of pea blossoms, out of which project a pistil surrounded with several small filaments, or stamina, whose heads are covered with orange-coloured ferina. This flower is contained in a cup of one leaf, divided into several segments; each of these flowers do not exceed a line in length; they grow two by two, on the head, on opposite sides of the stalk; and two or three, like the leaves, sprout out together on each side, joined by a small foot to the stalk near the length of the flower. This whole head, occupied by the flower, is about three-fourths of an inch in length. The whole of the plant above ground seldom exceeds five inches and a half. It grows in the same ground with the rest near the Nile, and was in flower and leaf on the 25th of July, 1772, when I was at Sennaar. It is used, bruising the root in the hand, against scorpions, who are rendered harmless by it.

"The fourth plant is also for the same use, against scorpions, and produces the same effect. It is a round root of the size of the largest musket-ball, full of small fibres, which spring out on all sides; from the centre of this, springs out the plant, the stalk of which is an inch and a half in length, feeble and flexible, thickest at the root, diminishing, however, but little. From this principal stalk sprout branches on all sides about four inches long, alternately disposed on the stalk. This stalk is lightly channelled; the leaves are above half an inch broad, fixed to the branch by a foot like the vine leaf: they grow alternately on the branch. They resemble the vine leaf in form; they are of a bright vivid green on the face; pale on the reverse, when growing, but turn black soon after gathering. They have on them a small white soft hair, like down. The ribs are five principal ones raised on the back, as in the vine; and distinct and well-marked on the right side also, but not hollowed. The flower is of the size of a pea, but oval, and covered with white down. I never saw it blown, but only shot, though it seemed to be arrived at its full size, and ready to blow, and the cup divided into four oval pointed segments. From where the leaves sprout out come likewise tendrils, like a vine, which show it to be a parasite. This is very rare; I never found but one the Nubian brought me, though it grows in the same ground as the rest, at Ayra, near the Nile, three miles south of Sennaar. It has little taste, as most herbs have, which, like this, were gathered in the season of rain; though, as to its virtue, the Nubians knew no difference of seasons. All these plants are equally efficacious; the three against scorpions; the fourth, which is a shrub, against vipers. The south, which is the country of these slaves in the regions of Shankala, from Fazuclo to the frontiers of Agow, abound in them all, and many others. There is great plenty at Sennaar; though it is in their own country these slaves learn the virtue of these plants and roots, to which the Arabs and people of Sennaar are strangers. When a person is newly bit, they chew a piece, and apply it to the place, and he is immediately cured. If a person chew this root often in a morning

a morning, the serpent, or scorpion, will not bite him. They dry all these roots, and then pound them to powder, and mix them well together, and put them in a leathern purse ready for use; and when they are to handle a scorpion, or viper, they take a few grains of this powder, and moisten it with water, or spittle, and rub it in their hand, and then lay hold of either without fear. Providence has placed this remedy in abundance, where there is much need of it. The bark and holes of all the trees in this country are full of scorpions in thousands, and the plains full of very poisonous vipers, especially in harvest. These come out of their holes in the time of the rains, and lie in heaps, wherever they find straw, dry herbage, or old houses."

On the Growth and Manufacture of Wool in Spain.

[From M. Bourgoing's Modern State of Spain.]

"THE best wool in Spain is that furnished by the country round Segovia, by the district of Buytrago, seven or eight leagues to the eastward; by Pedraza, to the northward of Segovia; and by the lands towards the Douro. The connections which I formed, as well with the people of Spain as with my own countrymen, who have for several years prosecuted the breeding of Spanish sheep in France, have enabled me to collect some details on the subject, which the most frivolous of my readers will consider as at least interesting; those of a different turn of mind will give me thanks for my trouble.

"At first there was an opinion, and it is still credited, although opposed by several intelligent Spaniards, that the wool of Spain is indebted for its fineness and other qualities, not so much to the temperature, climate, or nature of the pasture, as to the custom they have of making the sheep travel from place to place; but what incontestibly proves that the Spanish sheep do not only furnish fine wool without the assistance of periodical migrations, or even of the soil or climate, to which their precious fleece has been ascribed, is, that the flock which came originally from Spain, and was kept for upwards of thirty years by M. Daubenton, and sent by his Catholic Majesty in 1785, through my means, to Louis XVII, for his possessions at Rambouillet, have constantly furnished wool which the connoisseurs have not been able to distinguish from real Spanish wool, taken from sheep which had never left their own country.

"The flock of Rambouillet suffered from their change of climate and regimen in another way: of 360 sheep sent from Spain under my care about 60 perished on the road, although the Spanish shepherds, to whom I had intrusted them, had driven them by very short journies, and although they passed the winter near Bourdeaux, in order to inure them insensibly to the climate of France. But this great mortality is the common effect of all the emigrations which take place from south to north, and mankind are not less exempt from it than animals.

"In the first year after the flock had

had reached Rambouillet forty of them perished; this was attributed to the sheep-rot, which appeared soon after their arrival. The loss was inconsiderable the following years, if we except one season, in which about a twentieth part of the flock perished; but this ought to be ascribed to some particular cause, since almost all the flocks in the country were that season attacked, and fell off in a still greater proportion.

"The flock at Rambouillet, so well preserved, experienced no care but that which every intelligent cultivator, prompted by self-interest, is able to bestow. At first it was attempted to keep them constantly, as in Spain, in the open air; it was then that the influence of the change of climate was observable. These animals, brought from a much warmer country, were sensible of the cold, the winds, and particularly the rains, with which their close and greasy wool was in truth with difficulty impregnated, but which was also long in drying. Without prolonging this experiment, they hastened to remedy the evil; the flock was confined in large and well aired sheep-cots; and much advantage was derived from the change. Some lambs perished with cold during the rigorous winter of 1793-4, even in these cots. This arose from a circumstance in which Spain has an advantage over France, and in which the latter can never participate: in Spain the lambs are born in the month of October, while in our climate they come into the world in the month of January; but we can infer nothing from an excess of cold which does not occur perhaps more than four times in a century.

"The change of food has not deteriorated the flock at Rambouillet, or its progeny. The soil on which sheep usually feed in Spain, both in Castile and Estramadura, is in general dry and stony, and the grass is short and fine. It would be difficult to find a country the climate and herbage of which forms a more striking contrast with those of Spain than Rambouillet: the greatest part of the park is covered with wood; the soil is almost every where clayey, tough, watery, and cold. The fortunate results of this trial have deceived the predictions of all the cultivators of the country, and proved that flocks of the Spanish breed may succeed any where. Besides, we know that in Saxony, Wirtemberg, Denmark, and Sweden, where they have tried to naturalize them, they have never degenerated. But with respect to France, it has only been very lately that these attempts have been followed up, so as to insure a future national benefit from the breeding of Spanish sheep.

"For some years past success has attended all the undertakings of this kind made with rams and ewes bought at the sale annually made by government at Rambouillet. These animals have always brought a very high price, as well as their wool; and this circumstance is a security for their preservation. We find proofs of this among all those intelligent farmers who have attended to this branch of industry —a pacific conquest, much more precious than any acquisition which can result from our military successes against Spain; a conquest also which our treaty of peace with this power has embraced, by securing to us a new flock of these valuable animals, which are rigorously prohibited by the government from being exported to other countries. The only measure which could ultimately

mately secure these advantages to France, has been adopted: it has been agreed that the Rambouillet flock shall be freely sold at high prices. Every other method would have been of no avail: the French being more the slaves of custom than is generally imagined. The country people in particular are averse from innovations. The rams and ewes of Spain distributed gratuitously, as at first attempted, would have infallibly perished for want of care, in the hands of ignorant and prejudiced persons. These animals have nothing attractive in their first appearance. Their dirty, compact, and frizzled wool, their small stature and uncouth form, presents to the simple inhabitants of the country nothing which, in their ideas, is the characteristic of beauty. The resolution of selling these animals at a high price has been judged the most certain of all methods, because it places them in the hands of true amateurs, and of connoisseurs, whose interest and pleasure it is to preserve them. With respect to interest, the most aukward, or the most obstinate cultivator, will soon be convinced, that his advantage will be great from the adoption of these Spanish sheep, whether pure or crossed in the breed. They require no more care than what is necessary for the sheep of France, when we wish to keep them healthy and clean. They accommodate themselves to the same climate, the same soil, the same food, and merely require a little more attention on account of their fleece being thicker and more greasy; it however sells for double the price, and is at least twice the weight of common wool. We know that the medium weight of our common wool is from three to four pounds four pounds for each sheep; that of the Spanish breed, whether pure or crossed, is, however, from seven to eight. Some well attested examples prove the extreme difference between the weight of the fleeces of the wool of our common sheep and that of the original Spanish sheep. In one of his last shearings, M. de Lammerville, near Bourges, found one of his fleeces from a Spanish sheep to weigh eleven pounds and a half; and six years ago, M. Chabert shewed me one which weighed nearly twelve pounds, and came not from a sheep of the pure Spanish breed, but from one of a crossed breed of the third generation. The proprietor of the same flock has even had two rams of the pure race, which for three years successively, yielded him from thirteen to fourteen pounds of the finest wool, possessing, if not the same degree of fineness, at least all the elasticity and other qualities of that of Spain. Here then is a double profit secured to those cultivators who renounce their prejudices, and it is not easy to reply to such an argument.

"There are, in a word, few departments where these Spanish breeds have not been introduced. Since they have sold at high prices, they have succeeded every where, because they have met with that attention which animals imported always require at first. That part of France where the climate and pasture seems to agree best with the Spanish sheep, Roussillon, was the very province where this happy innovation was adopted with most difficulty. They thought that their wool required no amelioration; but experience has triumphed over prejudice here, as well as in other parts; and there is now at Perpignan a very fine flock of Merinos, which the government has formed out of a part of those brought by Gilbert from Spain.

"But

" But it may be asked if these transplanted animals, and their progeny, produce wool equally fine as in their native country? To answer this question with scrupulous fidelity, it must be confessed that at first, for about fifteen years, when the government caused the wool of a small flock of Spanish sheep to be manufactured at Abbéville by Van Robais, the cloth was then neither so fine nor so beautiful as that made from the Spanish wool; in short, it did not possess that softness and pliability which characterizes the true Spanish kind. This experiment is perhaps less favourable from having been made on this particular flock. However it results from all the other experiments, that if the French wool of this pure Spanish race is not quite so pliable as that of Spain, it is equally fine; that it requires a little more length without loosing its principal quality, and that this additional length renders the wool peculiarly fit for the manufacture of cloth. In short, specimens which have been presented every year since the arrival of the flock at Rambouillet, will prove to the most incredulous, that it has undergone no alteration for the last eighteen years.

" It cannot be said that the experience of eighteen years is not sufficient for affirming, that the wool of the Spanish sheep does not degenerate after a lapse of time. If this degeneration must take place, we should have perceived some indications of it before now. Besides, the flock of M. Daubenton removes all doubt, since it has been kept up in all its purity for thirty years upon a most ungrateful soil; and this worthy man has published certificates from our chief manufacturers, who attest, that having indiscriminately used wool coming directly from Spain, and that of his flock, they found not the smallest possible differnce. M. Le Blanc, of Mareuil-le-Port, assured me, in the latter end of 1796, that for ten years past, he had cloth manufactured with wool from his own flocks of the pure breed, out of the Rambouillet flock, and the manufacturers he employed made no distinction between this wool and that of Spain, observing only that the latter had *a little more nerve*. We may here remark, that this slight inferiority, as to the pliability of the wool, is perhaps the only effect which results from the change of climate; this quality arising chiefly from the great perspiration which the climate of Spain favours, and hence arises the very unctuous grease with which the wool of the transplanted sheep is impregnated. It is also to be observed, that it is not the transplanted sheep alone which give these results; those which are produced from them by crossing with French breeds, furnish, down to the fourth generation, a wool as beautiful as that of the absolutely pure breed, provided they remove all the males belonging to the crossings, and admit of the *mixed* females to have intercourse with rams of a pure breed only, and well chosen; it being ascertained that the rams influence more than two-thirds of the propagation; provided also, that these delicate animals are not squeezed into narrow, low, and suffocating sheep cots; and taking care that they are intrusted to vigilant and intelligent shepherds, like those of M. Chabert, at Maisons, who is a pattern in that respect. It seems that the ewes, thus managed, produce the same offspring in whatever part of France they are. The government has for some time kept a flock at Scaux, expressly for com-

parative experiments upon the crossing of rams of the true Spanish breed with ewes from the various provinces. But these trials have not as yet been sufficiently multiplied to serve as a basis of positive assertion. We can only assert that the Spanish race, crossed with our coarse woolled ewes, yield even further down than the fourth generation, productions equal to the pure race; that if we couple this race with ewes of a large make, and well covered with wool, we attain much more slowly the degree of purity desirable, but we have a breed well covered with wool; that if we make the crossing with fine woolled ewes, like those of Roussillon, Sologne, and Berry, we have in fact superfine fleeces, but much lighter than the Spanish wool.

"It seems therefore to be well ascertained, that the so much boasted quality of the Spanish wool, does not exclusively depend upon soil or climate. It is not less proved, that the wandering sheep, called *trashumantees*, or *granado merino*, are not in the least improved by their periodical journies. The Spaniards need not seek in France for a proof of these asertions, they are well known in their own country. It is incontestible that there are permanent flocks in Estramadura, the wool of which does not sensibly differ from the best of these wandering sheep. It is equally certain, that in the environs of Segovia there are small flocks which never leave the spot, the wool of which is also equally fine. I was assured in that province, that out of twenty thousand arrobas of fine wool collected there, one third is furnished by the stationary flocks. Whence arises the custom, therefore, so troublesome in every respect, of constantly driving through all parts of the kingdom several millions of these animals? It proceeds from every thing that causes, propagates, and consolidates these abuses which have originated in Spain, the ruinous privileges of the *Mesta*.

"The Mesta is a society of large proprietors of flocks composed of the heads of rich monasteries, grandees of Spain, and opulent individuals, who find their advantage in feeding their sheep at the public expence at all seasons of the year, and who have sanctioned, by short-sighted regulations, a practice at first introduced by necessity. In distant times, the mountains of Soria, and of Segovia, condemned by their precipices, and the nature of their soil, to eternal sterility, were, during the summer, the asylum of some of the neighbouring flocks; before the approach of winter, their temperature was no longer supportable by these delicate animals. They went in search of a milder climate in the neighbouring plains. Their possessors soon converted this convenience into a right, and formed a community, which after some time was increased by all those who, upon acquiring flocks, became desirous of enjoying the same prerogatives. The theatre extended as the actors became more numerous, and the excursions of the flocks gradually stretched towards the plains of Estramadura, where they found a temperate climate and abundant pasture: the abuse at length became intolerable, but it was too deeply rooted to be easily overthrown, and all that was powerful in the kingdom was interested in its continuance. For more than a century, a constant struggle took place between the associates of the Mesta on the one hand, and the *Estremenos*, or inhabitants of Estramadura, on the other, the latter having

having on their side all those who felt an interest in the public good.

"How indeed could they repress their indignation on seeing, in the month of October in each year, millions of sheep descending from the mountains of Old Castile upon the plains of Estramadura and Andalusia, where they continued until the following May, feeding both on their coming and returning upon the fields of the inhabitants; and the ordonnances of the Mesta fixing a breadth of forty toises as a road through which they were to pass, while the pasturages kept on purpose for them were let at a very low rent, which the proprietors sought in vain to increase. Thus the unfortunate province of Estramadura, which is about fifty leagues in length by forty in breadth, and which could provide subsistence for two millions of men, scarcely contains an hundred thousand inhabitants. Nor can it be doubted that this depopulation must be ascribed to the scourge of the Mesta, since the provinces which are not visited by these baneful privileges, such as Galicia, the Asturias, Biscay, and the mountainous parts of Burgos, are very populous.

"This shameful abuse has been attacked by several enlightened Spaniards as well in our days as in the preceding centuries; by Leruela, Ustariz, Arriquibar, and even by the laughing philosopher Cervantes, who under the mask of amusement has given such profound lessons to his fellow citizens and to mankind. The subject has also been recently taken up by Don Antonio Ponz, by Count Campomanes, &c. &c. but their voices have hitherto been "crying in the desert." The abuse does not rest solely with those in power; it may be ascribed to idleness, and to the miscalculations of interest, in preferring the feeding of sheep to the encouragement of agriculture. Within these hundred years wool has doubled its value, while corn, which is so troublesome and so precarious, has very little increased in price. Ten thousand sheep will produce in a common year five thousand arrobas, or five hundred quintals of wool, at the rate of five livres for each fleece. On valuing the arroba at one hundred reals only, or twenty-five livres tournois, these 10,000 sheep will be worth 50,000 francs, from which must indeed be deducted their food, the expence of their journies, the hire of pasturage during winter, the salary of the shepherds, and other small expences: this leaves a *net profit*, however, sufficient to render this kind of property very desirable.

"As to the practice of making the sheep travel from place to place, besides being rendered sacred by the laws and by long custom, it is excusable from the necessity of existing circumstances. Either they must diminish the number of sheep, or they must travel a little. Those which feed in the fine season upon the mountains of Soria, Cuenca, Segovia, and Bytrago, would die with hunger there in winter; and where would they find a better asylum than Estramadura, a province thinly inhabited, poor in other respects; its pastures being its only resource? I know well that this argument may be considered as begging the question, but government has always held it to be conclusive.

"There are some among the members of administration, who would excuse the custom, even from the long tolerance which has perpetuated the practice. Despotic

as they are, they feign some scruples in attacking by violent reforms the property of the breeders of sheep. And how is it possible to bring them voluntarily to renounce a benefit, the management of which is neither very complicated nor very expensive; and the produce of which constantly finds a ready market in the avidity with which the wools of Spain have been hitherto bought up by manufacturing countries. Besides, the royal exchequer itself is interested in the support of this branch of industry; for the taxes levied upon the export of wool form an important branch of the revenue. They have produced within these five years from twenty-seven to twenty-eight millions of reals. Such a source could not be checked, without having at hand a certain and very speedy method of supplying its place.

"There is a slower but more certain method by which Spain will succeed, perhaps, in spite of herself, in getting rid of this innumerable host of animals which devour her, if we may so express ourselves when speaking of animals, the name of which alone awakens ideas of innocence and peace; this method will be the same with what has began to be pursued in France, and to which the success of that nation may successively attract others, who have hitherto thought that wool from Spain was an indispensable commodity. Then will the slothful and greedy proprietors of these immense flocks be obliged to give their industry and their opulence a turn, less profitable, perhaps, for themselves, but more advantageous to their country. Happy Spain, if, foreseeing the effects of such a revolution, she prepares beforehand her territory for a new destination, by multiplying and improving the roads, canals, and other means of amelioration which are still wanting!

"In the state in which things are at present, and in which they may too long continue, their wool is the principal source of riches, apparently at least, in Spain. Before the war of 1793, they exported annually from Bilboa, from 20 to 22,000 bales of wool, most of them weighing two hundred pounds, and some 250 pounds each; and from St. Andero about one-third of this quantity was exported. Now these are the two ports from which by far the most considerable part of the wool of the north of Spain is exported. If we may judge from the exports of 1792, England received the greater part of this commodity, Holland next, and France the least. There were exported at Bilboa, 16,176 bales for England, 6,180 for Holland, 186 for Rouen, 654 for Ostend, and 356 for Hamburgh; and from St. Andero, there were exported 2,634 for London, 2,314 for Bristol, 1,909 for Amsterdam, and 1,200 for Rouen.

"But the year 1792 ought not to be taken as an average. At this period the commerce of France felt the effects of the Revolution, and of the war which broke out in May that year. In ordinary years France consumes more than four times the quantity of Spanish wool, that is to say, from eleven to twelve hundred bales, and consequently more than one half of what comes from the northern ports. Valuing the bales on an average at 1,400 reals per quintal, (taking into the estimate the price of some very fine *Leoneses*, which, in 1792, were at the price of eighteen or nineteen hundred reals, and the price of the common wool which was from 1,100 to 1,150), and taking the weight of each

each bale as at two quintals, we shall find that annually, before the Revolution, we received fine wool from Spain to the amount of upwards of 32,000,000 of reals.

"Our manufactories at Louviers, Elbuef, Reims, Abbeville, Sedan, and that of Decretot in particular, could not exist without Spanish wool for their fine cloths; the wool of Champaigne and of Berry of which they consume a great quantity, is only used to mix up for common cloths, and never in any great proportion enter into the composition of the finer sorts. There are some also, as casimeres, which do not admit of any mixture, and should be woven with very pure superfine Leonese. If we succeed therefore, in sufficiently extending the propagation of sheep in France, perfected by the crossing of the true Spanish breed, we shall free ourselves from an annual tribute to Spain of twelve or thirteen millions of livres. Let us hope, therefore, that the return of public spirit into our companies of merchants and others, will find in this argument a motive for turning the speculations of our cultivators towards this amelioration: it is a speculation which indeed requires attention and industry, but very little employment of capital. But to return to the subject of the wool trade in Spain itself.

"It is probable that from 32 to 33,000 bales are exported, weighing from 200 to 250 pounds each. This was the amount of the exportation in 1792 from the ports of Bilboa and St. Andero, without reckoning five or six hundred bales of uncombed wool; for at present almost all the Spanish wool is washed. Before the increase of the customs upon unwashed wool, which took place in 1787, almost all the fleeces of the Leonese and Segovian sheep, and those called *Sorias caballeros*, were exported unwashed, forming a mass from 1,800 to 2,000 bales, of 11 and 12 arrobas, or from 275 to 300 pounds weight each. Within these thirty years the poverty of the exchequer, and the persuasion that manufacturing nations could not exist without Spanish wool, whatever might be its price, have induced the Spanish government to increase the duties on exportation.

"From 1766 to 1787 these duties rose from 42 reals 12 maravedis for each arroba of washed wool to 66 reals 28 maravedis, and from 21 reals six maravedis for wool in the grease to 50 reals four maravedis.

"Notwithstanding these successive augmentations, the exportation of wool has rather increased than diminished. This operated as one of the causes, although not the principal one, for the rise in the price of cloths. The rise was chiefly owing to the advance of the materials. For about thirty years the price of wool in the *grease* or in *surge*, as it is called, rose from 75 to 80 reals for the arroba of the finest of all the *Leoneses*, and from 100 to 120 for wool of an inferior quality. Manufacturing and commercial countries have not, however, diminished their demands on this account; on the contrary, at the beginning of the war which broke out in Europe in 1792, the exportation of wool from Spain was on the increase. It is at Madrid, although far distant from the wool districts, that the most considerable bargains are made. There are in that capital four or five houses entirely occupied in the business; they buy for several years in advance the fleeces of those proprietors whose sheep appear to them most eligible. But none of the Spanish merchants have either

either funds or spirit enough to attempt these speculations, and they leave the profit of them in a great measure to commercial nations. The French, the English, and the Dutch, purchase the Segovian and Leonese wool at Saint Andero and Bilboa, not allowing even the Spaniards a commission upon the sale. They purchase the wool from the hands of the shepherd, and wash it on their own account; the Dutch in particular take a great quantity in this way; not that they employ all this quantity themselves, but because the merchants who have not the command of capital, are sure of having their wants supplied, and are besides accommodated with long credit. For the wool thus purchased in its rough state, the Dutch factors pay ready money; it is then deposited in their extensive warehouses, and sold again at a great profit to those who suit themselves with particular sorts. The manufacturers of Verviers and Aix-la-Chapelle have in vain attempted to set aside this practice, and to supply themselves direct from Spain. They experienced every kind of inconvenience in the attempt; they were dissatisfied with the wool which was sent them; they disputed about the price, and time of payment, expecting a credit of fifteen months, and were at length obliged to return to the old custom.

"Notwithstanding all that has been said, it is difficult to determine exactly the quantity of fine Spanish wool which is annually exported, including Seville, where is wool of the s outhern provinces i s shipped. I was assured that in 1790 the export amounted to 60,000,000 reals. The following calculation will prove that this estimate is below the real value.

"Let us fix at 22,000 bales only the exports from Bilboa; from St. Andero 8000 to which add the 4,500 exported from Seville; we shall then have a total of 74,500 bales; and supposing each bale to weigh only 200lbs. the amount will be 6,900,000lbs. at ten reals per pound, and this gives an aggregate of 69,000,000 reals. In this calculation every thing is taken at the lowest rate, particularly the price of the wool; for in 1792 the superfine Leoneses were at 1886, and the common wool at 1150 reals per quintal; consequently more than 18 reals per lb. for the first sort, and upwards of 11 for the latter. There is no exaggeration, therefore, in estimating at 80,000,000 of reals the sum Spain gains every year by the sale of wool; but a general peace can alone ensure the continuance of so extensive a demand. Will France continue to be one of the principal markets, and to consume, as before the rupture, more that 10,000 bales per annum? Yes, undoubtedly; even when the change to which we look forward is accomplished, when even certain interested views will not be opposed to its progress, and when the calculations of avarice shall have given way to those of patriotism: prejudice may, however, for a time domineer over reason, and custom over the real interest of the proprietors. It may be asked, if this change does not take place, will Spain lose what France gains? Assuredly not. The revolution thus insensibly produced in its political economy, will necessarily lead to ameliorations, and to the adoption of new plans by those proprietors who have been deluded by their too easily acquired opulence. Some rich individuals would, without doubt, be injured, but the mass of the population would be gr atly benefited.

"Spaniards,

" Spaniards, our allies, do not look with sensations of uneasiness on the fortunate efforts we have already made to dispense with the use of your wool: we are still far distant from the attainment of our objects, which can only be accomplished by length of time. Confide in that versatility of which the Revolution has not entirely cured us; trust to the deep-rooted prejudices of our peasantry; and consider also that the loss with which you seem threatened does not appear formidable to such of your fellow-citizens as are acquainted with your true interests. Two of the most enlightened ministers you have had during the present century, Campillo under Philip the Fifth, and La Ensenada under Ferdinand the Sixth, considered the immense exportation of your wool as one of the greatest obstacles to the progress of your industry; because, said they, the nations who were the original purchasers sent it back manufactured, and resold it to you at an exorbitant advance in price; and because the wools of a coarser quality which remained in Spain were manufactured there at a great expence, your weavers being desirous to recompence themselves for the high price and little value of that which was left them. In short, the most enlightened persons among you are of opinion, that to concur in the diminution of your immense flocks of sheep would be to acquire a claim upon your gratitude rather than to inspire a feeling of resentment.

" Let it not be imagined, however, that Spain does not consume a part of this wool in her own manufactories. For a long period all the common wool has been worked up into cloth for uniforms for the troops and the dress of the lower orders of people, and the exportation of it is prohibited.

" The greater part of the sheep which produce it are black, consequently the cloth is of that colour. Hence the great quantity of brown mantles is accounted for, which add so much to the dismal and dirty appearance of the inhabitants of the country, particularly in the two Castiles. There is also a wool of a second quality, like that of Valencia, the exportation of which is not prohibited; this wool is employed in many manufactories in Languedoc, but is, for the most part, made into cloth in the province which produces it. As to the finer sorts of wool, they are employed in several provinces of Spain, and particularly in the manufactory at Guadalaxara. Strange vicissitude! this place owes its existence to two strangers, who made a most splendid fortune at the expence of the natives.

" Cardinal Alberoni, in the year 1718, laid the foundation of this establishment, and placed it under the management of Ripperda. At first cloths of an inferior quality only were manufactured, although the finest wool was made use of. In the time of Charles the Third the manufactory of San Fernando was removed to Guadalaxara, where nothing but superfine cloths had been made. Since that period various manufactories of fine cloths have been established at Guadalaxaria.

" In 1783 this was perhaps the most complete establishment of its kind in Europe: within its walls was every requisite for the manufacture of cloths, while the tools and implements used in the work were all made upon the spot. There were 24 looms for cloths of the first quality, properly called *San Fernando cloth*; one hundred for the

the second sort, and 506 for serges; with all these they expected in a short time to be able to dispense with supplies from the English, to whom for the sole article of woollen cloth, Spain paid annually two millions of pounds sterling. These looms were contained in two buildings, and gave employment to 3825 persons, all paid by the king; to these may be added a far greater number scattered throughout La Mancha and the Castiles, who are occupied in spinning wool for Guadalaxara. With the exception of a want of economy in the administration, a defect which has been since remedied, no where could a better organised establishment be found. The city of Guadalaxara also formed a striking contrast with those around it. I did not remark a single beggar, nor even an idle person, among the 15 or 16,000 inhabitants it contained. Such are the advantages resulting from manufactures, but particularly those of cloth, which have so many minute operations connected with them, capable of being executed by old people and children. Nature having apparently condemned some of her creatures to languish as a burden upon the arts, these establishments may be said to furnish a sort of supplementary labour in favour of enfeebled or suffering humanity.

"The manufactories of Guadalaxara have undergone various changes since the year 1783, under the auspices of different managers. Vallejo has recently brought them to an additional degree of perfection, although at an immense expence. His successor, Don Santiago Romero, sacrificed less to fame than to utility: he adopted measures to secure new markets for the cloths, and caused them to be manufactured according to the taste of the consumers. Already the Spaniards tell us that their manufactories at Guadalaxara are on a level with those of Abbeville; and in this respect they do not perhaps exaggerate. But it will be credited, although they have wool from 25 to 36 per cent. cheaper than we have, although their manufactories are surrounded by a numerous population, and by plenty of wood and water, that their cloths were, before the war, much dearer than ours? We must indeed confess, and it is admitted by unprejudiced Spaniards themselves, that they are still behind us in the arts of dyeing and fulling their cloths; but if we had, like them, the raw materials, a few expert workmen in these two branches would be sufficient to bring our manufactures to the utmost perfection. The Spanish government is not sensible, however, to the means of attaining this object; all those arts of seduction which rival states generally contrive to frustrate, but which they are obliged to pass unnoticed, have been resorted to by the court of Madrid to decoy workmen and artists from France and England, to improve their national manufactures. About the end of the year 1794 I discovered that a manufacturer from one of our establishments, whom I shall not name, allowed himself to be seduced by the Spanish government upon the offer of 160,000 piasters to establish a cloth manufactory in Old Castile, and to bring a hundred French families along with him. The project of course did not succeed, for I found no trace of it on my second journey. About the same time two of our artists, whom I shall name, *Quatremere d'Isjonval*, of the Academy of Sciences, and *Chardron*, a manufacturer

turer of Sedan, received proposals of this nature, but rejected them. I know that similar temptations have since been held out in England with better success.

" The Spaniards, however, have some expert workmen at home, capable of bringing their cloth manufactories to the utmost degree of perfection; among these they mention with respect *Don Gregario Garcia*, the present manager of the works established by the minister Lerena at Valdemaro, the place of his birth, situated between Madrid and Aranjuez, and one of his pupils, *Don Pedro Cuesta*, of Segovia.

" Guadalaxara is the only place in Spain where the famous Vigonia cloth is manufactured; it is made from a precious wool imported from the colonies of Buenos Ayres and Peru, which is no where else to be found. An attempt has been made to weave this wool in France, and those who have compared our Vigonia cloth with that made at Guadalaxara, agree that ours is more agreeable to the eye, but that made in Spain possesses more durability, either because the Spanish weavers are better acquainted with the management of it, or because they keep the finest Vigonia wool to themselves. These cloths are not yet in general use among the Spaniards, and cannot consequently be procured, unless ordered several months before they are really wanted. Some of these Vigonias are manufactured at the expence of the king, who sends them as presents to foreign courts. In the year 1782 Charles the Third sent twenty pieces to the Grand Signior, on the conclusion of a treaty with the Porte. Upon this occasion it was said, that the Spaniards were anxious to inspire the Turks with a taste for their cloths, and so prevalent was this opinion, that even the manufacturing countries were somewhat alarmed. How could the Spanish government undertake this trade in competition with rivals who have acquired a kind of prescriptive right from long usage, and can also boast an advantage over Spain in the art of manufacturing woollen cloths? Would it not be wise in Spain first to clothe the twenty-two millions of subjects who live under her dominion, from the productions of her own manufactures? But the Spaniards are not yet arrived at this degree of prosperity; and yet it will not be by measures like those attempted in 1788 that they will ever succeed in attaining it. At that time the managers of the royal manufactories could find no other expedient to sell off the stock lying in their warehouses, to the amount of 200,000 piasters, than obtaining a decree to prohibit the exportation to Spanish America of all cloth manufactured in any foreign country. This decree occasioned remonstrances from the English and French governments, and even from the Spanish merchants, who had a considerable quantity of foreign cloths on hand. It was accordingly modified in some respects; and had not the government consented to this measure, necessity, generally fertile in fraudulent resources, would have found means wholly to elude the prohibition.

" At the return of peace, the manufactories of Gaudalaxara, and those of Brihuega, situated about four leagues distant, possessing about 400 looms for fine cloths, were in a flourishing condition, and sent their goods to markets less fluctuating than their neighbours. In the course of the year 1796 they had an establishment at Madrid, from which were sold from nine to ten thousand pieces per month.

" Segovia

" Segovia, celebrated at all times for the goodness of its wool, was not less so in former days for the number and perfection of its manufactories. But how has it fallen from its ancient splendor!

" The patriotic society of Segovia has published a statement, that in the golden age of that city it had six hundred looms for fine cloths. In 1697 it contained only two hundred and fifty, but during the first half of the last century industry began to revive. In 1748 there were three hundred and sixty-five looms, which employed 4300 persons, and consumed more than 50,000 arrobas of unwashed wool. Of late the government has been perhaps too strenuously occupied with the regeneration of the manufactures: in 1785, however, there was a plan laid down for their organization, the result of which was, that in the five succeeding years they manufactured more than 4000 pieces. With but a few exceptions, the manufacturers of Segovia are completely wedded to old habits, and despise every improvement. One person only has deserved the encouragement of government. Don *Laureano Ortiz* established, in 1779, a new manufactory of superfine cloths, which the king patronized by granting him some privileges, which were not, however, injurious to others. Ortiz thus protected and encouraged, could not fail to prosper: in 1786 he had seventy looms and employed 2800 persons. He soon accumulated an immense fortune for his family, but did not live long to enjoy it; he died in 1788, and his loss was seriously deplored by his country. His successor inherited his zeal and talents, and in 1792 I was assured that the manufactory had not degenerated. The manufactory of Ortiz and that called San Fernando at Guadalaxara, are said to be the only establishments at present in the kingdom for the productions of superfine cloths: this fact will appear astonishing, perhaps, when it is considered that Spain abounds with the finest wool in Europe.

" Before leaving Segovia I am desirous to conclude my observations respecting the sheep of Spain. In the mountains adjoining this city, a great part from the wandering flocks pasture during the summer season. They are seen descending in the course of October along with the flocks from the mountains of the ancient Numantia *(Soria)* quitting those which separate the two Castiles, and after passing through New Castile, dispersing themselves in the plains of Estramadura and Andalusia. Those which are nearer the Sierra Morena pass the winter there. The length of their journies is proportioned to the kind of pasture they obtain. They travel in flocks of 1000 or 1200, under the guidance of two shepherds; the chief shepherd is called the *Mayoral* the other the *Zagal.* When arrived at their destinations, they are distributed among the various pasturages assigned to them. They proceed on their route again in May, and whether from custom or from instinct, they travel onward to the climate best adapted for them at that season; the uneasiness they seem to feel indicates to their guides any necessity for a change of situation.

" Each flock belongs to one master called a *Cavana,* and the whole produce from the wool of these flocks is called *pila.* The *Cavanas* bear the names of their proprietors. The most numerous are those of Bejar and Negretti, each of which consists of 60,000 sheep. That of the Escurial, the most famous, has

50,000

50,000. Prejudice or custom makes the wool of certain *Cavanas* more sought after than the others. At Guadalaxara, for instance, they employ no wool but that of Negretti, the Escurial, and the Chartreuse of Pauler. In 1785 the ewes and rams sent to Rambouillet were, as may be supposed, picked out from the most famous *Cavanas*; among them besides the above, were the *Cavanas* of the Marquis d'Iranda, of the Marquis of Perales, of Manuel de Balbuenna, and of Count San Rafael. Of all these various *Cavanas*, those of Paular are supposed to yield the finest wool in all Spain; and the Negretti sheep are remarkable for their strength and the quantity of their wool: ten rams from these flocks were furnished to France. They cost from sixty to eighty reals, and the ewes from fifty to sixty.

"Upon the return of the wandering sheep, towards the month of May, the shearing is commenced; an operation of great magnitude in Spain, because performed upon a large scale in vast buildings called *esquileos*, arranged so as to receive whole flocks of 40, 50, and even 60,000 sheep. The harvest and vintage have nothing so solemn in their celebration. It is a time of festivity for the proprietors as well as their workmen; the latter are divided into certain classes, and to each a different branch of the operation is allotted; 125 persons are found requisite to shear 1000 sheep. Every animal yields wool of three kinds, finer or coarser according to the part of the body from which it is taken.

"When the shearing is finished, the produce is collected in bales, and carried either to the sea-port towns for exportation, without any other operation, or to certain places, denominated washing-stations, in the environs of Segovia, and throughout the rest of Castile. I minutely inspected one of the most considerable of these stations, that of Ortijosa, three leagues from Saint Ildefonso; and I am convinced that this operation, however imperfect and unnecessary it may at first appear, (because foreign manufacturers repeat it before using the wool) completely answers the purpose in view, that of preserving it from being injured in its quality, by too long keeping. In general about ten thousand quintals of wool are washed in this single station, which forms a kind of vast basin, the inner margins of which are gently sloping meadows exposed to the sun in every direction.

"The wool is brought here in the state in which it is taken from the sheep, being in clotted tufts or flocks; in this form they give it to the *Apartadores*, who divide it into three portions of different qualities: and so accustomed are they to this business, that at the first glance they know to what part of the animal the flock of wool belongs which first presents itself. The three qualities of the wool being thus separated, they are spread upon wooden hurdles; they are then scattered about and beaten, in order to clear them from the dust and filth which adhere to them, and are afterwards carried to the washing place.

"From two large stopcocks fitted into an immense cauldron, boiling water flows into three square pits, three or four feet deep. Three men are then employed to stir the wool in every direction; each kind of wool is washed separately and requires water more or less hot according to the fineness of its quality.

"When this operation is finished, the wool is again spread out upon hurdles, for the purpose of extracting

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ing the filthy parts which the water has began to dissolve. Those which are clotted with dirt and unfit for use, are detached with the hand, laid aside, and the produce converted into a fund for the benefit of departed souls; for in Spain religion is introduced into all the minutiæ of social life. The Spaniards endeavour, by this association, to give an air of sanctity to their occupations, their wealth, and even to their pleasures.

"The hurdles are afterwards placed between the wells and a narrow aqueduct through which a current of cold water flows. A man placed at the head of this watercourse receives the wool and throws it in; it is then taken by five men, ranged one by one below him, who successively tread upon it, and transmit it from the one to the other. Lower down are other workmen, who also stop it as it passes, and throw it on a stone shelf, where they wring it, and below this there is a small drain. A grating is placed at the extremity of this drain, to prevent any part of the wool from being carried off by the current.

"When the wool is well wrung it is spread upon the sloping meadows I have already mentioned, and exposed to the sun for four days, in order to dry it completely. When well dried it is put into large sacks on which are two marks, one indicating the quality of the wool, and the other the name of the flock which produced it. In this state it is exported; so that when we see bales of Spanish wool in any part of Europe, we may thus ascertain its quality and the place from which it came. The time is perhaps not far distant when the introduction of wool from Spain by our roads will cease, when our harbours will serve only as *entrepôts* for this precious production, and when we shall have no occasion to go from home to procure wool from our own manufactures. Let not Spain look upon our success with an envious eye, let not her allies be considered as dangerous rivals. When they have even deprived her of the exclusive possession of this advantage, will not many others remain which she will enjoy without a competitor? The field of industry is so wide, and its resources are so various, that every nation may cultivate it without injury to its neighbours. The deadly feuds of nations, like lawsuits between individuals, are best prevented by making mankind acquainted with each other, or explaining their true interest.

"Until this desirable change takes place, Spain will no doubt continue to export, as usual, abundance of wool. At the period when the peace of Basle was concluded, there were in the ports of Spain 16,000 bales of wool which could not be forwarded on account of the war.

"Since the conclusion of that peace, our manufacturers of Sedan, of Louviers, and Elbuef, and even some houses in Paris and Orleans, have commissioned wool from Spain, but certainly in smaller quantities than before the war. The same gentlemen, as well as those of Sedan, Reims, and Verviers, still continue to order this commodity: but Spanish wool, the price of which has been so much raised by reiterated augmentations of the export duties within these few years, has had to encounter the competition of the wool of our own *Merinos;* and if pains are taken to increase the quantity, and to improve the quality, of the latter, it will, if sold at a moderate price, soon furnish a substitute for the real Spanish wool.

"England

"England still affords a very extensive market for Spanish wool; and has even imported a greater quantity of late years than formerly. In 1788 it was calculated, that in each of the three preceding years, about 10,000 bales of Spanish wool were sent to England. In 1800 they reckoned 16,650. It may be conjectured, however, that the naturalization of *Merinos* which has succeeded in England, as well as in every other country, will diminish this importation. Should the case be otherwise, it must arise from an increase in the manufactures of that country, or from the English wool-dealers refusing te pay any higher for *Merino* wool, than for that of the sheep of the country; in which case, the farmers will have little encouragement to increase their stock of *Merinos*."

POETRY.

Ode to the New Year.

By Henry James Pye, Esq. Poet Laureat.

BEHOLD yon lurid Orb that seems
Devious thro' æther's paths to stray,
And, while with baleful light it gleams,
Appears to trace no certain way;
No influence mild with genial force
Waits on its desult'ry course;
But myriads view its streaming hair
Shed death and horror thro' the air;
While even Science's piercing sight,
Clear from the mists of visionary fears,
Anxious beholds th' erratic Stranger's flight,
Lest mingling with the planetary spheres,
It shake the order of the mighty frame,
Destroy with pond'rous shock, or melt with sulph'rous flame.

Such is, alas! the dread that waits
On savage Inroad's wild career,
While trembling round, the peaceful states
Survey its meteor-course with fear.
And as the immortal mandate guides,
And points the Comet where to stray:
So thro' the battle's crimson tides,
It points ambition's fatal way;
Submissive both th' Eternal's will perform,
As act his high behest the earthquake and the storm.

But as, with ray benign and bland,
The radiant Ruler of the year
Sheds plenty on the smiling land,
Where-e'er his vivifying beams appear,
Now wakes the roseate bloom of Spring,
Fann'd by young Zephyr's tepid wing,
Or clothes the wide expanding plain,
With Summer's fruits and Autumn's grain:
Or gathering from the watery shores
Sources of vegetable stores,
Renews scorch'd Earth's exhausted powers
With balmy dews and gentle showers;

So from the patriot Monarch's care,
Whose breast no dreams of conquest move,
Founding his glory on his people's love,
And proud to boast unbounded empire there,
The copious rills of Peace domestic stream,
Warm glows fair Virtue's flame, and bright Religion's beam.

O Britain, may thy happy coast,
Tho' loud oppression rage around,
To the applauding nations boast
One shore with peace, with mercy crown'd!
Still may thy hospitable seat
To suffering greatness yield a safe retreat;
For when the sacred fiat of the skies
First caus'd thy sea-encircled realm to rise,
It bade it an eternal column stand,
Sacred to want and woe to every clime and land?

Ode for the King's Birth-Day.

[By the same.]

NOT with more joy when gathering round,
Dark mists the face of Heaven deform,
When howls the wind with hollow sound,
Preluding to the rising storm;
We thro' the severing clouds descry
Of cheering light a golden gleam;
And hail awhile the clearing sky,
And feel awhile the genial beam;
Than now, when spreading wide and far,
Roars the tremendous peal of war.
We bless of peace and joy the ray,
That gilds the happy hours of George's natal day.

From regions wrapp'd in endless snow,
Eternal Winter's drear domain,
To where Sol's fervid axles glow
Incessant o'er the arid plain,
The Muses look with anxious eye
To see the clouds of discord fly,
That the loud clarion's warlike sound,
Which awes a trembling world, may cease,
And all their tuneful choir around
May strike the lyre to notes of Peace;
The scenes of horror and of death be o'er,
And fell Ambition grasp her iron rod no more.

Vain are their hopes, their vows are vain:
War still protracts his bloody reign;
And when these halcyon hours are past
That lull awhile the stormy blast,
The Muse again in martial lays,
Must bid her voice the Song of Battle raise;
Must shew that all the joys that smile
On Britain's Heaven-protected Isle,
Call on her Sons with tenfold might
To stem the threatening waves of fight,
Whelm in the ensanguin'd tide their country's foes,
And guard with giant arm the blessings Heaven bestows.

ELEGY

On the Death of the Bishop of Winchester.

Composed in the Author's 17th Year.

[From Mr. Hayley's Edition of Mr. Cowper's Translation of Milton's Latin and Italian Poems.]

SILENT I sat, dejected and alone,
Making, in thought, the public woes my own,
When, first, arose the image in my breast
Of England's sufferings by that scourge, the Pest!
How death, his fun'ral torch and scythe in hand,
Entering the lordliest mansions of the land,
Has laid the gem-illumin'd palace low,
And levell'd tribes of nobles, at a blow.
I, next, deplor'd the fam'd paternal pair,
Too soon to ashes turn'd, and empty air!
The heroes next, whom snatch'd into the skies,
All Belgia saw, and follow'd with her sighs,
But thee far most I mourn'd, regretted most,
Winton's chief shepherd, and her worthiest boast!
Pour'd out in tears I thus complaining said:
"Death, next in pow'r to him, who rules the dead!
Is't not enough that all the woodlands yield
To thy fell force, and ev'ry verdant field,
That lilies, at one noisome blast of thine,
And ev'n the Cyprian queen's own roses, pine,
That oaks themselves, although the running rill
Suckle their roots, must wither at thy will,
That all the winged nations, even those,
Whose Heav'n-directed flight the future shows,
And all the beasts, that in dark forests stray,
And all the herds of Proteus are thy prey.

Ah envious! arm'd with pow'rs so unconfin'd!
Why stain thy hands with blood of human kind?
Why take delight with darts, that never roam,
To chase a Heaven-born spirit from her home?"
While thus I mourn'd, the star of evening stood,
Now newly ris'n above the western flood,
And Phœbus from his morning-goal again
Had reach'd the gulphs of the Iberian main.
I wish'd repose, and, on my couch reclin'd
Took early rest, to night and sleep resign'd.
When—Oh for words to paint what I beheld!
I seem'd to wander in a spacious field,
Where all the champaign glow'd with purple light
Like that of sun-rise on the mountain height;
Flow'rs over all the field, of ev'ry hue,
That ever Iris wore, luxuriant grew.
Nor Chloris, with whom am'rous Zephyrs play,
Ee'r dress'd Alcinous' garden half so gay.
A silver current, like the Tagus, roll'd
O'er golden sands, but sands of purer gold,
With dewy airs Favonius fann'd the flow'rs,
With airs awaken'd under rosy bow'rs.
Such, poets feign, irradiated all o'er
The sun's abode on India's utmost shore.
While I, that splendor, and the mingled shade
Of fruitful vines, with wonder fixt survey'd,
At once, with looks, that beam'd celestial grace,
The seer of Winton stood before my face.
His snowy vesture's hem descending low
His golden sandals swept, and pure as snow
New-fallen shone the mitre on his brow.
Where'er he trod a tremulous sweet sound
Of gladness shook the flow'ry scene around:
Attendant angels clap their starry wings,
The trumpet shakes the sky, all æther rings,
Each chaunts his welcome, folds him to his breast,
And thus a sweeter voice than all the rest:
"Ascend, my son! thy father's kingdom share!
My son! henceforth be free'd from ev'ry care!"
So spake the voice, and at its tender close
With psaltry's sound th' angelic band arose.
Then night retir'd, and chas'd by dawning day
The visionary bliss pass'd all away.
I mourn'd my banished sleep, with fond concern;
Frequent to me may dreams like this return!"

ELEGY.

To his Tutor, Thomas Young,

Chaplain to the English Factory at Hamburgh,

Written in the Author's 18th year.

[From the same.]

HENCE my epistle—skim the deep—fly o'er
Yon smooth expanse to the Teutonic shore!
Haste—lest a friend should grieve for thy delay—
And the Gods grant, that nothing thwart thy way!
I will myself invoke the king, who binds,
In his Sicanian echoing vault, the winds,
With Doris and her nymphs, and all the throng
Of azure Gods, to speed thee safe along.
But rather, to insure thy happier haste,
Ascend Medea's chariot, if thou may'st;
Or that, whence young Triptolemus of yore
Descended, welcome on the Scythian shore.
The sands, that line the German coast, descried,
To opulent Hamburga turn aside!
So called, if legendary fame be true,
From Hama, whom a club-arm'd Cimbrian slew!
There lives, deep-learn'd and primitively just,
A faithful steward of his Christian trust,
My friend, and favorite Innate of my heart,
That now is forced to want its better part!
What mountains now, and seas, alas! how wide!
From me this other, dearer self divide,
Dear, as the sage renown'd for moral truth
To the prime spirit of the attic youth!
Dear, as the Stagyrite to Ammon's son,
His pupil, who disdain'd the world he won!
Nor so did Chiron, or so Phœnix shine
In young Achilles' eyes, as he in mine.
First led by him thro' sweet Aonian shade
Each sacred haunt of Pindus I survey'd;
And favor'd by the muse, whom I implor'd,
Thrice on my lip the hallow'd stream I pour'd.
But thrice the sun's resplendent chariot roll'd
To Aries, has new ting'd his fleece with gold,
And Chloris twice has dress'd the meadows gay,
And twice has summer parch'd their bloom away,
Since last delighted on his looks I hung,
Or my ear drank the music of his tongue:

Fly,

Fly, therefore, and surpass the tempest's speed!
Aware thyself, that there is urgent need!
Him, entering, thou shalt haply seated see
Beside his spouse, his infants on his knee.
Or turning, page by page, with studious look,
Some bulky father, or God's holy book.
Or minist'ring (which is his weightiest care)
To Christ's assembled flock their heavenly fare.
Give him, whatever his employment be,
Such gratulation, as he claims from me!
And, with a down-cast eye, and carriage meek,
Addressing him, forget not thus to speak!

" If, compass'd round with arms thou canst attend
To verse, verse greets thee from a distant friend.
Long due, and late, I left the English shore;
But make me welcome for that cause the more,
Such from Ulysses, his chaste wife to cheer,
The slow epistle came, tho' late, sincere,
But wherefore this? why palliate I the deed,
For which the culprit's self could hardly plead?
Self-charged, and self-condemn'd, his proper part
He feels neglected, with an aching heart;
But thou forgive—delinquents, who confess,
And pray forgiveness, merit anger less;
From timid foes the lion turns away,
Nor yawns upon or rends a crouching prey,
Even pike-wielding Thracians learn to spare,
Won by soft influence of a suppliant prayer;
And Heav'n's dread thunderbolt arrested stands
By a cheap victim, and uplifted hands.
Long had he wish'd to write, but was withheld,
And, writes at last, by love alone compell'd,
For fame, too often true, when she alarms,
Reports thy neighbouring-fields a scene of arms;
Thy city against fierce besiegers barr'd,
And all the Saxon chiefs for fight prepar'd.
Enyo wastes thy country wide around,
And saturates with blood the tainted ground:
Mars rests contented in his Thrace no more,
But goads his steeds to fields of German gore,
The ever verdant olive fades and dies,
And peace, the trumpet-hating goddess, flies,
Flies from that earth which justice long had left,
And leaves the world of its last guard bereft.

" Thus horror girds thee round. Meantime alone,
Thou dwell'st, and helpless in a soil unknown;
Poor, and receiving from a foreign hand
The aid denied thee in thy native land.
Oh, ruthless country, and unfeeling more
Than thy own billow-beaten chalky shore!

Leav'st thou to foreign care the worthies, given
By Providence, to guide thy steps to Heav'n?
His ministers, commissioned to proclaim
Eternal blessings in a Saviour's name!
Ah then most worthy, with a soul unfed,
In Stygian night to lie for ever dead!!
So once the venerable Tishbite stray'd
An exil'd fugitive from shade to shade,
When, flying Ahab, and his fury wife,
In lone Arabian wilds, he shelter'd life;
So, from Philippi, wander'd forth forlorn
Cilician Paul, with sounding scourges torn;
And Christ himself, so left, and trod no more,
The thankless Gergesene's forbidden shore.
But thou take courage! strive against despair!
Quake not with dread, nor nourish anxious care!
Grim war, indeed, on ev'ry side appears,
And thou art menac'd by a thousand spears;
Yet none shall drink thy blood, or shall offend
Ev'n the defenceless bosom of my friend.
For thee the Ægis of thy God shall hide,
Jehovah's self shall combat on thy side.
The same, who vanquish'd under Sion's tow'rs,
At silent midnight, all Assyria's pow'rs,
The same who overthrew, in ages past,
Damascus' sons, that laid Samaria waste:
Their king he fill'd and them with fatal fears,
By mimic sounds of clarions in their ears.
Of hoofs, and wheels, and neighings from afar,
Of clashing armour, and the din of war.
Thou, therefore, (as the most afflicted may)
Still hope and triumph, o'er thy evil day!
Look forth, expecting happier times to come,
And to enjoy, once more, thy native home!

SONNET.

[From the same.]

AS on a hill-top rude, when closing day
Imbrowns the scene, some past'ral maiden fair
Waters a lovely foreign plant with care,
Borne from its native genial airs away,
That scarcely can its tender bud display,
So, on my tongue these accents, new, and rare,
Are flow'rs exotic, which Love waters there,
While thus, O sweetly scornful! I essay

Thy praise, in verse, to British ears unknown,
And Thames exchange for Arno's fair domain;
So Love has will'd, and oft'times Love has shown,
That what he wills, he never wills in vain.
O that this hard and steril breast might be,
To Him, who plants from Heav'n, a soil as free!"

EULOGY ON THE NINE GLORIES OF ENGLAND.

[From Mr. Scott's Marmion.]

NOVEMBER's sky is chill and drear,
November's leaf is red and sear:
Late, gazing down the steepy linn
That hems our little garden in,
Low in its dark and narrow glen,
You scarce the rivulet might ken,
So thick the tangled green-wood grew,
So feeble trilled the streamlet through:
Now, murmuring hoarse, and frequent seen
Through bush and brier, no longer green,
An angry brook, it sweeps the glade,
Brawls over rock and wild cascade,
And, foaming brown with doubled speed,
Hurries its waters to the Tweed.
No longer Autumn's glowing red
Upon our Forest hills is shed;
No more, beneath the evening beam,
Fair Tweed reflects their purple gleam;
Away hath passed the heather-bell,
That bloomed so rich on Needpath-fell;
Sallow his brow, and russet bare
Are now the sister-heights of Yare.
The sheep, before the pinching heaven,
To sheltered dale and down are driven,
Where yet some faded herbage pines,
And yet a watery sun-beam shines:
In meek despondency they eye
The wither'd sward and wintry sky,
And far beneath their summer hill,
Stray sadly by Glenkinnon's rill:
The shepherd shifts his mantle's fold,
And wraps him closer from the cold;
His dogs no merry circles wheel,
But, shivering, follow at his heel;
A cowering glance they often cast,
As deeper moans the gathering blast.

My

My imps, though hardy, bold, and wild,
As best befits the mountain child,
Feel the sad influence of the hour,
And wail the daisy's vanished flower;
Their summer gambols tell and mourn,
And anxious ask,---Will spring return,
And birds and lambs again be gay,
And blossoms clothe the hawthorn spray?
Yes, prattlers, yes. The daisy's flower
Again shall paint your summer bower;
Again the hawthorn shall supply
The garlands you delight to tie;
The lambs upon the lea shall bound,
The wild birds carol to the round,
And while you frolic light as they,
Too short shall seem the summer day.
To mute and to material things
New life revolving summer brings;
The genial call dead Nature hears,
And in her glory re-appears.
But Oh! my country's wintry state
What second spring shall renovate?
What powerful call shall bid arise
The buried warlike, and the wise;
The mind, that thought for Britain's weal,
The hand, that grasped the victor's steel?
The vernal sun new life bestows
Even on the meanest flower that blows;
But vainly, vainly, may he shine,
Where Glory weeps o'er Nelson's shrine;
And vainly pierce the solemn gloom,
That shrouds, O Pitt, thy hallow'd tomb!
Deep graved in every British heart,
O never let those names depart!
Say to your sons,---Lo, here his grave,
Who victor died on Gadite wave;
To him, as to the burning levin,
Short, bright, resistless course was given;
Where'er his country's foes were found,
Was heard the fated thunder's sound,
Till burst the bolt on yonder shore,
Rolled, blazed, destroyed,---and was no more.
Nor mourn ye less his perished worth,
Who bade the conqueror go forth,
And launched that thunderbolt of war
On Egypt, Hafnia,* Trafalgar;
Who, born to guide such high emprize,
For Britain's weal was early wise;

* Copenhagen.

Alas!

Alas! to whom the Almighty gave,
For Britain's sins, an early grave;
His worth, who, in his mightiest hour,
A bauble held the pride of power,
Spurned at the sordid lust of pelf,
And served his Albion for herself;
Who, when the frantic crowd amain
Strained at subjection's bursting rein,
O'er their wild mood full conquest gained,
The pride, he would not crush, restrained,
Shewed their fierce zeal a worthier cause,
And brought the freeman's arm to aid the freeman's laws.
Had'st thou but lived, though stripp'd of power,
A watchman on the lonely tower,
Thy thrilling trump had roused the land,
When fraud or danger were at hand;
By thee, as by the beacon-light,
Our pilots had kept course aright;
As some proud column, though alone,
Thy strength had propp'd the tottering throne.
Now is the stately column broke,
The beacon-light is quenched in smoke,
The trumpet's silver sound is still,
The warder silent on the hill!
Oh, think, how to his latest day,
When Death, just hovering, claimed his prey,
With Palinure's unaltered mood,
Firm at his dangerous post he stood;
Each call for needful rest repelled,
With dying hand the rudder held,
Till, in his fall, with fateful sway,
The steerage of the realm gave way!
Then, while on Britain's thousand plains,
One unpolluted church remains,
Whose peaceful bells ne'er sent around
The bloody tocsin's maddening sound,
But still, upon the hallowed day,
Convoke the swains to praise and pray;
While faith and civil peace are dear,
Grace his cold marble with a tear,—
He who preserved them, Pitt, lies here!
Nor yet suppress the generous sigh,
Because his Rival slumbers nigh;
Nor be thy *requiescat* dumb;
Lest it be said o'er Fox's tomb.
For talents mourn, untimely lost,
When best employed, and wanted most;
Mourn, genius high, and lore profound,
And wit that loved to play, not wound;

And all the reasoning powers divine,
To penetrate, resolve, combine;
And feelings keen, and fancy's glow,—
They sleep with him who sleeps below:
And, if thou mourn'st they could not save
From error him who owns this grave,
Be every harsher thought suppressed,
And sacred be the last long rest.
Here, where the end of earthly things
Lays heroes, patriots, bards, and kings;
Where stiff the hand, and still the tongue,
Of those who fought, and spoke, and sung;
Here, where the fretted aisles prolong
The distant notes of holy song,
As if some angel spoke agen,
All peace on earth, good-will to men;
If ever from an English heart,
O *here* let prejudice depart,
And, partial feeling cast aside,
Record, that Fox a Briton died!
When Europe crouch'd to France's yoke,
And Austria bent, and Prussia broke,
And the firm Russian's purpose brave
Was barter'd by a timorous slave,
Even then dishonour's peace he spurned,
The sullied olive-branch returned,
Stood for his country's glory fast,
And nailed her colours to the mast.
Heaven, to reward his firmness, gave
A portion in this honour'd grave;
And ne'er held marble in its trust
Of two such wondrous men the dust.
With more than mortal powers endowed,
How high they soared above the crowd!
Theirs was no common party race,
Jostling by dark intrigue for place;
Like fabled Gods, their mighty war
Shook realms and nations in its jar;
Beneath each banner proud to stand,
Looked up the noblest of the land,
Till through the British world were known
The names of Pitt and Fox alone.
Spells of such force no wizard grave
E'er framed in dark Thessalian cave,
Though his could drain the ocean dry,
And force the planets from the sky.
These spells are spent, and, spent with these,
The wine of life is on the lees.
Genius, and taste, and talents gone,
For ever tombed beneath the stone,

Where,—taming thought to human pride!—
The mighty chiefs sleep side by side.
Drop upon Fox's grave the tear,
'Twill trickle to his rival's bier;
O'er Pitt's the mournful requiem sound,
And Fox's shall the notes rebound.
The solemn echo seems to cry,—
"Here let their discord with them die;
"Speak not for those a separate doom,
"Whom Fate made brothers in the tomb,
"But search the land of living men,
"Where wilt thou find their like agen?"

DESCRIPTION OF LORD MARMION.

[From the same.]

I.

DAY sat on Norham's castled steep,
And Tweed's fair river broad and deep,
And Cheviot's mountains lone:
The battled towers, the Donjon Keep,
The loop-hole grates where captives weep,
The flanking walls that round it sweep,
In yellow lustre shone.
The warriors on the turrets high,
Moving athwart the evening sky,
Seemed forms of giant height:
Their armour, as it caught the rays,
Flashed back again the western blaze,
In lines of dazzling light.

II.

St. George's banner, broad and gay,
Now faded, as the fading ray
Less bright, and less, was flung;
The evening gale had scarce the power
To wave it on the Donjon tower,
So heavily it hung.
The scouts had parted on their search,
The castle gates were barr'd;
Above the gloomy portal arch,
Timing his footsteps to a march,
The warder kept his guard,
Low humming, as he paced along,
Some ancient Border gathering song.

A distant

III.

A distant trampling sound he hears,
He looks abroad, and soon appears,
O'er Horncliff-hill, a plump of spears,
  Beneath a pennon gay;
A horseman, darting from the crowd,
Light lightning from a summer cloud,
Spurs on his mettled courser proud,
  Before the dark array.
Beneath the sable palisade,
That closed the castle barricade,
  His bugle-horn he blew;
The warder hasted from the wall,
And warned the Captain in the hall,
  For well the blast he knew;
And joyfully that Knight did call,
To sewer, squire, and seneschal.

IV.

"Now broach ye a pipe of Malvoisie,
  Bring pasties of the doe,
And quickly make the entrance free,
And bid my heralds ready be,
And every minstrel sound his glee,
  And all our trumpets blow;
And, from the platform, spare ye not
To fire a noble salvo-shot:
  Lord Marmion waits below."—
Then to the castle's lower ward
  Sped forty yeomen tall,
The iron-studded gates unbarred,
Raised the portcullis' ponderous guard,
The lofty palisade unsparred,
  And let the draw-bridge fall.

V.

Along the bridge Lord Marmion rode,
Proudly his red-roan charger trod,
His helm hung at the saddle-bow;
Well by his visage you might know
He was a stalworth knight, and keen,
And had in many a battle been;
The scar on his brown cheek revealed
A token true of Bosworth field;
His eye-brow dark, and eye of fire,
Shewed spirit proud, and prompt to ire;
Yet lines of thought upon his cheek,
Did deep design and counsel speak.

His forehead by his casque worn bare,
His thick moustache and curly hair,
Coal-black, and grizzled here and there,
But more through toil than age;
His square-turned joints, and strength of limb,
Shewed him no carpet knight so trim,
But in close fight a champion grim,
In camps, a leader sage.

VI.

Well was he armed from head to heel
In mail, and plate, of Milan steel;
But his strong helm, of mighty cost,
Was all with burnish'd gold emboss'd;
Amid the plumage of the crest,
A falcon hovered on her nest,
With wings outspread, and forward breast;
E'en such a falcon, on his shield,
Soared sable in an azure field:
The golden legend bore aright,
"WHO CHECKS AT ME, TO DEATH IS DIGHT."
Blue was the charger's broidered rein;
Blue ribbons decked his arching mane;
The knightly housing's ample fold
Was velvet blue, and trapp'd with gold.

VII.

Behind him rode two gallant 'squires,
Of noble name, and knightly sires;
They burned the gilded spurs to claim;
For well could each a war-horse tame,
Could draw the bow, the sword could sway,
And lightly bear the ring away;
Nor less with courteous precepts stored,
Could dance in hall, and carve at board,
And frame love ditties passing rare,
And sing them to a lady fair.

VIII.

Four men-at-arms came at their backs,
With halberd, bill, and battle-axe:
They bore Lord Marmion's lance so strong,
And led his sumpter mules along,
And ambling palfrey, when at need
Him listed ease his battle-steed.
The last, and trustiest of the four,
On high his forky pennon bore;
Like swallow's tail, in shape and hue,
Flutter'd the streamer glossy blue,

Where,

Where, blazoned sable, as before,
The towering falcon seemed to soar.
Last, twenty yeomen, two and two,
In hosen black, and jerkins blue.
With falcons broider'd on each breast,
Attended on their lord's behest.
Each, chosen for an archer good,
Knew hunting-craft by lake or wood;
Each one a six-foot bow could bend,
And far a cloth-yard shaft could send;
Each held a boar-spear tough and strong;
And at their belts their quivers rung.
Their dusty palfreys, and array,
Shewed they had marched a weary way.

THE HOST'S TALE.

[From the same.]

XIX.

"A CLERK could tell what years have flown
Since Alexander filled our throne,
(Third monarch of that warlike name,)
And eke the time when here he came
To seek Sir Hugo, then our lord:
A braver never drew a sword;
A wiser never, at the hour
Of midnight, spoke the word of power;
The same whom ancient records call
The founder of the Goblin-Hall.
I would, Sir Knight, your longer stay
Gave you that cavern to survey.
Of lofty roof, and ample size,
Beneath the castle deep it lies:
To hew the living rock profound,
The floor to pave, the arch to round,
There never toiled a mortal arm,
It all was wrought by word and charm;
And I have heard my grandsire say,
That the wild clamour and affray
Of those dread artizans of hell,
Who laboured under Hugo's spell,
Sounded as loud as ocean's war,
Among the caverns of Dunbar.

XX.

"The king Lord Gifford's castle sought,
Deep-labouring with uncertain thought:
Even then he mustered all his host,
To meet upon the western coast;
For Norse and Danish galleys plied
Their oars within the firth of Clyde,
There floated Haco's banner trim,
Above Norweyan warriors grim,
Savage of heart, and large of limb;
Threatening both continent and isle,
Bute, Arran, Cunninghame, and Kyle.
Lord Gifford deep beneath the ground,
Heard Alexander's bugle sound,
And tarried not his garb to change,
But, in his wizard habit strange,
Came forth,—a quaint and fearful sight!
His mantle lined with fox-skins white;
His high and wrinkled forehead bore
A pointed cap, such as of yore
Clerks say that Pharaoh's Magi wore;
His shoes were marked with cross and spell;
Upon his breast a pentacle;
His zone, of virgin parchment thin,
Or, as some tell, of dead man's skin,
Bore many a planetary sign,
Combust, and retrograde, and trine;
And in his hand he held prepared,
A naked sword without a guard.

XXI.

"Dire dealings with the fiendish race
Had marked strange lines upon his face;
Vigil and fast had worn him grim,
His eye-sight dazzled seemed, and dim,
As one unused to upper day;
Even his own menials with dismay
Beheld, Sir Knight, the griesly sire,
In this unwonted wild attire;—
Unwonted, for traditions run,
He seldom thus beheld the sun.
"I know," he said,—his voice was hoarse,
And broken seemed its hollow force,—
"I know the cause, although untold,
Why the king seeks his vassal's hold:
Vainly from me my liege would know
His kingdom's future weal or woe;
But yet, if strong his arm and heart,
His courage may do more than art.

XXII.

" Of middle air the demons proud,
Who ride upon the racking cloud,
Can read, in fixed or wandering star,
The issue of events afar;
But still their sullen aid withhold,
Save when by mightier force controuled.
Such late I summoned to my hall;
And though so potent was the call,
That scarce the deepest nook of hell
I deemed a refuge from the spell,
Yet, obstinate, in silence still,
The haughty demon mocks my skill.
But thou,—who little knowest thy might,
As born upon that blessed night,
When yawning graves, and dying groan,
Proclaimed hell's empire overthrown,—
With untaught valour shalt compel,
Response denied to magic spell."—
" Gramercy," quoth our monarch free,
" Place him but front to front with me,
And, by this good and honoured brand,
The gift of Cœur-de-Lion's hand,
Soothly I swear, that, tide what tide,
The demon shall a buffet bide."—
His bearing bold the wizard viewed,
And thus, well pleased, his speech renewed.—
" There spoke the blood of Malcolm!—mark:
Forth pacing hence, at midnight dark,
The rampart seek, whose circling crown
Crests the ascent of yonder down:
A southern entrance shalt thou find;
There halt, and there thy bugle wind,
And trust thine elfin foe to see,
In guise of thy worst enemy:
Couch then thy lance, and spur thy steed—
Upon him! and St. George to speed!
If he go down, thou soon shalt know,
Whate'er these airy sprites can shew;—
If thy heart fail thee in the strife,
I am no warrant for thy life."—

XXIII.

" Soon as the midnight bell did ring,
Alone, and armed, rode forth the king
To that old camp's deserted round:—
Sir Knight, you well might mark the mound,
Left hand the town,—the Pictish race
The trench, long since, in blood did trace;

The moor around is brown and bare,
The space within is green and fair.
The spot our village children know,
For there the earliest wild flowers grow;
But woe betide the wandering wight,
That treads its circle in the night!
The breadth across, a bowshot clear,
Gives ample space for full career;
Opposed to the four points of Heaven,
By four deep gaps are entrance given.
The southernmost our monarch past,
Halted, and blew a gallant blast;
And on the north, within the ring,
Appeared the form of England's king;
Who then, a thousand leagues afar,
In Palestine waged holy war:
Yet arms like England's did he wield,
Alike the leopards in the shield,
Alike his Syrian courser's frame,
The rider's length of limb the same:
Long afterwards did Scotland know,
Fell Edward was her deadliest foe.

XXIV.

"The vision made our monarch start,
But soon he mann'd his noble heart,
And in the first career they ran,
The Elfin Knight fell horse and man;
Yet did a splinter of his lance
Through Alexander's visor glance,
And razed the skin—a puny wound.
The king, light leaping to the ground,
With naked blade his phantom foe
Compelled the future war to show.
Of Largs he saw the glorious plain,
Where still gigantic bones remain,
Memorial of the Danish war;
Himself he saw amid the field,
On high his brandished war-axe wield,
And strike proud Haco from his car,
While all around the shadowy kings,
Denmark's grim ravens cower'd their wings.
'Tis said, that, in that awful night,
Remoter visions met his sight,
Foreshewing future conquests far,
When our sons' sons wage northern war;
A royal city, tower, and spire,
Reddened the midnight sky with fire;
And shouting crews her navy bore,
Triumphant, to the victor shore.

Such signs may learned clerks explain,
They pass the wit of simple swain.

XXV.

"The joyful king turned home again,
Headed his host, and quelled the Dane;
But yearly, when returned the night
Of his strange combat with the sprite,
His wound must bleed and smart;
Lord Gifford then would gibing say,
"Bold as ye were, my liege, ye pay
The penance of your start."
Long since, beneath Dunfermline's nave,
King Alexander fills his grave
Our Lady give him rest!
Yet still the nightly spear and shield
The elfin warrior doth wield,
Upon the brown hill's breast;
And many a knight hath proved his chance,
In the charmed ring to break a lance,
But all have foully sped;
Save two, as legends tell, and they
Were Wallace wight, and Gilbert Hay.—
Gentles, my tale is said."

SONG OF LOCHINVAR.

[From the same.]

O YOUNG Lochinvar is come out of the west,
Through all the wide Border his steed was the best;
And save his good broad-sword he weapons had none;
He rode all unarmed, and he rode all alone.
So faithful in love, and so dauntless in war,
There never was knight like the young Lochinvar.

He staid not for brake, and he stopped not for stone.
He swam the Esk river where ford there was none;
But, ere he alighted at Netherby gate,
The bride had consented, the gallant came late:
For a laggard in love, and a dastard in war,
Was to wed the fair Ellen of brave Lochinvar.

So boldly he entered the Netherby Hall,
Among bride's-men, and kinsmen, and brothers, and all:
Then spoke the bride's father, his hand on his sword,
(For the poor craven bridegroom said never a word,)
"O come ye in peace here, or come ye in war,
Or to dance at our bridal young Lord Lochinvar?"—

"I lo

"I long wooed your daughter, my suit you denied;—
Love swells like the Solway, but ebbs like its tide—
And now am I come, with this lost love of mine,
To lead but one measure, drink one cup of wine,
There are maidens in Scotland more lovely by far,
That would gladly be bride to the young Lochinvar."

The bride kissed the goblet; the knight took it up,
He quaffed off the wine, and he threw down the cup.
She looked down to blush, and she looked up to sigh,
With a smile on her lips, and a tear in her eye.
He took her soft hand, ere her mother could bar,—
"Now tread we a measure!" said young Lochinvar.

So stately his form, and so lovely her face,
That never a hall such a galliard did grace;
While her mother did fret, and her father did fume,
And the bridegroom stood dangling his bonnet and plume;
And the bride-maidens whisper'd, "'Twere better by far
To have matched our fair cousin with young Lochinvar."

One touch to her hand, and one word in her ear,
When they reached the hall-door, and the charger stood near;
So light to the croupe the fair lady he swung,
So light to the saddle before her he sprung!
"She is won! we are gone, over bank, bush, and scaur;
They'll have fleet steeds that follow," quoth young Lochinvar.

There was mounting 'mong Græmes of the Netherby clan;
Forsters, Fenwicks, and Musgraves, they rode and they ran:
There was racing, and chasing, on Cannobie Lee,
But the lost bride of Netherby ne'er did they see.
So daring in love, and so dauntless in war,
Have ye ne'er heard of gallant like young Lochinvar?

CHRISTMAS.

[From the same.]

HEAP on more wood!—the wind is chill;
But let it whistle as it will,
We'll keep our Christmas merry still.
Each age has deemed the new-born year
The fittest time for festal cheer:
Even heathen yet, the savage Dane
At Iol more deep the mead did drain;

High on the beach his galleys drew,
And feasted all his pirate crew;
Then in his low and pine-built hall,
Where shields and axes decked the wall,
They gorged upon the half-dressed steer;
Caroused in seas of sable beer;
While round, in brutal jest, were thrown
The half-gnawed rib, and marrow-bone;
Or listened all, in grim delight,
While scalds yelled out the joys of fight.
Then forth, in frenzy would they hie,
While wildly loose their red locks fly,
And dancing round the blazing pile,
They make such barbarous mirth the while,
As best might to the mind recal
The boisterous joys of Odin's hall.
And well our Christian sires of old
Loved when the year its course had rolled,
And brought blithe Christmas back again,
With all his hospitable train.
Domestic and religious rite
Gave honour to the holy night:
On Christmas eve the bells were rung;
On Christmas eve the mass was sung;
That only night, in all the year,
Saw the stoled priest the chalice rear.
The damsel donned her kirtle sheen;
The hall was dressed with holly green;
Forth to the wood did merry-men go,
To gather in the misletoe.
Then opened wide the baron's hall
To vassal, tenant, serf, and all;
Power laid his rod of rule aside,
And ceremony doffed his pride.
The heir, with roses in his shoes,
That night might village partner choose;
The lord, underogating, share
The vulgar game of "post and pair."
All hailed, with uncontrouled delight,
And general voice, the happy night,
That to the cottage, as the crown,
Brought tidings of salvation down.
The fire, with well dried logs supplie
Went roaring up the chimney wide;
The huge hall-table's oaken face,
Scrubbed till it shone, the day to grace,
Bore then upon its massive board
No mark to part the 'squire and lord.
Then was brought in the lusty brawn,
By old blue coated serving-man;

Then the grim boar's-head frowned on high
Crested with bays and rosemary.
Well can the green-garbed ranger tell,
How, when, and where, the monster fell;
What dogs before his death he tore,
And all the baiting of the boar.
The wassel round in good brown bowls,
Garnished with ribbons, blithely trowls.
There the huge sirloin reeked; hard by
Plumb-porridge stood, and Christmas pye;
Nor failed old Scotland to produce,
At such high-tide her savory goose.
Then came the merry masquers in,
And carols roared with blithesome din;
If unmelodious was the song,
It was a hearty note, and strong.
Who lists may in their mumming see
Traces of ancient mystery;
White shirts supplied the masquerade,
And smutted cheeks the visors made;
But, O! what masquers richly dight
Can boast of bosoms half so light!
England was merry England, when
Old Christmas brought his sports again.
'Twas Christmas broached the mightiest ale;
'Twas Christmas told the merriest tale;
A Christmas gambol oft could cheer
The poor man's heart through half the year.

PHŒBE DAWSON.

[From Mr. CRABBE'S PARISH REGISTER.]

TWO summers since, I saw at Lammas fair,
The sweetest flower that ever blossom'd there;
When *Phœbe Dawson* gaily cross'd the green,
In haste to see, and happy to be seen;
Her air, her manners, all who saw, admir'd;
Courteous though coy, and gentle though retir'd;
The joy of youth and health her eyes display'd,
And ease of heart her every look convey'd;
A native skill her simple robes express'd,
As with untutor'd elegance she dress'd;
The lads around admir'd so fair a sight,
And *Phœbe* felt, and felt she gave, delight.
Admirers soon of every age she gain'd,
Her beauty won them, and her worth retain'd;

Envy

Envy itself could no contempt display,
They wish'd her well whom yet they wish'd away;
Correct in thought, she judg'd a servant's place
Preserv'd a rustic beauty from disgrace;
But yet on Sunday-eve in freedom's hour,
With secret joy she felt that beauty's power;
When some proud bliss upon the heart would steal,
That, poor or rich, a beauty still must feel.—
At length, the youth ordain'd to move her breast,
Before the swains with bolder spirit press'd;
With looks less timid made his passion known,
And pleas'd by manners, most unlike her own;
Loud though in love, and confident though young;
Fierce in his air, and voluble of tongue;
By trade a taylor, though, in scorn of trade,
He serv'd the 'squire, and brush'd the coat he made;
Yet now would *Phœbe* her consent afford,
Her slave alone, again he'd mount the board;
With her should years of growing love be spent,
And growing wealth:—She sigh'd and look'd consent.
Now, through the lane, up hill, and cross the green,
(Seen by but few and blushing to be seen—
Dejected, thoughtful, anxious, and afraid),
Led by the lover, walk'd the silent maid:
Slow through the meadows rov'd they many a mile,
Toy'd by each bank, and trifled at each stile;
Where, as he painted every blissful view,
And highly colour'd what he strongly drew,
The pensive damsel, prone to tender fears,
Dimm'd the false prospect with prophetic tears:
Thus pass'd th' allotted hours, till lingering late,
The lover loiter'd at the master's gate;
There he pronounced adieu! and yet would stay,
Till children—sooth'd—intreated—forced away:
He would of coldness, though indulged, complain,
And oft retire, and oft return again;
When if his teasing vex'd her gentle mind,
The grief assum'd compell'd her to be kind!
For he would proof of plighted kindness crave,
That she resented first and then forgave,
And, to his grief and penance yielded more,
Than his presumption had required before:
Ah! fly temptation, youth! refrain,
Each yielding maid and each presuming swain!

Lo! now with red rent cloak and bonnet black,
And torn green gown loose hanging at her back,
One who an infant in her arms sustains,
And seems in patience striving with her pains;

Pinch'd

Pinch'd are her looks, as one who pines for bread,
Whose cares are growing, and whose hopes are fled;
Pale her parch'd lips, her heavy eyes sunk low,
And tears unnoticed from their channels flow;
Serene her manner, till some sudden pain,
Frets the meek soul and then she's calm again;
Her broken pitcher to the pool she takes,
And every step with cautious terror makes;
For not alone that infant in her arms,
But nearer cause, her anxious soul alarms;
With water burthen'd, then she picks her way,
Slowly and cautious, in the clinging clay;
Till, in mid-green, she trusts a place unsound,
And deeply plunges in th' adhesive ground;
Thence, but with pain, her slender foot she takes,
While hope the mind as strength the frame forsakes:
For when so full the cup of sorrow grows,
Add but a drop, it instantly o'erflows.—
And now her path, but not her peace, she gains,
Safe from her task, but shivering with her pains;
Her home she reaches: open leaves the door,
And placing first her infant on the floor,
She bares her bosom to the wind and sits,
And sobbing struggles with the rising fits;
In vain, they come, she feels th' inflating grief,
That shuts the swelling bosom from relief;
That speaks in feeble cries a soul distrest,
Or the sad laugh that cannot be repress;
The neighbour-matron leaves her wheel and flies
With all the aid her poverty supplies;
Unfee'd, the calls of Nature she obeys,
Not led by profit, nor allur'd by praise;
And waiting long, till these contentions cease,
She speaks of comfort and departs in peace.
Friend of distress! the mourner feels thy aid,
She cannot pay thee, but thou wilt be paid.

But who this child of weakness, want, and care?
'Tis *Phœbe Dawson*, pride of *Lammas-fair*;
Who took her lover for his sparkling eyes,
Expressions warm, and love-inspiring lies:
Compassion first assail'd her gentle heart,
For all his suffering, all his bosom's smart:
"And then his prayers! they would a savage move,
"And win the coldest of the sex to love:"
But ah! too soon his looks success declar'd,
Too late her loss the marriage-rite repair'd;
The faithless flatterer then his vows forgot,
A captious tyrant, or a noisy sot:

If

If present, railing, till he saw her pain'd;
If absent, spending what their labours gain'd;
Till that fair form in want and sickness pin'd,
And hope and comfort fled that gentle mind.
Then fly temptation, youth; resist, refrain!
Nor let me preach for ever and in vain!

THE SEXTON.

[From the same.]

MY record ends:—but hark! ev'n now I hear
The bell of death, and know not whose to fear:
Our farmers all and all our hinds were well;
In no man's cottage, danger seem'd to dwell:—
Yet death of man proclaim these heavy chimes,
For thrice they sound, with pausing space, three times.
"Go: of my sexton seek, whose days are sped?"—
"What! he, himself! - - - and is old *Dibble* dead?"
His eightieth year he reach'd still undecay'd,
And rectors five to one close vault convey'd: - - -
But he is gone; his care and skill I lose,
And gain a mournful subject for my muse:
His masters lost, he'd oft in turn deplore,
And kindly add,—'Heaven grant, I lose no more!'
Yet while he spake, a sly and pleasant glance
Appear'd at variance with his complaisance:
For, as he told their fate and varying worth,
He archly look'd,—'I yet may bear thee forth.'
"'When first"—(he so began)—"my trade I ply'd,
"Good master *Addle* was the parish-guide;
"His clerk and sexton, I beheld with fear,
"His stride majestic and his frown severe;
"A noble pillar of the church he stood,
"Adorn'd with college-gown and parish-hood;
"Then, as he pac'd the hallow'd aisles about,
"He fill'd the sevenfold surplice fairly out:
"But in his pulpit wearied down with prayer,
"He sat and seem'd in his study's chair;
"For while the anthem swell'd, and when it ceas'd,
"Th' expecting people view'd their slumbering priest;
"Who dozing, died.—Our parson *Peele* was next:
"'I will not spare you,' was his favourite text:
"Nor did he spare, but raised them many a pound;
"Ev'n me he mulct for my poor rood of ground;
"Yet car'd he nought, but with a gibing speech,
"'What should I do,' quoth he, 'but what *I* preach?'

" His piercing jokes (and he'd a plenteous store)
" Were daily offer'd both to rich and poor;
" His scorn, his love, in playful words he spoke;
" His pity, praise, and promise, were a joke:
" But though so young, and blest with spirits high,
" He died as grave as any judge could die:
" The strong attack subdu'd his lively powers,—
" His was the grave and doctor *Grandspear* ours."
" Then were there golden times the village round;
" In his abundance all appear'd t' abound;
" Liberal and rich, a plenteous board he spread,
" Ev'n cool dissenters at his table fed;
" Who wish'd--and hop'd--and thought a man so kind,
" A way to Heaven, though not their own, might find;
" To them, to all, he was polite and free,
" Kind to the poor, and, ah! most kind to me:
" '*Ralph*,' would he say, '*Ralph Dibble*, thou art old;
" 'That doublet fit, 'twill keep thee from the cold:
" 'How does my sexton?—What! the times are hard;
" 'Drive that stout pig and pen him in thy yard.'
" But most, his reverence lov'd a mirthful jest;—
" 'Thy coat is thin; why, man, thou'rt *barely* drest;
" 'Its worn to th' thread! but I have nappy beer;
" 'Clap that within, and see how they will wear.'
" Gay days were these; but they were quickly past;
" When first he came, we found he cou'dn't last:
" An whoreson cough (and at the fall of leaf)
" Upset him quite:—but what's the gain of grief?
" Then came the *Author-Rector;* his delight
" Was all in books; to read them, or to write:
" Women and men, he strove alike to shun,
" And hurried homeward, when his tasks were done:
" Courteous enough, but careless what he said,
" For points of learning he reserv'd his head;
" And when addressing either poor or rich,
" He knew no better than his cassock which:
" He, like an osier, was of pliant kind,
" Erect by Nature, but to bend inclin'd;
" Not like a creeper falling to the ground,
" Or meanly catching on the neighbours round;—
" Careless was he of surplice, hood, and band,—
" And kindly took them as they came to hand;
" Nor like the doctor wore a world of hat,
" As if he sought for dignity in that:
" He talk'd, he gave, but not with cautious rules:
" Nor turn'd from gypsies, vagabonds, or fools;
" It was his nature, but they thought it whim,
" And so our beaux and beauties turn'd from him:
" Of questions, much he wrote, profound and dark,—
" How spake the serpent, and where stopped the ark;

" From

" From what far land the queen of Sheba came;
" Who Salem's priest, and what his father's name;
" He made the Song of Songs its mysteries yield,
" And revelations to the word, reveal'd.
" He sleeps i' the aisle, - - - but not a stone records
" His name or fame, his actions or his words:—
" And truth, your reverence, when I look around,
" And mark the tombs in our sepulchral ground,
" (Though dare I of not one man's hope to doubt,)
" I'd join the party who repose without.
" Next came a *Youth* from *Cambridge*, and in truth,
" He was a sober and a comely youth;
" He blush'd in meekness as a modest man,
" And gain'd attention ere his task began:
" When preaching seldom ventur'd on reproof,
" But touch'd his neighbours tenderly enough.
" Him, in his youth, a clamorous sect assail'd,
" Advis'd and censured, flatter'd,—and prevailed.—
" Then did he much his sober hearers vex,
" Confound the simple, and the sad perplex;
" To a new style his reverence rashly took;
" Loud grew his voice, to threat'ning swell'd his look;
" Above, below, on either side, he gaz'd,
" Amazing all, and most himself amaz'd:
" No more he read his preachments pure and plain,
" But launch'd outright, and rose and sank again:
" At times he smil'd in scorn, at times he wept,
" And such sad coil with words of vengeance kept,
" That our best sleepers started as they slept.
" ' Conviction comes like lightning,' he would cry;
" ' In vain you seek it, and in vain you fly;
" ' 'Tis like the rushing of the mighty wind,
" ' Unseen its progress, but its power you find;
" ' It strikes the child ere yet its reason wakes;
" ' His reason fled, the ancient sire it shakes;
" ' The proud, learn'd man, and him who loves to know
" ' How and from whence these gusts of grace will blow,
" ' It shuns,—but sinners in their way impedes,
" ' And sots and harlots visits in their deeds;
" ' Of faith and penance it supplies the place;
" ' Assures the vilest that they live by grace,
" ' And, without running, makes them win the race.
" Such was the doctrine our young prophet taught;
" And here conviction, there confusion wrought:
" When his thin cheek assum'd a deadly hue,
" And all the rose to one small spot withdrew:
" They call'd it hectic; 'twas a fiery flush,
" More fix'd and deeper than the maiden blush;
" His paler lips the pearly teeth disclos'd,
" And lab'ring lungs the length'ning speech oppos'd.

" No

" No more his span-girth shanks and quiv'ring thighs,
" Upheld a body of the smaller size;
" But down he sank upon his dying-bed,
" And gloomy crotchets fill'd his wandering head.—
" ' Spite of my faith, all-saving faith, he cried,
" ' I fear of worldly works, the wicked pride;
" ' Poor as I am, degraded, abject, blind,
" ' The good I've wrought still rankles in my mind;
" ' My alms-deeds all, and every deed I've done,
" ' My moral-rags defile me every one;
" ' It should not be: what say'st thou? tell me, Ralph,'
" Quoth I, ' Your reverence, I believe, you're safe;
" ' Your faith's your prop, nor have you pass'd such time,
" ' In life's good-works as swell them to a crime.—
" ' If I of pardon for my sins were sure,
" ' About my goodness I would rest secure.'
" Such was his end; and mine approaches fast;
" I've seen my best of preachers,—and my last."
He bow'd, and archly smil'd at what he said,
Civil but sly: - - - ' And is old *Dibble* dead?'
Yes! he is gone: and WE are going all;
Like flowers we wither, and like leaves we fall:
Here, with an infant, joyful sponsors come,
Then bear the new-made Christian to its home:
A few short years and we behold him stand
To ask a blessing, with his bride in hand:
A few, still seeming shorter, and we hear
His widow weeping at her husband's bier:
Thus, as the months succeed, shall infants take
Their names, while parents them and us forsake;
Thus brides again and bridegrooms blithe shall kneel,
By love or law compell'd their vows to seal,
Ere I again or one like me, explore
These simple annals of the VILLAGE POOR.

BEACHY HEAD.

[From Mrs. CHARLOTTE SMITH'S MISCELLANEOUS POEMS.]

ON thy stupendous summit, rock sublime!
That o'er the channel rear'd, half way at sea.
The mariner at early morning hails,
I would recline; while Fancy should go forth,
And represent the strange and awful hour
Of vast concussion; when the Omnipotent
Stretch'd forth his arm, and rent the solid hills,
Bidding the impetuous main flood rush between

The

The rifted shores, and from the continent
Eternally divided this green isle.
Imperial lord of the high southern coast!
From thy projecting head-land I would mark
Far in the east the shades of night disperse,
Melting and thinned, as from the dark blue wave
Emerging, brilliant rays of arrowy light
Dart from the horizon; when the glorious sun
Just lifts above it his resplendent orb.
Advances now, with feathery silver touched,
The rippling tide of flood; glisten the sands,
While, inmates of the chalky clefts that scar
Thy sides precipitous, with shrill harsh cry,
Their white wings glancing in the level beam,
The terns, and gulls, and tarrocks seek their food,
And thy rough hollows echo to the voice,
Of the gray choughs, and ever-restless daws,
With clamour not unlike the chiding hounds,
While the lone shepherd, and his baying dog,
Drive to thy turfy crest his bleating flock.
The high meridian of the day is past,
And Ocean now, reflecting the calm Heaven,
Is of cerulean hue; and murmurs low
The tide of ebb, upon the level sands.
The sloop, her angular canvas shifting still,
Catches the light and variable airs
That but a little crisp the summer sea,
Dimpling its tranquil surface.
Afar off,
And just emerging from the arch immense
Where seem to part the elements, a fleet
Of fishing vessels stretch their lesser sails;
While more remote, and like a dubious spot
Just hanging in the horizon, laden deep,
The ship of commerce richly freighted, makes
Her slower progress, on her distant voyage,
Bound to the orient climates, where the sun
Matures the spice within its odorous shell,
And, rivalling the gray worm's filmy toil,
Bursts from its pod the vegetable down;
Which in long turban'd wreaths, from torrid heat
Defends the brows of Asia's countless casts.
There the earth hides within her glowing breast
The beamy adamant and the round pearl
Enchased in rugged covering; which the slave,
With perilous and breathless toil, tears off
From the rough sea-rock, deep beneath the waves.
These are the toys of Nature; and her sport
Of little estimate in Reason's eye:
And they who reason, with abhorence see

Man,

Man, for such gaudes and baubles, violate
The sacred freedom of his fellow man—
Erroneous estimate! As Heaven's pure air,
Fresh as it blows on this aërial height,
Or sound of seas upon the stony strand,
Or inland, the gay harmony of birds,
And winds that wander in the leafy woods;
Are to the unadulterate taste more worth
Than the elaborate harmony, brought out
From fretted stop, or modulated airs
Of vocal science.—So the brightest gems,
Glancing resplendent on the regal crown,
Or trembling in the high-born beauty's ear,
Are poor and paltry, to the lovely light
Of the fair star, that as the day declines,
Attendant on her queen, the crescent moon,
Bathes her bright tresses in the eastern wave.
For now the sun is verging to the sea,
And as he westward sinks, the floating clouds
Suspended, move upon the evening gale,
And gathering round his orb as if to shade
The insufferable brightness, they resign
Their gauzy whiteness; and more warm'd, assume
All hues of purple. There, transparent gold
Mingles with ruby tints and sapphire gleams,
And colours, such as Nature through her works
Shews only in the ethereal canopy.
Thither aspiring Fancy fondly soars,
Wandering sublime thro' visionary vales,
Where bright pavilions rise, and trophies fann'd
By airs celestial; and adorn'd with wreaths
Of flowers that bloom amid elysian bowers.
Now bright and brighter still the colours glow,
Till half the lustrous orb within the flood
Seems to retire: the flood reflecting still
Its splendour, and in mimic glory drest;
Till the last ray shot upward, fires the clouds
With blazing crimson; then in paler light,
Long lines of tenderer radiance, lingering yield
To partial darkness; and on the opposing side
The early moon distinctly rising, throws
Her pearly brilliance on the trembling tide.
The fishermen, who at set seasons pass
Many a league off at sea their toiling night,
Now hail their comrades, from their daily task
Returning; and make ready for their own,
With the night tide commencing:—The night tide
Bears a dark vessel on, whose hull and sails
Mark her a coaster from the north. Her keel
Now ploughs the sand; and sidelong now she leans,

While with loud clamour her athletic crew
Unload her; and resounds the busy hum
Along the wave-worn rocks. Yet more remote,
Where the rough cliff hangs beetling o'er its base,
All breathes repose; the water's rippling sound
Scarce heard; but now and then the sea-snipe's cry
Just tells that something living is abroad;
And sometimes crossing on the moon-bright line,
Glimmers the skiff, faintly discern'd awhile,
Then lost in shadow.
Contemplation here,
High on her throne of rock, aloof may sit,
And bid recording Memory unfold
Her scroll voluminous—bid her retrace
The period, when from Neustria's hostile shore
The Norman launch'd his galleys, and the bay
O'er which that mass of ruin frowns even now
In vain and sullen menace, then received
The new invaders; a proud martial race,
Of Scandinavia the undaunted sons,
Whom Dogon, Fier-a-brass, and Humfroi led
To conquest: while Trinacria to their power
Yielded her wheaten garland; and when thou,
Parthenope! within thy fertile bay
Receiv'd the victors.—
In the mailed ranks
Of Normans landing on the British coast
Rode Taillefer; and with astounding voice
Thunder'd the war song daring Roland sang
First in the fierce contention: vainly brave,
One not inglorious struggle England made—
But failing, saw the Saxon heptarchy
Finish for ever.—Then the holy pile,
Yet seen upon the field of conquest, rose,
Where to appease Heaven's wrath for so much blood,
The conquerer bade unceasing prayers ascend,
And requiems for the slayers and the slain.
But let not modern Gallia form from hence
Presumptuous hopes, that ever thou again,
Queen of the isles! shalt crouch to foreign arms.
Th' enervate sons of Italy may yield;
And the Iberian, all his trophies torn,
And wrapp'd in Superstition's monkish weed,
May shelter his abasement, and put on
Degrading fetters. Never! never thou!
Imperial mistress of th' obedient sea;
But thou, in thy integrity secure,
Shalt now undaunted meet a world in arms.
England! 'twas where this promontory rears
Its rugged brow above the channel wave,

Parting the hostile nations, that thy fame,
Thy naval fame was tarnish'd, at what time
Thou, leagued with the Batavian, gavest to France
One day of triumph—triumph the more loud,
Because even then so rare. Oh! well redeem'd,
Since, by a series of illustrious men,
Such as no other country ever reared,
To vindicate her cause. It is a list
Which, as Fame echoes it, blanches the cheek
Of bold ambition; while the despot feels
The extorted sceptre tremble in his grasp.

JULIA, OR THE CONVENT OF ST. CLAIRE.

[From Mrs. Opie's Poems.]

STRANGER, that massy, mouldering pile,
Whose ivied ruins load the ground,
Re-echoed once to pious strains
By holy sisters breath'd around.

There many a noble virgin came
To bid the world she loved—adieu;
There, victim of parental pride,
To years of hopeless grief withdrew.

Yes, proud St. Claire! thy costly walls
Have witnessed oft the mourner's pain;
And hearts in joyless durance bound,
Which sighed for kindred hearts in vain.

But never more within thy cells
Shall beauty breathe the fruitless sigh,
Nor hid beneath the envious veil
Shall sorrow dim the sparkling eye.

For now, a sight, by reason blest,
Thy gloomy dome in ruins falls,
While bats and screech-owls harbour there,
Sole tenants of thy crumbling walls.

And soon, blest change! as those dread plains,
Where Etna's burning torrents pour'd,
Become, when Time its power has shed,
With softly-smiling verdure stor'd:

So when thy darkly-frowning towers
The verdant plain no longer load,
These scenes where sorrow reign'd, may prove
Fond, faithful lover's blest abode.

And they shall pledge the nuptial vow,
Where once far different vows were heard;
And where thy pining virgins mourn'd,
Shall babes, sweet smiling babes, be rear'd.

Hail, glorious change, to Nature dear!
Methinks I see the bridal throng;
And hark, where lonely sisters pray'd,
How sweetly swells the social song!

But nought, O! nought can her restore
To social life, to happy love,
Who once amidst thy cloister'd train
With passion's hopeless sorrow strove.

Lamented maid! my faithful Muse
To pity's ear shall tell thy tale;
Shall tell, at midnight's awful hour
Why groaning ghosts affright the vale.

On Julia's softly dimpled cheek
Just bloom'd to view youth's opening rose,
When, proudly stern, her father bade
St. Claire's dark walls her bloom enclose.

But no reluctance to obey
With tears bedew'd her beauteous cheek,
Since love with soft persuasive power,
Not yet had taught her heart to speak.

"Yes,—be a nun's vocation mine,
So I my brother's bliss improve;
His be their wealth," sweet Julia cried,
"So I may boast my parents' love!"

Proud Clermont bless'd his generous child;
Her gentler mother dropp'd a tear,
As if her boding heart foretold
That love and Julia's woes were near.

For lo! where glows the nuptial feast,
And Clermont's heir leads in his bride,
While Julia, call'd that feast to grace,
Sits by a blooming baron's side.

Dear, fatal hour! the feast is o'er,
But still in faithful memory charms,
And Julia's conscious heart has learnt
To throb with passion's new alarms.

"Now then I feel the power of love,"
She on her sleepless pillow cried,
"Then must I still my sire obey,
And this warm heart in cloisters hide?

"But

"But hold, fond girl! thy throbbing breast
May be with hopeless fondness fraught;
Yet sure Montrose's speaking eyes
Declared he felt the love he taught."

And well her hopes his glance had read,—
Montrose a mutual passion felt,
Nor long his tender pangs concealed,
But at her feet impassioned knelt.

Her downcast eye, her blush, her smile
To crown her lover's suit conspir'd,
Who, bold in hope, to Clermont told
The artless wish by fondness fired.

But told in vain—"Away!" he cried;
"O'er me your pleadings boast no power:
Think not my son his rights shall yield,
To swell my pining daughter's dower."

"No:—let his rights still sacred be,"
Montrose with throbbing heart replied,
"Give me but Julia's willing hand,
I ask, I wish for nought beside."

"And darest thou think that Clermont's child
Shall e'er pronounce the nuptial vow
Unless," he said, "I could a dower
Equal to Clermont's rank bestow!

"Away, young lord! entreat no more!
Nor thus with vain complainings mourn;
For, ere to-morrow's sun has set,
My child shall to her cell return."

He spoke, and frowned.—Alas, Montrose!
In vain thy manly bosom mourned;
For, ere to-morrow's sun had set,
Thy Julia to her cell returned.

But changed indeed! Youth's opening rose
Now on her cheek no longer glowed;
And now, with earthly cares opprest,
Before the holy shrine she bowed.

Now to religion's rites no more
Her heart with ready zeal impelled;
No more with genuine fervour warm,
Her voice the holy anthem swelled.

"Whence pale thy cheek? and whence, my child,
Proceeds this change?" the abbess said,
"Why heaves thy breast with deep-drawn sighs,
And wherefore droops thy youthful head?"

"Yes,—you shall know," the sufferer cried,
"And let my fate your pity move!
See Passion's victim! morn and eve
This struggling soul is lost in love.

"And I yon sacred shrine profane;
The cross with languid zeal I press;
Montrose's image claims the vows
Which my false lips to Heaven address.

"Yes,—while I drop the sacred bead,
His form obtrudes npon my view,
And Love's warm tears my rosary wet
Love claims the sigh devotion's due.

"Inhuman Father! wilt thou risk
My peace on earth, and hopes of heaven?
Tremble, tyrannic parent, think
What love may do to madness driven!"

With pitying heart the abbess heard;
For she an answering pang had known,
And well her gentle soul could mourn
A fate, a grief, so like her own.

"But why despair, my child?" she said,
"Before thy father lowly kneel
And teach that heart, tho' fenced by pride,
Compassion's generous throb to feel."

Julia the kind advice obeyed;
And when the haughty Clermont came,
Before his feet she lowly knelt,
And hailed him by a parent's name.

"Think'st thou to wrong thy brother's rights
Ne'er can be by thee beguiled?"
"Father!" her tremblings lips replied,
"Say, is not Julia too your child?

"For him you bid the nuptial feast,
And all life's dearest blessings glow,
While I, alike your child, you doom
To hopeless love, and lonely woe."

But vain remonstrance, tears, and prayers;
The Count's proud heart could all deride,
For Nature's voice can never melt
The callous bosom fenced by pride.

"Urge me no more," he fiercely said,
"But know not long these prayers can last;
Reflect, fond girl! at morning's dawn
The year of thy probation's past."

Pale

Pale, pale grew then her youthful cheek,
Heart-piercing seem'd her mournful cry:
"Clermont! relent," her mother cried,
"Nor coldly doom thy child to die."

But vain was Julia's piercing shriek;
Nor justice he nor mercy knew:
"Receive," he said, "my last embrace,"—
Then from the mournful scene withdrew.

Loud called the evening bell to prayers,
But still on Julia vainly called,
Who, leaning on her mother's breast,
With desperate words that breast appalled.

"Suppress, suppress thy grief, my child,
Or fear to call dread vengeance down:
Wouldst thou not tremble, impious girl!
Before thy God's avenging frown?"

"Paint not that gracious God in frowns,
Did not for us a Saviour bleed?
In mercy clothe his awful power,
For I shall soon that mercy need."

Dark, cheerless, awful is the night
When tempests load the troubled air;
But darker, gloomier is the mind
Where reigns the ghastly fiend Despair.

Fond mother! in thy Julia's eyes
Canst thou not see his reign is near?
Inhuman father! hark! loud groans
Shall swell the blast;—beware! beware!

"Mother, the hour commands thee hence,"
Sad Julia cried, "we now must part;
And never may thy bosom know
A grief like that which rends my heart!

"In all thy prayer's to-night for me,
The awful throne of Heaven address,
While I with grateful bosom kneel,
And bid its power thy goodness bless."

Speechless the mourning mother heard;
Her tongue denied the word 'farewell!'
At length her quivering lips she pressed
And Julia hurried to her cell.—

Now chill and loud the North wind blew,
Through the long aisles hoarse murmurs ran;
The shuddering sisters' cheeks were pale,
When they their midnight tasks began.

Mocked by deep groans each anthem seemed,
The vaulted roofs still gloomier grew:
The blast of night was swelled by shrieks,
The bird of night ill-omened flew.

The trembling tapers grew more pale,
While, where their languid radiance fell,
A phantom dimly seemed to glide,
And loud was heard the passing bell.

"Did you not see a phantom flit?
Did you not hear the passing bell?"
Each sister cried; while, pale with dread,
With hurried steps she sought her cell.

At length arose the fatal morn
Decreed to seal sad Julia's doom,
And make the worm of hopeless love
Feed on her beauty's opening bloom.

"Julia, thy bridal vest prepare;
Thy heavenly spouse expects thee; rise!"
The abbess cried.—"Oh, stay awhile,"
Julia with broken tones replies.

"The tapers burn, the altar glows,
Robed are the priests in costly pride,
The organ sounds! Prepare!"—Again
"One moment stay!" the victim cried.

When through the long and echoing aisles
An unknown voice the abbess hears—
It seems with wild impatience fraught—
And lo! Montrose himself appears!

"I come," he cries, "to claim my bride;
A father's frown no more impedes:
His son's no more!—and Julia now
To Clermont's wealth and power succeeds."

Distrest, yet pleased, the abbess heard,
While on to Julia's cell she led,
And, as she went, to pitying Heaven
Her arms in pious homage spread.

"Julia, come forth! come forth, my child!
Unlock thy cell, Montrose's bride!
Now thou art his, a father's frown
No longer will your fates divide.

"Behold him here, to snatch thee hence,
And give thee to thy father's sight."
"How! silent still?" Montrose exclaimed;
"Why thus thy lover's soul affright?"

The door with trembling speed he forced—
Ah me! what object meets their eyes!
Stretcht on her bed in death's last pangs,
And bathed in blood, his Julia lies.

Presumptuous girl! when Heaven afflicts
Should we its dread decrees arraign?
Lo! Heaven thy woe with mercy saw,
But thou hast made its mercy vain.

"Behold the work of rash despair!"
In fluttering, feeble words she said;
"Had I been patient still, Montrose,
This day had blessings on me shed.

"Didst thou not say my father's heart
Had deigned at length thy vows to hear?
Too late remorse! but oh, to him
My pardon, and my blessing bear.

"But must I die? and canst not thou
Thy Julia from death's terrors save?
We should have been so blest, Montrose!
And must I leave thee for the grave?

"Help me! they tear me from thy arms,
Save me, O save thy destin'd bride!
It will not be,—forgive me, Heaven!"
She feebly said, then groan'd and died.

Oh! who can paint the lover's woe,
Or childless father's deep remorse,
While, bending o'er the blood-stained bed,
He clasped his daughter's pallid corse!

But from this scene of dreadful woe,
Learn why the village swain turns pale,
When he at midnight wanders near
The mouldering Convent in the vale.

There, faintly heard through whispering trees,
A mournful voice on Julia calls;
There, dimly seen, a blood-stained vest
Streams ghastly o'er the ivied walls.

SONG.

[From the same.]

I AM wearing away like the snow in the sun,
I am wearing away from the pain in my heart;
But ne'er shall he know, who my peace has undone,
How bitter, how lasting, how deep is my smart.

I know he would pity—so kind is his soul,
To him my affliction would agony be;
But never, while I can my feelings control,
The youth whom I love shall know sorrow through me.

Though longing to weep, in his presence I'll smile,
Call the flush on my cheek the pure crimson of health;
His fears for my peace by my song I'll beguile,
Nor venture to gaze on his eyes but by stealth.

For conscious I am, by my glance is exprest
The passion that faithful as hopeless will be,
And he, whom, alas! I can ne'er render blest,
Shall never, no never, know sorrow through me.

SONNET ON THE APPROACH OF AUTUMN.

[From the same.]

FAREWEL, gay Summer! now the changing wind
That Autumn brings commands thee to retreat;
It fades the roses which thy temples bind,
And the green sandals which adorn thy feet.

Now flies with thee the walk at even-tide,
That favouring hour to wrapt enthusiasts dear;
When most they love to seek the mountain side,
And mark the pomp of twilight hastening near.

Then fairy forms around the poet throng,
On every cloud a glowing charm he sees—
Sweet Evening, these delights to thee belong:—
But now, alas! comes Autumn's chilling breeze,
And early Night, attendant on its sway,
Bears in her envious veil sweet Fancy's hour away.

DOMESTIC LITERATURE.

CHAPTER I.

BIBLICAL AND THEOLOGICAL.

Comprising Biblical Criticism; Theological Criticism; Sacred Morals; Sermons and Discourses; Single Sermons; Controversial Divinity.

THE current year has offered us no translation of any entire book of the sacred writings; though it has been by no means deficient in biblical criticism of a more desultory nature.

We shall commence with noticing "Lectures on the four last (*last four*) books of the Pentateuch, designed to shew the divine origin of the Jewish religion, chiefly from internal evidence. By the Rev. Richard Graves, D.D. &c. 2 vols. 8vo."

This is a work of considerable importance and merit. The author has admirably studied his subject; and often as it has been traversed over before, has contrived to throw new light upon it, and to render it as interesting as it is momentous. The lectures are divided into three parts, containing, 1st, The authenticity and truth of the history: 2d, The theological, moral, and political principles of the Jewish law: 3d, A review of objections. Besides this division, we have also an Appendix of considerable length to part 1st, consisting of two distinct sections, the whole being the result of a course of lectures, delivered in the chapel of Trinity college, Dublin, under a bequest for this purpose, in the will of Mrs. Ann Donellan. These lectures, as originally delivered, were intended directly to counteract the bold and virulent assault on the Scriptures of the Old Testament, contained in the first part of Paine's Age of Reason; but as before the close of the term of their delivery, a variety of most able and satisfactory answers had appeared to this infidel pamphlet, and the extreme ignorance of the author, the futility of his reasonings, and the grossness of his misrepresentations, had been fully and sufficiently exposed, Dr. Graves changed his plan in some degree, and determined to take a wider range, and to enter into a more radical discussion of the divine original of the Jewish scheme than he had designed at first; and the chief subjects of his scrutiny are the opinions of Mr. Gibbon, the late Dr. Geddes, and Professor de Wette, of Jena; with occasional strictures on Warburton.

In the course of this critical discussion, Dr. Geddes is attacked with most fairness and success: the lecturer has read and studied his opinions, and to subvert several of them requires less talent than Dr. Graves possesses. The futility of his

his mode of accounting for the Mosaic miracles is too well known to be repeated in this place. Yet there is more candour in the progress of our author's career, than is usually displayed by a literary conqueror. Mr. Gibbon is only incidentally attacked, and Professor de Wette, merely from the occasional and scattered knowledge Dr. Graves was able to glean from a single article of the Professor's, examined two years ago in the Critical Review. We cannot avoid wishing, that before the author had thus thrown down the gauntlet to M. de Wette, he had studied his opinions as a whole, and not by piece-meal: he admits, indeed, that "it is unfair and uncandid to combat an author, whose system is known only through the medium of a Review, in which it must necessarily be stated indistinctly and imperfectly, and may be misunderstood and misinterpreted." And he proceeds, in consequence, to observe, that he "shall therefore advert to the article in which this work is noticed, only so far as relates to some portions immediately connected with the subject, and which are *distinctly stated*, as supported by M. de Wette." The *position* indeed may be *stated distinctly*, but it still remained for the sacred critic to have assured himself, that it had the exact bearing upon the general *system* of the work, which the professional reviewer ascribes to it; and as upon this subject, our author himself has admitted, in the very same paragraph, that "a *system* known only through the medium of a Review, must *necessarily* be stated *indistinctly* and imperfectly, and possibly may be misunderstood and misinterpreted," we cannot but regret that this excellent biblicist should not have taken some pains (and a few only would have been sufficient) to have obtained a copy of the entire work.

The morality of the destruction of the Canaanites is chiefly supported by the able argument of Dr. Watson; the Mosaic miracles are tried by the ordeal of Dr. Leslie, and proved by their standing this powerful test; while the pretended miracles of the magicians are accounted for on the theory advanced by Dr. Farmer. Upon the general belief of a future state among the Jews, and the existence of such belief, as a doctrine expressly taught by Moses and the Prophets, our author is completely at variance with the celebrated author of the divine legation, whom he accuses of self-contradiction in some passages, in which we have not been able to discover such inconsistency. There is too much stress, in our opinion, laid upon this point; it is of little consequence to the truth, either of the Jewish or the Christian Scriptures, whether a future state were generally admitted among the Hebrews; or whether "life and immortality were (in the strictest sense of the expression) brought to light by the Gospel:" and we are much afraid that many of the testimonies or authorities brought forward on this occasion by Dr. Graves, might be turned against himself. If Solomon appear to allude to this tenet in some passages, there are others so directly in opposition to it, that he is one of the weakest testimonies that could have been adduced or adverted to; and it was not without much surprise that we found the book of Ecclesiastes pointed out as "a work of which this doctrine is the basis." David appears, certainly, to have imbibed such a belief very fully; but it seems considerably to have lost ground among

among the Jewish monarchs after his time; and our author's own learned countryman, bishop Stock, has maintained, in his Isaiah, that it was altogether unknown, or altogether discredited in the reign of Hezekiah, and even by this exemplary prince himself. Nor is it without some degree of astonishment that we find the text in Job, "I know that my Redeemer liveth, &c." appealed to upon the present question, as a full proof of the truth of our author's assertion, without the smallest notice that this passage is almost uniformly understood in a different sense in the present day, by scholars of every nation; upon which subject we would again beg leave to recommend to Dr. Graves' attention, the version of his learned countryman, the bishop of Killala; as also to recal to his memory, that even Calvin could scarcely bring himself to the common interpretation of this sublime and exquisite passage, so contradictory is it to almost every other passage that contains any allusion to the same doctrine in the same book; and so much coercion there must be made use of to extract the sense of *redemptor meus* (in the general meaning of the term) from גאלי: so that we are afraid the assertion of Reiske must stand uncontroverted, though we would gladly controvert it, and believe with Dr. Graves, if we could, *dicam nempe neque invenisse, neque inveniri posse hoc in loco, liquida certe resurrectionis mortuorum indicia et argumenta.* Yet these are limited blemishes, few in number, and of no great moment. The work, as a whole, is of intrinsic value; the matter clearly arranged; the subject well argued; the language plain and perspicuous; the result highly satisfactory and convincing.

"A General and Connected View of the Prophecies relative to the Conversion, Restoration, Union, and Future Glory of the Houses of Judah and Israel. By the Rev. George Stanley Faber, B. D. 2 vols. 8vo." None who have of late years perused this journal, and perhaps few who have not, are altogether ignorant of the laudable attemps of Mr. Faber to investigate the real meaning of the scriptural predictions, and to reconcile them with the progress of actual events. The work before us is a continuation of his general scheme, and should, perhaps, have formed its commencement; it is an attempt to harmonize the prophecies of the Old Testament with those of the New, and especially of the Revelations, and to prove that the general train of prolepsis that runs throughout the Hebrew scriptures has a literal, and scarcely ever a spiritual reference to the house of Israel, whenever it relates to this extraordinary people. Of course the present work embraces, in its fullest extent and most direct meaning, the final restoration of the Jews; and the ingenious writer conjectures that Great Britain is perhaps destined to be the honoured instrument of accomplishing this glorious event. It may be so; but at present we can perceive little or no foundation for this last conjecture. Perhaps there is no *Christian* country in which the Jews are so much despised as in our own, notwithstanding the liberal spirit of the times, and the freedom of sentiment which is secured to every inhabitant by the British constitution. It is the only country in the world in which they have been actually denationalized in deference to popular clamour: in Germany they are treated with more respect, whether

whether in its catholic or protestant principalities; in Russia they possess a liberty of purchasing and bequeathing freehold possessions; and in France are admissible to the highest dignities of the empire. Bonaparte, indeed, has given evident proofs, upon different occasions, of a wish to be regarded as the Cyrus, as well as the Alexander of his day; and we think he has a fairer claim to be considered as the instrument actually employed by Providence to accomplish this important event, than any other potentate. Not, indeed, that he is personally ambitious of fulfilling any other designs than his own wicked ones; but that, in a variety of instances, ignorant as he is of the fact, he is the powerful vehicle of carrying into effect the mysterious plans of the Almighty, and of making, in the great issue which is yet hid from us, the wrath of man to praise him.

With regard to the prophecies actually contained upon this subject in the Old Testament, there is such a wonderful resemblance and parallelism between the general style and manner, the bold and lofty imagery in which they are delivered, and especially in the books of Isaiah and Ezekiel, with the general style and manner, the bold and lofty imagery of the Revelations, as clearly to substantiate, that one same superintending and omniscient spirit influenced the different writers at the time of their respective productions, and directed them to one common issue: and whatever deficiency of proof there may be as to the composition of the last book by the Evangelist whose name it bears, this argument alone may go far to make up for such deficiency, and fully entitle it to rank among the universally accepted scriptures, the ὁμολογουμενος of the first ages of the church. The peculiar application, however, of the mystic number of 1260 years by the present writer, is a question of very different import, and upon this subject we are compelled to confess, that though we perceive much ingenuity in his reasoning, we can perceive nothing that possesses the stamp of assurance. We are afraid the true key has not yet been discovered—and are almost hopeless that the prophecies before us will be developed till faith is converted into vision by their actual and triumphant accomplishment.

We are still farther justified in this apprehension, in consequence of a similar work that now demands our notice, from the pen of "C. Goring, Esq. late of Bengal," entitled, "Thoughts upon that Part of Revelations which comprehends the History of the Western Empire of Europe, from the Commencement of Popery, to its overthrow in 1796, comprehending a series of 126 years." Here, too, the prophecies of various parts of the Old Testament, and especially of Daniel and Esdras, are attempted to be reconciled with those of the Apocalypse; and the whole are brought forward in conjunction, as affording a "clear explanation of the events which are now acting in Christendom." Mr. Goring, however, begins at the wrong end—and the title of his book, the question undertaken to be discussed, should have been its conclusion, as the fair and unequivocal result of such discussion. He *assumes* the principle, that the commencement and overthrow of popery, are positively described in a certain part of the Apocalypse; that the date of its origin is there stated to be the year of our Lord 536, and that of its destruction 1796; and that the scene of action immediately adverted

adverted to in this part of the Apocalypse is the "Western Empire of Europe." Now all this may be visible to him, but as it is not so to us, and we may add, to thousands, perhaps millions of Christians besides ourselves, it would have been as well in him first of all to have proved the fact, to have pointed out the grounds for such an assertion, instead of having merely *assumed* the whole, as the basis of the superstructure now offered. To render the present mode of interpretation correct, it is absolutely necessary that the "overthrow of popery" should have taken place in 1796, since with such fact, in such period, our author makes his series of 1260 years to be accurately consummated; nearly thirteen years, however, have now taken place since this period, and yet we still hear of popery and the pope. We still find by the newspapers that neither are altogether overthrown, and that Bonaparte is doing all he can to accomplish this point, in which he may probably succeed a few years hence. This, however, Mr. Goring tells us, is what he conceives to be the "only *true* mode of elucidating" the Revelations; and it has cost him ten years to complete the discovery of this *only true mode*. We are sorry to see moral worth and intellectual talent so frequently squandered away upon groundless fancies: upon cobweb speculations, that are dissipated by the first dawning of the historic facts appealed to.

"The doctrine of the Greek article applied to the criticism, and the illustration of the New Testament. By T. F. Middleton, A. M. (now D. D.) Rector of Tansor, &c. 8vo." This work evinces much and careful reading, and a very earnest desire to settle, as the result of such reading, a controversy of considerable magnitude, which has lately been introduced, or rather revived upon the proof afforded to the doctrine of the trinity, by the diacritical use and meaning of the Greek article in the New Testament. We have already had occasion to advert to this controversy in a former volume; and have noticed, in their regular order, the productions of Mr. Granville Sharpe, who originated the question, Dr. Burgess, Mr. Wordsworth, and the acute, but too sarcastic, and at times irreverend, author of "Six more Letters," with the signature of Gregory Blunt; the observations of which last, unless successfully combated by fresh aids and assistance, cannot fail, in a short time, to expel from the entire province of Greek philology, whether sacred or profane, the hypothesis that has been progressively carried forwards by the preceding writers.

Such then are the aids and assistance attempted to be afforded to this hypothesis by the work before us. Dr. Middleton assumes a much wider range than any of his predecessors; and instead of limiting his inquiries to the use and meaning of the article in the New Testament, and the earliest commentators on the New Testament, manfully and properly endeavours to ascertain its nature and origin, the design for which it was introduced into the Greek tongue, and its diacritical application by the most celebrated prophane writers, both prosaic and poetic. The work is, on this account, divided into two parts: the former being devoted properly to this genuine philological inquiry, which terminates in a thorough conviction on the part of the writer, "of the real identity of the article, and the pronoun 'O: and the latter to an examination of the different passages

of

of scripture whose translation would be affected by an application of this scholium, and a full and thorough conviction of the truth of Mr. Granville Sharp's hypothesis.

Here again, as in our last article, we cannot but lament at beholding so much ingenuity and research thrown away upon a subject which seems so little to demand it. With respect to the question, as a point of general philology, we have no hesitation in stating, that it is still left in as doubtful a state as ever: our author himself, indeed, is compelled to admit, that though the article is by its nature definite, it is not unfrequently used in an indefinite sense, the very point he has undertaken to oppose; since he cannot avoid allowing, that notwithstanding the "identity of the article and the pronoun 'O,' it often betrays a marked and prominent difference: being driven, as the only mode of escape, from so distressing a dilemma, to contend, that in such cases "the difference between the article and the pronoun is not *essential* but *accidental*." To us it is of no consequence what is the nature of the difference; for he who admits a difference *of any kind*, at once destroys "*the real identity*" of the two.

So far with regard to the question generally. As to its application to the scriptures of the New Testament, we are confident it must always be of little avail in the judgment of every discreet and sober critic: for if the argument in behalf of the doctrine of the trinity rest not on ground of a far more substantial nature than the doubtful meaning of a definite article, it can never be a doctrine of the high importance attributed to it by Christians in general; while, if it have such ground of a more substantial nature to rest upon, why should its advocates be hunting about for a support it by no means stands in need of? Why prop up the stately column with a buttress of straw? Why unnecessarily surround it with vulnerable parts, and give the disbeliever of the doctrine an opportunity of triumphing upon a point of no essential consequence in itself?—Upon the whole, we have little difficulty in admitting, with Grotius, that the Greek of the New Testament was never designed to be diacritically correct according to every rule and scholium of the grammarians—we have little difficulty in conceding τα αρθρα *sæpe poni ubi opus, non est, et sæpe omitti ubi ex usu ponerentur.* And, next, it would have been of essential consequence for our author to have shewn, not only that the Greek language in which the sacred scriptures are communicated to us, is compiled with the most scrupulous exactitude of article and particle; but that the same diacritic signs actually existed in the language spoken by our Saviour himself, and that the same distinctive attention was paid to them which is contended for in the Greek narrative. What that language was, it may perhaps be difficult to ascertain: we only know that it was the language of the country, but certainly neither Greek nor Hebrew: a kind of Syriac perhaps, corrupted by something of an incorporation with both.

"Illustrations of the Four Gospels, founded on circumstances peculiar to our Lord and the Evangelists: by John Jones." There is a simplicity of explanation, a clear and connective method of applying one scripture fact to the elucidation of another, which, with few exceptions, runs through this volume, that cannot fail of promoting much of the laudable and pious object the learned writer has in view. It has too often happened

happened in the Christian church, that the scholar forms his theological system and opinions, not in the first instance from the scriptures themselves, but from the train of his own literary researches, and afterwards calls in the scriptures to the support of such system, which are not unfrequently bent and biassed for this particular purpose. The avowed plan of Mr. Jones is altogether of an opposite character; he first undertakes to study the scriptures as a clear and perspicuous record of facts and doctrines in themselves; and only has recourse to his literary treasures as an exemplification of what the scriptures primarily unfold. It cannot, however, be said that our author is altogether chastised from a pre-conceived theory: the doctrine of an association of ideas is the ground-work of the greater part of his commentary—the master-key which he applies to unlock every difficulty: and though dextrous in the use of it, he sometimes applies it without success, and it obviously fails in his hands. In a few instances, also, we think he is led away by his own learning; and deserts the simplicity of the text, for an unnecessary abstruseness of interpretation. When our Lord describes the Pharisees as *wolves* in sheep's clothing, who is there that does not at once perceive the force and propriety of the simile? When he denounces them as a generation of *vipers*, the simile is indeed changed, but it is still equally intelligible and obvious. Mr. Jones, however, thinks differently; in this last case; and supposes that our Saviour alludes to certain philosophical tenets, which he ascribes to those abominable hypocrites which "inclined them to become the advocates of an impure and unholy being, namely, the *serpent*, which the Egyptians worshipped as the symbol of wisdom, and which, from the beginning, they opposed to the God of the Jews. This, continues he, seems to have been the principal reason why the Baptist and our Lord stigmatized the Scribes and Pharisees, whom they foresaw would become apostles from the truth, as *generations of vipers*, Matt. iii. 7. xii. 34. John viii. 44. and why they were afterwards called *ophitæ* or *serpentists*." It does not appear to us, however, that the sect of the *Pharisees* was ever thus denominated, though the term was applied to heretics of a particular class. We should certainly have as soon expected to have seen our Saviour's declaration "I am the *true vine*," philosophized and mythologized, as the expression *generation of vipers*: since the ingenuity of the learned author might readily have brought him materials for proving that our Saviour meaned by this expression to contrast himself with the great heathen deity, who was also worshipped under the emblem of a *vine*, and denominated indifferently *Chus*, *Bacchus*, or rather *Bar-chus*, ברכוס, Dionysius, Osyris, and the immortal offspring of Semela:—who was adored in India, as the *light* of the world, the sun himself;—and by the Achaians was painted with *wings*, to typify his heavenly nature, and worshipped under the name of Psila or Acratus. The parallel might have been pursued *ad libitum*, and, we think, would have afforded as satisfactory an explanation as the preceding.—To the "Illustrations" is added an Appendix divided into four sections; the first two designed as a refutation (and in our opinion forming an able one) of Mr. Marsh's well-known hypothesis to account for the harmony of the gospels: the third a refutation of Mr. Farmer's hypothesis of our Saviour's temptation: and the fourth containing "Remarks,

"Remarks on the Greek article in the New Testament:" well worthy of Mr. Middleton's attention, and replete with proofs of the fallacy of his argument.

"Observations on various Passages of Scripture, originally compiled by the Rev. Thomas Harmer, from relations incidentally mentioned in books of voyages and travels into the East:—fourth edition: with a new arrangement, many important additions, and innumerable corrections, by Adam Clarke, L. L. D. 4 vols. 8vo." The first three editions of this valuable work are become so exceedingly scarce, that we should have hailed the appearance of a fourth, even if it had been a re-impression alone. But the edition before us contains so much new and important matter, that it may be almost regarded as an original work; and is fully entitled to be noticed in the present place, though nothing but some very peculiar circumstance can ever induce us to take cognizance of a work otherwise than on its first appearance. For the task before us, the present editor is peculiarly qualified; and he has certainly very much increased the value of the "Observations" by the manner in which he has re-introduced them to the public. In their original shape the third and fourth volumes were printed in a detached form from the two preceding, and the reader was hence compelled to run through the whole, before he became acquainted with every passage that was advanced upon any particular subject. In the present edition the entire text is incorporated into one common series; and the language, which is so often uncouth in the original, is in many cases corrected and rendered more euphonous. We wish, indeed, that our editor had carried his revising hand to a still greater extent in this particular; for we still meet with many quaintnesses and aukward idioms, that mar the sterling value of the work, and render it less attractive to the reader than it would be in a more elegant form. For the rest, Dr. Clarke shall speak for himself, as the passage we refer to is short. "About the time I began this work, fortunately the two first (first two) volumes of the former edition, once the property of the late Dr. Russell, fell into my hands. These I found to contain a great number of valuable notes, written in the margin with his own hand, generally confirming and farther elucidating the observations of Mr. Harmer. Dr. Russell had read Mr. Harmer's work with great attention, and re-considered not only the facts for which he was quoted by Mr. Harmer, but likewise the general tenor of the work; and from his long and extensive acquaintance with the natural history, customs, manners, &c. of the East, and his reverence for the sacred writings, he was qualified beyond most, to cast light upon every subject discussed in the 'Observations.' His invaluable, though short remarks, I have taken care to introduce in their proper places, referring them always to their author." Independently of the marginal manuscript notes of Dr. Russel, we also meet with occasional important matter from Shaw, who was but little dipped into by Mr. Harmer, Sonnini, Anquetil du Perron, Bruce, Buchanan, and Jackson. A few brief memoirs of the life of the original author are prefixed; and a useful index is appended of the Hebrew, Chaldee, Arabic, and Greek words explained in the preceding pages, as also of the various texts referred to and illustrated.

"An Illustration of the General Evidence establishing the reality of Christ's Resurrection: by George Cook,

Cook, A. M. 8vo." This work is drawn up with sound sense, shrewd reasoning, and in a liberal spirit: its language is perspicuous, and, for the most part, elegant: and the plan proposed by the writer is, "to examine the evidence for the reality of the resurrection; to determine whether that evidence be sufficient to produce a rational and steady belief." In the developement of this plan the general evidence is deduced from the following sources. "1. From the prophecies of Jesus, that at a certain time he was to rise from the dead, conjoined with his wisdom. 2. From the fact that at this precise time his body was, by the confession of all who had access to know, not to be found in the sepulchre in which it had been laid, although the most effectual precaution had been taken to prevent its removal. 3. From the positive testimony of the disciples, that after this time they frequently saw him, conversed with him, and received from him those instructions upon which they acted in publishing his gospel. 4. From the success which attended their preaching, founded upon the alleged fact that he had actually risen."

"The Life of St. Paul, as related in Scripture, &c. by Joseph Gurney Bevan, 8vo." This volume is highly creditable to the classical education which has of late years been introduced into the higher ranks of the Quaker community, of which Mr. Bevan is a distinguished member. The method pursued is founded on that introduced several years ago by Professor White, and since copied by various other writers; and consists in arranging the different Epistles of St. Paul into those parts of his biography to which they are usually supposed to belong; so that the whole succeeds in one continued chronological order. The work is enriched with a variety of original notes, critical explanations in relation to persons and places, and a well drawn map of the countries through which the Apostle travelled. Many of the notes discover a degree of critical acumen which no graduate need be ashamed of; and the whole sufficiently evinces that the writer is well acquainted with his subject, and ardently desirous of extending a knowledge of it, from a conviction of its high and intrinsic importance.

"Remarkable Particulars in the Life of Moses, including the *interesting* History of the Israelites from their state of bondage in Egypt, until their arrival at the borders of Canaan; by John Campbell, 12mo." Among other "remarkable particulars" of this "interesting history," we may mention the following animated exclamation of the writer:—"well may *this* place be termed the Wilderness of Sin, for much *sin* was committed by Israel *there*!" Is this a pun, or a serious explanation? is it wit or ignorance? We have heard morever of such elegant expressions as "*this here*,"—and "*that there* place:"—but *this there* place was an *interesting* novelty reserved for the present biographer of Moses, and historiographer of the Israelites, to press into notice, and found a reputation upon—*ære perennius*.

"The Fathers of the English Church; or a Selection from the Writings of the Reformers and early Protestant Divines of the Church of England. Vol. I. and II. 8vo." This is a periodical publication of considerable value; and the more valuable because it is periodical, and published first in monthly fascicles, and next in volumes, of which each contains eight fascicles. It is designed

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to give an explicit account of the lives and sentiments of the chief divines of the established church, who immediately preceded and were contemporary with the reformation. If this work be conducted, as we trust it will, with impartiality, it will be an excellent guide to our becoming acquainted with the real sentiments of the English reformers upon those points in our church articles which have been differently interpreted, and ascribed to different systems. The lives which are given at the greatest length in the present volumes are those of Tindal, Frith, and Barnes, Lancelot, Ridley, and Latimer: to these are to succeed immediately the lives and works of Cranmer, Hooper, Nicholas Ridley, Bradford, Jewel, &c.

"Essays on the First Principles of Christianity; on the method of establishing sound doctrine from the sacred oracles, and on the different senses of scripture terms: by James Smith. Dundee, 8vo." This is the commencement of a work which, when concluded, will consist of another, perhaps, of two other volumes. The author's intention is, to promote unanimity amongst Christians of different denominations, by shewing that they have not only one common basis, but that they concur in admitting all those doctrines which are uniformly allowed to be most essential to the Christian scheme; and that, in regard to many of the rest, the difference rather results from embracing different senses of equivocal passages in scripture, or terms that leave room for a variable interpretation, than from antagonism upon any one doctrine clearly and universally expressed. The foundation-stone of our author's reasoning appears to be given in the following postulate:—"The gospel is addressed to rational creatures who acknowledge the fundamental doctrines of morality; and therefore no person can be qualified to receive benefit from revelation until he understands those first principles on which Christianity is built. The knowledge of numeration is not more necessary in order to be taught arithmetic, than an acquaintance with natural religion in order to understand revelation. Christianity illustrates the laws and doctrines of morality, as fundamental principles, and enforces them from new motives." We are persuaded that no man can much more essentially serve the genuine cause of Christianity, than he who undertakes to unfold the perfect harmony that subsists between natural and revealed religion, the doctrines of morality and of the gospel: and so far the present writer is entitled to our thanks. But in stepping forward, as he appears to do, to make a regular and systematic initiation into the principles of natural religion, an absolute requisite towards a knowledge of Christianity, he is advancing an opinion which can never be defended, and the incongruity and even absurdity of which must be obvious from pursuing it to its legitimate consequences: for if a knowledge of ethics or theism be as necessary to a knowledge of revelation, as a knowledge of numeration is towards that of arithmetic, then it should follow that the best theist or ethical philosopher must be essentially and necessarily the best Christian—an assertion disproved by thousands and ten thousands of unhappy instances to the contrary. We have only space to observe farther, that the author's plan is divided into three parts, the first comprehending "articles necessarily implied in the belief that Christianity is established by divine authority:" the second, "rules to be

be observed in expounding the scriptures, with an explication of theological terms;" which alone are discussed in the volume before us: and the third, which is to be the subject of a subsequent publication, observations tending "to arrange and illustrate a number of such doctrines as are generally admitted by all denominations of protestants."

"Studies Sacred and Philosophic; adapted to the Temple of Truth; 8vo." We noticed in our last volume a whimsical and fanciful work, possessed, at the same time, of some pretensions to taste, and not deficient in general correctness of style, published anonymously under the title of the "Temple of Truth." It is to this "Temple" that the "*Studies*" before us refer: the term being used in the sense of the artist rather than of the philosopher, and implying a variety of separate and unconnected *pictures* designed to adorn the aforesaid "Temple of Truth," by being added to its different compartments, than a series of profound and logical research. The writer, we should think, must have commenced his *studies* with the allegorical poets of Italy, and especially with the *Triumphs* of Petrarc, to which the emblematic paintings before us, though the work is in prose, bear a very considerable resemblance: and to those who are fond of spiritual hieroglyphics and allegories, this volume, or rather these *Studies*, may afford entertainment. The *soi-disant* hierophant has given evident proofs of initiation into the mysteries of his profession, and is well calculated to show off the interior of his *Temple* to advantage. The work commences with a few "preliminary *fragments*;" and these unfold to us three distinct studies, entitled, "the eternal *basis* of the Temple of Truth;"—"*Pillars* of strength and beauty for the Temple of Truth;" and "the magnificent dome of the Temple of Truth, with its sixteen grand compartments." It is to the decorations of these sixteen compartments that the work is principally devoted. The chief painter is St. Paul; the most favourite figure, and that exhibited under the greatest variety of forms is, "Divine Grace," represented as possessed of charms infinitely superior to those which rendered the Eve of Milton so lovely as she came immediately from the creating hand of heaven, all spotless and enchanting. "Might I advance a step farther, continues our allegorical interpreter, I would add, that this is *the sort of* being (we are astonished at such a vulgarism upon such an occasion) I would choose for my associate and friend, to accompany me to the presence and seat of the great Judge of all."

"Judgment and Mercy for Afflicted Souls; or Meditations, Soliloquies, and Prayers: by Francis Quarles: a new edition, with a biographical and critical introduction: by Reginalde Wolfe, Esq. 8vo." This is a very valuable edition of a work that having been highly popular at the period of its first publication, soon afterwards sunk into obscurity, and is now re-ascending to its pristine favour. We do not speak of this fact as very creditable to the *taste* of the present day, but it may perhaps be creditable to its piety. There is, unquestionably, a considerable degree of merit in the writings of Francis Quarles, but it is so much intermixed with quaintnesses and conceits, so stiffened and stilted with forced and far-fetched metaphors, as to destroy, by its viciousness of style, half the merit of its genius and originality. We notice the present edition on account of the new matter

it contains. Mr. Wolfe has proved himself a useful commentator and critic, and his introduction will not be read without interest.

"Dictionary of the Scripture Proper Names, wherein the words are accentuated and divided into syllables, with the pronunciation and meaning annexed; to which are prefixed, Remarks respecting the pronunciation, etymology, and accentuation of the English language: by the Rev. James Creighton, A. B. 12mo." There is something of a jumble in this title, considering the smallness of the work itself, which shews that two points essentially different, and without any natural connexion, are attempted to be united in a nut-shell. The lexicographic part of the volume will be found useful to the English reader, who is unacquainted with the usual mode of pronouncing scripture names; yet we find a variety of improper accents propagated through this dictionary from preceding writers; improper, at least, as they appear to ourselves; for it is well known to every Hebraist, that the mode of accenting a great multitude of terms in the Old Testament, must after all be arbitrary from our total want of a Hebrew prosody. But more than this, we perceive occasional errors in the derivation, and of course in the explanation, of names which are of a less venial complexion. The "Remarks" are for the most part trite and irrelevant, and relate to points that have been brought forwards a thousand times before, or to objections that admit of no cure.

"A New Version of the Psalms in blank verse; with a Latin Version of the 8th Psalm, in Alcaic verse: by the Rev. Thomas Dennis, 12mo." This can scarcely be called so truly a *new version*, as a *new* attempt *in verse*: for it consists of little more than a rendering of our common standard translation into iambic decasyllables without rhyme; and often, as it appears to us, with far less poetic fire, and even melody, than we meet with in the ordinary prose measure. The Latin Alcaic is a specimen of a respectable acquaintance with Latin prosody.

"A Selection of Psalms, adapted to the service of a Parochial Church: from various authors, 12mo." While the music of psalmody has met with perpetual encouragement in our own country, so that much of the best and sublimest music we possess, is of a public devotional kind, less encouragement has been given to put us into possession of poetry equal to the music. In the opinion of Dr. Johnson, indeed, devotional subjects are not calculated for poetic effusions; an opinion, than which, none was ever more erroneous: the poetry of the Hebrew bards alone is sufficient to prove the enormity of this mistake: and among ourselves we have a variety of instances to the contrary in all the attempts of Mr. Addison, and in many of those of later devotional poets. Much of the best poetry of the Greeks and Romans is that which relates to their mythology, and was in those days regarded as of a devotional cast; and it would be no compliment to the religion of the Jews and Christians, to its sublimity, its comprehensive extent, to the magnificent as well as the pathetic subjects it embraces, to conceive that it is not as capable of giving birth to poetic enthusiasm, to a dithyrambic force of imagery as the religion of Greece and Rome. In the volume before us, we are not offended by the meagreness and vulgarity so often to be met with in other collections: but there is little of superior excellence; and we are still

still tempted to exclaim, *paulo majora canamus.*

We proceed to the "Discourses" and "Sermons" of the year; and shall open our account with a publication as extraordinary as any that we have almost ever met with, whether we regard the extent of the work, the paucity of the means by which it has been effected, or the persevering and triumphant industry of the individual, who, in his own person alone, planned, copied, printed, and published it. The literary curiosity we allude to is entitled,

"A System of Divinity, in a course of *Sermons* on the First Institutions of Religion; on the Being and Attributes of God; on some of the most important articles of the Christian Religion, in connexion: and on the several virtues and vices of mankind, with occasional *Discourses.* Being a compilation from the best *sentiments of the polite writers*, and eminent sound divines, both ancient and modern, on the same subjects, properly connected, with improvements, particularly adapted for the use of *chief families* and students in divinity, for churches, and for the benefit of mankind in general: by the Rev. Wm. Davy, A.B. Lustleigh, Devon, 8vo. TWENTY-SIX VOLUMES: 1795: 1807." The title-page is a fair specimen of the work itself: it is loose, undigested, of fatiguing extent, loaded with inaccuracies; containing a variety of detached passages, strung together without order; of references to writers who have no common connection or bond of union: but the whole proceeding from the best of motives, though the worst of judgments. In all this, however, many of our readers may be induced to reply, there is nothing extraordinary, if we except the enormous extent of the work. It becomes us then to state, that the "*system* of divinity," as it is here most erroneously called, was projected by its indefatigable compiler nearly thirty years ago, who selected, arranged, and copied the whole of the matter with his own hands, so as to have completed this first series of his undertaking about the year 1804, at which period the M.S. was shewn to the writer's diocesan, Dr. Ross; but who could not conscientiously encourage him to persevere in his intention of printing it. Yet the mind of Mr. Davy was not to be repressed by small difficulties: and hence, notwithstanding this repulse, he set to work, and having obtained a few subscriptions, put three or four of the volumes to press (if we mistake not) at Exeter. From *some cause or other* (for Mr. Davy has never been able to ascertain the exact motive) the subscriptions soon fell off, and the expence of a regular printer could be no longer supported. Our laborious and intrepid curate therefore paid off his printer, and resolved upon taking the entire management of the printing craft upon himself; and for this purpose wisely adapting his means to his end, he purchased at a small expence a set of old worn-out type, and an old worn-out press, and commenced this Herculean labour in 1795, with a second, but certainly not an immaculate edition of his works. Of the first three hundred pages, he worked off forty copies, and generously gave away twenty-six of them to the universities, the Royal Society, several of our bishops, and some of our reviews, from a firm and honourable persuasion that every work of intrinsic value ought to be thus honourably distributed, and be preserved in our national archives for the benefit of future generations. From several

of these quarters Mr. Davy received in return an acknowledgment of his present; but from none of them does he appear to have received any other *acknowledgment*. He was nevertheless resolved to persist; and having, from the magnitude of his liberality, retained for his own use not more than *fourteen* out of the *forty* copies he commenced with printing off, he persevered with this number, and towards the close of last year, completed his entire *system*, and worked off not less than the aforesaid number of *twenty-six* octavo volumes; the whole edition consisting of only *fourteen* copies: his means not allowing him to become a purchaser of a stock of paper sufficient for a larger impression; and even to accomplish this he has been obliged to study the utmost frugality in his domestic economy: *parcè ergò*, says he, *et moderatè vixi et moderatè vivendo (Ingenio manibusque laborans) satis rerum contraxi, ut republicarem; (i. e.) ad materias acquirendum scilicet detritos, et abjectos Typos a Typographo, quod sufficiebant ad duas paginas, unâ semèl a me excusâ. Nullum Typographum, in adjutorem, habeo; et prelum Typographicum ipse effeci!*

Our readers will perceive by this extract from Mr. Davy's preface, that he has also a desire to be celebrated as a scholar, as well as applauded as a composer and compositor. In effect he appears to have an *equal* portion of talents in every way; his selections are without taste, and his Latinity is just of a piece with his typography. How much is it to be lamented that a man thus richly and nobly endowed with an ardent and indefatigable spirit, should have mistaken so completely the path in which such a spirit might have been employed with success. Educated in our navy, he might have been a Nelson; in our mechanics, a Watt, or an Arkwright; but in his present situation and pursuits, we are afraid he will never be able to do more than to perpetuate his own simplicity; and exhaust an assiduity that, properly directed, would do honour to any man, upon schemes and tasks unworthy of a moment's attention.

"An Attempt to prove the Truth of Christianity, from the Wisdom displayed in its original establishment, and from the History of false and corrupted systems of Religion; in a series of Discourses preached before the University of Oxford, in the year 1808, at the lecture founded by the late Rev. John Bampton. By John Penrose, M. A. &c. 8vo." The Bampton lecture, originating from the best possible motive, has given birth to some of the best sermons in the English language. The popular style of Dr. White, and his very able coadjutor, directed to a very important inquiry, tended many years ago to establish its reputation; and the admirable specimen of clear connective ratiocination, as well as of genuine, impartial history, while wading through an era, in which truth can with difficulty be separated from bigotry and error, that runs through every page of Dr. Laurence's labours of a later date, has finished the character towards which this lecture was already making a rapid progress. The Discourses before us assimilate rather with the former than the latter; yet the style is less euphonous and persuasive, though the argument is equally perspicuous, and its historic supports equally impregnable. The title-page justly characterises the contents of the volume, and divides it into two parts; 1st, The wisdom displayed in the original establishment of Christianity, which is proved

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in a series of discourses by its "enlarged and liberal character wisely suited, not to the narrow interests of ambitious individuals, but to the nature and condition of mankind"—by the means selected for its propagation—means which an enthusiast or impostor not only would not have chosen, but could not have devised. And 2dly, The history of false and corrupted systems of religion; in discussing which, the lecturer has chiefly descanted on "the rise of papal tyranny," and "the important features by which the society of the Jesuits was distinguished; the profligacy of its moral discipline; and, the bright contrast which is apparent in the character of Christ." The more fastidious of our readers may object, perhaps, to this last subject of discussion, as one long since worn out, and on the point of oblivion. It should be remembered, however, that the ground to which the Bampton lecture is limited, has been so often trodden over before, that it is difficult to strike out a new path; independently of which, as this lecture is intended to subserve a scholastic rather than a popular purpose, the general design can never be fully completed till the sophistry and self-interest of Jesuitism, Jansenism, and various other adulterate professions are probed and exposed to the day-light.

"Sermons on various occasions: by the Rev. Wm. Agutter, A. M. &c. 8vo." The very respectable author of these sermons is too well known, and too extensively revered to stand in need of the approbation of this or any other critical journal. We shall therefore only add, that the subjects here discussed are for the most part of deep and universal importance; that the style is neat, perspicuous, and animated; the argument, where argument is introduced, close, connected, and weighty; and the application well-directed and impressive.

"Sermons, Controversial and Practical, with Reflections and Tracts on interesting subjects: by the late Rev. Philip Skelton, Rector of Finlona, &c. re-published by the Rev. Samuel Clapham, M. A. Vol. I. 8vo." We rejoice to see a publication of the works of this excellent divine in our own country, Ireland alone having hitherto sent forth so rich a treasure from her press. The Sermons offered in the present volume are twenty in number: the subjects as follow. "Origin of Faith."—"Infidelity of the heart."—"Belief in God dictated by reason."—"Firmness in the faith."—"The true Christian both dead and alive."—"The benefit of meditation."—"The efficacy of example."—"On conformity to the world."—"The wisdom of the world."—"The punishment of profligacy"—"The seductions of Arianism."—"A friendly remonstrance with the dissenters."—"Vanity of vanities."—"On marriage."—"How happiness is to be attained in marriage."—"On Confirmation."—"The duty of bishops."—"Compassion to the French Protestant refugees recommended."—"A Sermon for the Magdalen Asylum."—The animated and glowing eloquence which inspirits almost every page of these discourses—the sacred vehemence, and at the same time, the pure, unsullied liberality and benevolence so uniformly evinced, should claim for them a place in the closet or family library of every sincere Christian.

"Sermons on various subjects: by John Bidlake, Chaplain to their Royal Highnesses the Prince of Wales and Duke of Clarence, 8vo." Mr. Bidlake we have heretofore met under

under various characters as a writer; and it is no common praise than under every character he has been respectable. The volume before us is designed, we suppose, rather to interest by a graceful and descriptive diction, than by close catenation of reasoning; to impress rather than to convince; and to please all men, if by any means it may save some.—Viewed in this direction it may answer a valuable purpose; for there are some whom it would be difficult to attack by any other mode of warfare. Yet it must be confessed that it is composed chiefly of *light* troops, and *light* armour; and is best (perhaps *only*) calculated for occasional skirmishing. Its subjects, which are sixteen, are the following: "On the Spring of the Year."—"On the Summer."—"On the Autumn."—"On the Winter."—"On the Omnipresence of God."—"On the Worship of God."—"On the Sabbath."—"On the Pharisee and the Publican."—"On the attainment of Salvation."—"On a peaceable disposition."—"On the one thing needful."—"A visitation Sermon."—"On the occasion of a school-meeting."—"On the education of children."—"Against profane swearing."—"On discontent."

"Lectures on the History of Joseph: by George Lawson, D. D. 2 vols. 12mo." Dr. Lawson is well known to the Christian world as an excellent expositor of the Old Testament Scriptures, from his previous Lectures on the books of Esther and Ruth; and the honourable fame he has hereby acquired will by no means be diminished by the work before us, which we can cordially recommend to the younger branches of every family, as explaining in chaste and simple language, accompanied with pertinent and important observations, one of the most affecting narratives in the whole scope of the Bible.

"Sermons on the Practical Obligations of a Christian Life, for the use of families: by the Rev. Thorne Robertson, L. L. B. 2 vols. 8vo." This work consists of fifty discourses on subjects that, as the title truly describes them, are *practical* rather than *doctrinal*. In another point, however, the title appears to err—for instead of being fairly graduated for *family* use, they are rather adapted to the meridian of a popular pulpit, and a crowded and fashionable audience. Long as the list of prescribed duties is, more might certainly be taught than is here taught, without overstepping the precincts of the Christian pale: it becomes us, nevertheless, to add, that if only one half were practised which is here enjoined, the world would be the better for it; and if it were practised in consequence of these volumes, the preacher would not have laboured in vain; we trust, indeed, he will not labour in vain as it is. Yet we cannot avoid observing, that they seem to offer us a toy-shop rather than a mint: there is much display of splendid finery, but with less of sterling and substantial value than we could have wished.

"Sermons on various subjects: by Wm. Craig, D. D. late Minister of St. Andrew's Church, Glasgow, 2 vols. 8vo." Dr. Craig published most of these Sermons during his life-time. The present edition, however, contains about a third part of new matter independently of an introductory biography. The style is fluent, and more correct than we generally meet with from the Scottish pulpit. The subjects introduced are ably handled upon the plan laid down by the venerable author, but this plan is certainly rather speculative than doctrinal; rather addressed

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to the head, than designed to impress the heart. In few words, it is purposely calculated to the meridian in which these sermons were preached—to an assembly of philosophic students, rather than a congregation of simple and uninformed parishioners.

"Four Sermons preached in London at the *fourteenth* General Meeting of the Missionary Society, May 11, 12, 13, 1808, by the Rev. John Campbell, D. D. Edinburgh; Rev. Richard Pearsall Allen, Exeter; Rev. Robert Winter, London; and Rev. J. B. Longmire, L. L. B. Hargraave. Also the Report of the Directors, and the list of Subscribers, &c. 8vo." There can be no doubt of the excellence of the motive upon which this institution is founded, nor of the desirable nature of the object it has in view. But alas! how much easier is it to form schemes for *good* as well as for *evil* purposes, than to perfect their execution. Upwards of fourteen years have now revolved since the society before us was first established; yet how little progress has been made towards that glorious consummation which was rapturously looked forward to by its benevolent founders as an early reward of their zeal and exertions! What is the cause of this inefficacy? Is the plan inconsistent with the *present* purposes of divine Providence? or is there some latent defect in itself that unhappily frustrates its own intentions? We are most inclined to believe the latter: we are persuaded that barbarians are only to be schooled into moral practices and religious creeds through the omnipotent motive of self-interest: they must be first civilized and taught to live comfortably here, before they will seriously open their hearts to lessons designed to teach them how to live happily hereafter. The only mode of obtaining an influence over their minds, now that miracles no longer exist, is by shewing the superiority of cultivated over savage life; by agriculture, and mechanics; and their valuable and stupendous results: knowledge is power under all circumstances; but under these circumstances more than under any other. This is the most forcible mode of preaching that can ever be adopted amidst barbarians; and a beginning being thus laid, they will afterwards open their ears, and greedily drink in the most recondite doctrines that can be proposed to them. The Sermons before us are replete with different ideas: the plan is not now to be tried; it has been tried, and it has not succeeded. The lamp of hope, however, is still burning; and the various preachers in the present pamphlet, are rivalling each other how to trim it best and brightest.

"Sermons occasioned by the sudden death of the Rev. Peter Thomson, late Minister of the Scotch Church, Leeds. To which is prefixed a Memoir of his Life: by Adam Thomson, Minister of the Associate Congregation in Coldstream, 8vo." These sermons are *four* in number, a longer series than we generally meet with from the same pen or the same pulpit, upon the death of the most exalted or the most distinguished character of a nation. But the preacher was a brother, and the deceased appears to have been highly worthy of his warmest affection. He is also represented as having been a "kind and *dutiful* husband, father, and protector:" a mistake that we should have altogether attributed to that carelessness of all embellishment and precision, which is the frequent result of severe grief, did we not perceive a somewhat superabundant studiousness

studiousness of ornament pervading the general scope of these discourses. We are sorry, however, to find that this worthy young Minister died not only *suddenly*, but in the prime of life, aged only twenty-seven, and that he has left "a *helpless* family."

From the busy swarm of single sermons that surround us, most of them of mere ephemeral existence, and which flutter but to die, we can only notice the following: "Serious Attention to Practical Holiness and Soundness of Doctrine considered in a Sermon preached June 1, 1808, at the visitation of the Rev. A. Burnaby, D.D. Archdeacon, &c. by the Rev. Thomas Robinson, A.M. &c. Leicester." A most admirable production; serious, impressive, energetic, and highly appropriate: the text, 1 Tim. iv. 16.—"On the propriety of preaching the Calvinistic doctrines, and the authorities for that practice." Preached also at Leicester before the same Archdeacon by the Rev. H. Ryder, M.A. Mr. Ryder strenuously opposes the idea that our established church is formed upon a Calvinistic creed, but he is less disposed to inform us what the basis actually is, whether Lutheran, Zuinglian, or original.---"The Church of England incompletely reformed:" a fast sermon, Feb. 17, 1808, by George Somers Clarke, D.D. Vicar of Great Waltham." It is of the nature of every human invention to betray imperfection of some kind or other: but though the Church of England makes no pretensions to impeccability, and in some points might admit of improvement, we have no desire to see it *reformed* by the preacher before us. Our standard Bible, also, in the opinion of Dr. Clarke, requires as much reformation as our standard church; and he has kindly given us a few specimens of the manner in which he would have both accomplished. France has not been more ruined by her reformation, than the Bible and the English Church would be by the speculations here advanced.---"The Character and Commendation of a Faithful Minister:" preached on the death of the Rev. John Newton, at St. Mary Woolnoth, by Richard Cecil, A.M. &c." Few men have passed through a more eventful life than the venerable character here commemorated, and fewer still perhaps have left life more generally and deservedly lamented. The death of Mr. Newton is here made the vehicle of much pious and useful reflection, in plain but impressive language. The very excellent preacher alludes to his having a volume of the *Memoirs* of his friend in the press, which have since made their appearance, and will be found noticed in the fourth chapter of this Retrospect. We are sorry to add, that he himself has since been severely visited by a paralytic affection, from which there is little prospect of his ever sufficiently recovering to resume his very valuable labours in the pulpit.---"Obstacles to Success in the Religious Education of Children; preached at a Monthly Association of Ministers and Churches, Jan. 7, 1808, by the Rev. R. Winter." It should seem from this discourse that the interest of what are called the regular dissenters is considerably on the decline; its chief drift being to point out the causes which are perpetually producing secessions in different directions: the methodists, it appears, are leading astray many; the established church receives some; and others seem to separate from a general indifference to every kind of religion.---"The Nature and Importance of a Good Education; preached Jan.

14, 1808, before the Promoters of the Protestant Dissenter's Grammar School, lately opened at Mill-Hill, Hendon: by David Bogue, A. M." We wish success to every institution which has for its object an initiation into useful and valuable knowledge, and the plan upon which the dissenting academy at Mill-Hill is founded, bids fair to answer this purpose better than several which have of late years been brought forward from the same quarter, and are already dwindled away, and forgotten. The character of Mr. Bogue as a preacher is well known; his language is vehement rather than correct; and his manner rather argumentative than embellished. The present address is well calculated to produce the object it has in view.---"The Iniquity of Witchcraft censured and exposed: being the substance of two Sermons delivered at Wurley, near Halifax, by T. Hawkins." This subject we never expected to have seen emerge from a black letter type: we are astonished that the infatuation here alluded to should prevail at this day in any part of the civilized world, and especially in any part of our own country; yet we doubt whether the pulpit is the most effectual means of dissipating the illusion. There is no harm, however, in trying.

The subject of attempting to introduce a knowledge of Christianity among the Hindus, to which we adverted at some length in our last literary retrospect, has still been a source of much warmth and bitterness of discussion. We have not perceived that the argument on the one side or the other has been put in any very new light, or advanced with much more cogency. The advantage of the Christian religion to every people and climate is admitted by both parties; the point at issue being whether the present be the proper season for attempting its introduction, considering the peculiar policy and classification of the Hindu casts. The chief writers in favour of an immediate attempt are Mr. J. W. Cunningham---"A late Resident in Bengal," and "A Bengal Officer." The chief writers against an immediate attempt are, "A late Resident at Bhagulpore," another "Bengal Officer"---and various anonymous respondents to Mr. Twining and Mr. Scott Waring. The general result appears to be, that though there are obstacles of a peculiar nature to a ready embrace of christianity by the Hindus, these obstacles are by no means so insurmountable as the adversaries of the proposal appear to insinuate.

From the pen of the very excellent Bishop of London we have received a proposal of a more practical nature, that of propagating a knowledge of christianity among the negroes of the *West Indies*, by an establishment of parochial schools in every parish of the West India islands, on the plan established by Dr. Bell at Madras. The venerable prelate, with his usual liberality, has offered to open a subscription for this purpose in his own diocese, to contribute 500l. in his own name immediately, and to double the sum when necessary.

The "Hints" of a Barrister "on the Nature and Effect of Evangelical Preaching," noticed in our last volume, has met with five or six answers. There are certainly some exceptionable passages in that work, and they have been attacked unsparingly: nevertheless, the replies are for the most part declamatory rather than argumentative, and turn upon points of trifling importance.

CHAP. II.

PHYSICAL AND MATHEMATICAL.

Comprehending Medicine and Surgery, Natural History, Agriculture, Chemistry, Experimental Philosophy, Mechanics, Mathematics, Geography, Astronomy, Fortifications.

WE devote the commencement of this chapter to those most important parts of physics, *etiology* and *hygiesis*, the causes of human disease, and the means of preserving health. And as no disease is so common, and none, notwithstanding its frequency and the pre-eminent attention that has been paid, so recondite and difficult of explanation as that of fever, we shall first notice

"Researches Anatomical and Practical, concerning Fever, as connected with inflammation: by Thos. Beddoes, M. D. 8vo." In our last year's literary retrospect, we announced a work on the same subject, by Dr. Clutterbuck, who endeavoured, with much ingenuity, to broach, or rather to revive the idea, that fever is a local affection, depending on a simple inflammation of the brain, a doctrine which, we observed, the documents and observations advanced in its favour by no means fully supported. The object of the work before us is of two kinds, first, to refute the doctrine thus advanced by Dr. Clutterbuck, and writers much earlier than himself, and next to substitute another opinion upon its ruins. The first is certainly not a difficult point to accomplish, and here our author is sufficiently successful; but when he attempts to supply the place of what we may be allowed to call the *phrenitic theory*, by a theory of a different kind, he only proves how much more easy it is to pull down a house than to build one up. In reality, the triumph over Dr. Clutterbuck is less complete upon the present system, than Dr. Beddoes seems to flatter himself; for after all, it is the *seat* of the cause, rather than the *cause* itself that is changed, and we have only to read *enteritic*, in the most expressive sense of that word for *phrenitic*, and all the rest will run parallel. The general course of the dissections invested by Dr. Clutterbuck, led him to conceive inflammation of the brain as the sole cause of indiopathic fever;—the course investigated by Dr. Beddoes leads him to refer it to inflammation of the stomach and collatitious viscera; the corollary he first deduces is, that "in idiopathic fever, the stomach and contiguous parts have been found more constantly and more deeply affected with inflammation than the brain and its membrane;" and from this general corollary, which in effect by no means warrants so general a conclusion, he infers that in all fevers, whether foreign or domestic, whether yellow or of a different hue, we have a right to assume inflammatory disposition in the abdominal viscera. And having ventured upon this assumption, his plan of treatment differs not materially, *mutatis mutandis*, from that of the phrenitic theorists. Inflammation being the supposed cause, venesection is the universal

universal antidote—largely and by the lancet, as advised by Dr. Clutterbuck—more sparingly and by relays of leeches, as recommended by the present writer. As to the rest, the observations are not essentially different from the routine of common practice. Upon the whole, we are much afraid we are just as deeply in the dark in regard to the actual and proegumenal cause of idiopathic fever, as before either of these theories were tendered to us: there is a *vis abdita quædam* which still eludes research, and baffles all inquiry; and without being acquainted with which, our practice must necessarily be rather empiric than methodic—must vary with varying, and oftentimes transient symptoms—must be dependent upon climate, upon temperament—upon habit—and a thousand other things which have no necessary connexion with the essential cause of fever, whatever they may have with its progress and result. And hence, finally, we ought not to be surprised at the good effects which we so frequently find produced by practices diametrically opposite to each other, by the stimulating plan of the Brownists, the debilitating plan of the writers before us; by the tonic practice pursued at Gibraltar, or the evacuant system so much vaunted of at Philadelphia.

"Modern medicine; containing a brief exposition of the principal discoveries and doctrines that have occasioned the recent advancement of medical philosophy; with strictures on the present state of medical practice, and an inquiry how far the principles of the healing art may become the subjects of unprofessional research: by David Uwins, M. D. 8vo." Under a loose and aukward title, this volume contains many just remarks. The writer acknowledges himself to have been formerly a professed Brownist, but would have us believe that he has for some years abjured its doctrines, and quitted its school. It may be so—but he has not quitted its language—a language imprecise, even when applied to an elucidation of the ideas for which it was formed, and hence, far more inaccurate and confused when employed to decipher other opinions and practices. Yet we have some doubt, whether Dr. Uwins does not a little deceive himself upon the subject of his real creed in medicine: there is every now and then "a longing, ling'ring look behind," which still betrays a secret bias of which he does not appear to be sensible. His work consists of nine chapters;—the first is merely introductory: the second, in less than twenty pages, professes to give us an "Historical Sketch of the Progress of Medical Discovery, from the fabulous æra of Egypt to the present day," from which nut-shell epitome it is obvious that no reader, whether professional or unprofessional, can gain any solid or effective information. The next chapter is entitled "Disquisition on the Nature of THEORY;" throughout the whole of which the writer seems to have completely forgotten his subject, for the word theory occurs but once in the whole course of the disquisition, and even then is introduced by mere incident. Instead of "a disquisition on the nature of *Theory*," this chapter should have been entitled "a disquisition on *Systems*"—unless, indeed, the author has purposely confounded the terms, and means to regard them as synonymous, which we can scarcely conceive in a writer who is so anxious to avoid "using words to express facts without having previously attached *a precise signification* to the words themselves." The following short proposition contains

tains the subject of this chapter on theories: "the numerous causes of error to which a system is *obnoxious*, may *perhaps* be included under four general heads, to which, *for want of more appropriate* terms, we may apply the denominations of empirical, hypothetical, metaphysical, and physical." The *division* appears as inappropriate as the *terms* themselves; but as the author admits, in a note at the foot of the page, that he is as little satisfied with his text as we are, we shall say nothing more upon the subject, than that we are surprised he should not have moulded his position into a shape that would have afforded him more satisfaction before he attempted its discussion. The idea of an hypothetical system he allows to be somewhat vague,—we are afraid that the idea of an *empirical system* is not much more definite; we are not quite sure that we understand the meaning of the term *routiner*—it is here brought forward as opposed to the term "a *man of system*"—but if a man of system may be either an empirical, an hypothetical, a metaphysical, or a physical practitioner, under what distinct order or genus the *routiner* is to arrange himself, we cannot very readily surmise. We have been much better pleased with the fourth and fifth chapters, in the first of which, the theory of Dr. Brown is neatly convassed and fairly estimated, while the ensuing gives to the general reader a correct statement of the application of modern chemistry to medical practice, in many of its most important discoveries; a subject, which is resumed and still further exemplified in the seventh chapter. Chapter the sixth is assigned to the general physiology of the animal functions, and is by no means deficient in merit, though the "*perennity* of animal temperature" is not so clearly made out to us as it appears to be to the author's own mind. The two last chapters are of a popular rather than of a professional cast,—they are designed to point out the mischief of interfering in the medical art without a medical education,—and offer to the professional student and to the general reader various useful hints.

"Additional cases of gout; in further proof of the *salutary* efficacy of the cooling treatment of that *afflicting* disease; with *illustrative* annotations, *written* authorities in its support, *controversial* discussions, and a view of the present state, and *future* prospects of the practice: by Robert Kinglake, M. D. 8vo." Whatever novelty may exist in the plan these "additional cases" are published to support, there is at least as much novelty in the title which ushers them into the world; and lest the work should lose some part of its *salutary efficacy*, and the world some knowledge of its *future prospects*, by curtailing it of a single epithet, we have copied the whole, in order that the reader may judge for himself how largely this *afflicting disease* is here treated of. We have another reason for copying this title *verbatim et literatim;* and that is, that it gives the reader a fair sample of the full and redundant style in which the whole of the volume is composed—excepting, indeed, that for a part of it, extending to not less than *one hundred and fifty pages*, it is indebted to a monthly medical publication, which is open to every one, and in the hands of many. The theory advanced by Dr. Kinglake about four years ago, that gout is a mere local inflammation, no more necessarily connected with the constitution, than a "sprain, contusion, or incision;"—and that it is in like manner to be removed by

by a local application of cold—is here re-urged with more pertinacity and self-importance than ever. The question, however brought forward, has given rise, we allow, to a very important discussion, and we have already, in a former number, endeavoured to point out the line which should separate the two opposite modes of treatment, and the morbid characteristics which may be supposed to justify the one or the other. But this is not sufficient for the self-important declaimer before us: he will allow of no truce, of no exception: his theory and his practice are equally of universal application; the discovery he has made is "among the most important improvements in the management of disease;"—and "neither the snarling of the cynical, the clamour of the invidious, the dread of the timid, the pertinaciousness of the prejudiced, the devotion of the bigotted, nor the calumny of the malevolent against the cooling treatment of gout, will prevent the liberal advocates of truth from ultimately establishing the practice." We strongly suspect the man that could write such a passage, and especially a volume for the most part composed of such passages, is himself in too feverish a state to collect impartial evidence, or offer impartial argument; and we confess, that examined *seriatim*, neither the one nor the other is calculated to alter the opinion we have already formed and expressed upon this subject. The cases are too often given by unprofessional characters, in many instances by the patients themselves; several of them, if correctly related, have no more connexion with gout than with phrenzy; and the absence of every thing that can be regarded as an unfavourable issue in a disease so complicated as podagra frequently is, and which peculiarly characterises these reports, instead of affording an unequivocal testimony, offers to our judgment the most equivocal evidence that could have been advanced. It is altogether contrary to the common course of events, to the established order of nature.

"A popular Essay on the Disorder familiarly termed a Cold; in which the means of obviating the various causes which are liable either remotely to contribute to the production of this complaint, or which more immediately excite it, together with the most effectual method of removing it when present, are explained in a manner familiar to the meanest capacity; and to which *are* added, a collection of proper receipts and observations on the most popular remedies; principally designed for the use of families; and composed with a view of rendering more extensively known, the insidious nature of a disorder which, to the inhabitants of the variable climate of Great Britain, too often proves the bane of health, and comfort; and thereby diminishing its frequency, and preventing its pernicious effects: by E. L. White, Surgeon, 12mo." Mr. White is unquestionably of the same school as the preceding writer, and perhaps has studied under him. He has the same copiousness of title, the same fondness for unmeaning epithets, and the same aversion to grammatical government—and nearly the same predilection for cold water in the cure of the inflammatory affection here specified. In his mode of theorizing he is also just as magnificently unintelligible, as a proof of which we shall observe, that amongst other exciting causes of this "insidious *disease that too often proves the bane of health and comfort*,"—(as if the generality of diseases promoted long life and prosperity) he tells the unlettered multitude, for whose benefit this instructive trea-

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tise is chiefly compiled, that it may proceed from "a morbid delicacy of frame induced by *enervating* pleasures, or *weakening* occupations, or *occasional* and *accidental debility*;" from "*moisture* applied *in a certain way*, to the surface of the body;" and "from *occult intemperies* of the atmosphere." To give him his due, we believe his readers will comprehend his mode of cure better than his etiological speculations, and we have no hesitation in adding, that it is as much more rational as it is comprehensible.

"A Treatise on Inflammation and other Diseases of the Liver, commonly called Bilious, &c. by T. White, Bath, 8vo." In this volume the writer undertakes to describe *from his own practice*, the symptoms and treatment of what he calls synochus biliosa; *torpor*; schirrhus; biliary calculi; to give us a short description of the structure of the liver; and various physiological opinions respecting the use of the bile. In executing this plan, however, he offers us extracts from other writers, rather than original matter of his own. This, indeed, is modest, and we should have no objection to it, were not these extracts copied from publications in the hands of every practitioner, and had he not induced us to expect something new, and of importance. Dr. Saunders furnishes him with his account of the structure of the liver,—Dr. Rash, Dr. Coe, Mr. Pearson, and various writers in the Medical and Physical Journal, with his account of the different uses that have been ascribed to this organ; and Dr. Falconer and Dr. Rush, with much of his description of symptoms and mode of treatment. What our author chiefly values himself upon is, his remarks on the synochus biliosa. "In no specific treatise," says he, "that I have met with, is the synochus biliosa particularly noticed. This circumstance alone is, in my opinion, a sufficient apology for the present undertaking." Yet we freely confess, notwithstanding all the attention we have paid to the present treatise, we are still ignorant of what the author precisely intends by this name;—we have neither definition nor description,—but instead of both, a confused labyrinth of general symptoms jumbled together at great length, common to a great variety of hepatic diseases, indistinct in their arrangement, and uncharacteristic in their diagnosis. A monthly list of the diseases of the preceding year is added, which we have no reason to doubt, is given accurately—and to this is appended a good meteorological table for the same period.

"On Hydrophobia, its Prevention and Cure; with a description of the different stages of canine madness, illustrated with cases; by Benjamin Mosely, M. D." Every publication that has a tendency to diminish the fatality of this dreadful disease, ought to be hailed by the public,—and the truth or fallacy of its recommendations soberly submitted to the test of experiment. Yet we cannot flatter ourselves that the treatise now offered, the greater part of which has already appeared in the form of letters in one of our Morning Papers, is likely to be of any essential service in the disease treated of. There is in this work a degree of self-opinion, and of contempt of every writer *except one*, whether ancient or modern, which we cannot but be astonished at, in a gentleman of classical education; though we have no difficulty in admitting with Dr. Mosely, that the scrupulosity with which, in modern times, and especially in England, physicians and surgeons adhere to their own proper department,

department, and reject every species of knowledge which does not immediately lie within their own respective pale, is injurious not only to a better acquaintance with lyssa, but with almost every other disease to which mankind is subject. Yet this is digression. With respect to the *cases* before us, the more important, or those described at most length, do not appear to have had any connexion whatever with true genuine lyssa: they want the characterstic marks not only from the beginning, but throughout the whole course of the disease; and the arrangement of the disease, which the author has here proposed, by dividing it into three stages, two of them described by Greek terms, and one by a Latin, will in no respect apply to his cases; while it is guilty of a gross anachronism in regard to the progress of the symptoms in one of the cases on which it is pretended to be founded.

"Report of the College of Physicians of London on Vaccination."

"Debates in Parliament respecting the Jennerian Discovery, &c. with introductory remarks; by Charles Murray, 8vo." It is now about three years since that Dr. Jenner was rewarded by Parliament with a grant of 10,000*l.* for his discovery of the means of employing cowpox as a prophylactic against small-pox. There was at that time, a general opinion entertained in the legislature that this remuneration was not adequate to so important a service as he had hereby rendered to his country and to mankind at large; and with a view of ascertaining how far he was entitled to an additional recompence, government commanded the College of Physicians of this metropolis, about the commencement of last year, to collect a body of professional evidence upon the subject, as a ground-work for a second application to Parliament upon this subject. The first of the above pamphlets gives us the substance of the evidence thus collected, and offers the most satisfactory proofs of the great advantage which has flowed from the practice of vaccination,—and the decided opinion of this learned body, that it is altogether competent to the important object it has in view. It admits the existence of a few unsuccessful cases, which may naturally be expected in the infancy of a practice at once so new and so extensive in its spread; but it attaches no moment to these few anomalies, which, in its own well-weighed opinion, are calculated rather to support than to controvert the pretensions of the discoverer. In a very valuable appendix we have the satisfaction to behold that the royal Colleges of Physicians both of Edinburgh and Dublin, and the royal Colleges of Surgeons of London, Dublin, and Edinburgh, most fully concur in the same sentiments, as appears by documents transmitted to the London College, in reply to an application from the London College respectively made upon this subject to these learned institutions. In consequence of this concurrent report, Parliament readily consented to an additional grant of 20,000*l.* to Dr. Jenner; and the second of the two pamphlets before us, gives us, neatly drawn up, the substance of the debate which took place upon that occasion. The introductory remarks prove sufficiently that the editor has a full sense of the value of the vaccine practice, and are creditable to him as a writer.

"A System of Operative Surgery, founded on the basis of Anatomy:" by Charles Bell, vol. 1. royal 8vo." There is something awkwardly superfluous in this title. *Operative Surgery*

Surgery is an expression half Latin and half Greek, in which the meaning of the first word is concealed in the latter part, or rather perhaps extended to the whole of the second, —for chirurgus χειρουργος is strictly *operarius*; "founded on a basis"— is a term equally pleonastic;—— while the closing member of the description, "a basis of anatomy," would seem to intimate that *operative surgery* has been generally hitherto *founded* on a *basis* of another kind. The work itself, nevertheless, in spite of its face, contains many good and valuable points. It offers less originality of matter, indeed, than we expected; but the advice and directions it communicates are of high practical importance, for the most part stript of every useless incumbrance, and drawn up in a clear, decided manner, altogether *ad rem*. The subjects chiefly discussed are aneurisms, in which the writer seems to incline to Mr. Hunter's method as revived by Mr. Lynn; strictures in the urethra, in which he fairly appreciates Mr. Home's and Mr. Whately's modes of applying the caustic; hæmorrhoidal tumours; hydrocele; affections of the uterus; polypus nasi; hernia, in which he objects to several of Mr. Astley Cooper's recommendations; lithotomy, in performing which operation he gives a decided preference to the knife over the gorget or concealed bistoury; amputation, and injuries on the head.

"A Treatise on the Anatomy, Pathology and Surgery of Aneurism; with engravings: by Antonio Scarpa, Professor, &c.—translated from the Italian, with notes: by J. H. Wishart, 8vo." This work, one of the best we possess upon the subject, is the result of the following series of prize questions proposed by the Society of Medicine of Paris in 1793. "In what cases of aneurism will internal medicine, regimen, and rest, probably prevent the necessity of chirurgical treatment? When chirurgical aid is required, in what cases will compression suffice, and when is it expedient to have recourse to operation? When is a single ligature superior to two; namely, one above and one below the sac? In what cases is it advisable to open and remove the sac? And in what cases is it better to leave it? The work before us, however, was not presented to the Society that proposed these questions, though suggested by them; the author commenced it as a memoir for this purpose, but he soon found that he could neither finish it within the time limited, nor the extent of writing to which he was restricted. It is not, therefore, so direct an answer to these queries as it would otherwise have been, but it embraces them generally. In the course of his pathology, Professor Scarpa observes, in opposition to the generality of surgeons of this country, who seem to concur in regarding aneurism as proceeding from a change of structure, rather than from mere laxity in the affected vessel, that in every instance of this disease, the proper coats of the artery are burst, and that the external coat alone constitutes the aneurismal sac. The few cases of spontaneous cure, or cure by compression which are met with, and which, till of late years, were generally ascribed to a progressive roboration of the weakened vessel, so as ultimately to restore to it the possession of its original power, is here attributed, as it has been generally among modern surgeons, to an obliteration of the affected vessel, both above and below the aneurismal sac. The method of applying compression here recommended is that of

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Theden and Genga. In performing the operation he pursues generally Mr. Hunter's plan; but instead of dividing the vessel between the two ligatures, recommends its continuity, and insulates the interspace by a cylinder of linen, the wound being prevented from healing till the ligatures have performed their duty and are discharged. The translator has fulfilled his office ably, though the version is disfigured by a few vulgarisms and Scottish idioms: his own remarks, which are few, are for the most part pertinent and valuable."

"The Principles of Surgery, vol. III.—by John Bell, 4to." The character and general merit of this writer, are too well known to render any enlargement necessary in this place: we shall only observe, therefore, that the present volume, in seven discourses, gives us what Mr. Bell chooses to call "a series of cases calculated to illustrate chiefly the doctrine of tumours, and other *irregular* parts of surgery; and to instruct the young surgeon how to perform his prognostics and to plan his operations." We have merely to add, that the young surgeon would derive more advantage from the present work, if the author's style were less confused and intervolved, and if there were less self-opinion upon subjects in which the general opinion of the profession is not only at variance with it, but built upon far more solid grounds.

"Anniversary Oration, delivered March 8, 1808, before the Medical Society of London, on the general structure and physiology of Plants compared with those of Animals, and the mutual convertibility of their organic elements: published at the unanimous request of the Society, by John Mason Good, F. R. S." This subject unites by a ready link, the

different branches of medical science with those of natural history; and in the valuable oration before us, the learned author of the translation of Lucretius begins by assuming, what indeed is the basis of the sexual system, that every thing that has life is produced from an egg, and that the egg of the plant is its seed; he proceeds to point out the mode by which every part of the plant is progressively produced from the corculum or heartlet of the seed, describes it vessels, accounts for its augmenting lignification, and contends for its possession of a circulatory system like that of animals. The author admits that no experiments or observations have been able to detect the existence of muscular or nervous fibres in vegetables; but notwithstanding this, in answer to those who maintain the necessity of a regular and alternate contraction and dilatation for the production of a circulatory system, both in animals and vegetables, he advances a variety of proofs of the existence of alternate contractions and dilatations in animal organs, and especially in the human cutis, that are totally destitute of muscular fibres, upon the application of other powers, powers different in their nature, and in their effect palpable to the external senses; and especially upon the alternate application of cold and heat, and of the depressing and exciting passions of the mind. Having established this fact, the author proceeds to point out some striking and curious resemblances in plants to the economy and habits of animals. He next proceeds to enquire into the mode by which vegetable matter is capable of being converted into animal substance, so as not only to be perfectly assimilated to it, but to become the basis of animal nutriment and increase: he observes that vege-

table matter is distinguished from animal matter chiefly by its possessing a much larger proportion of carbon, and a much less proportion of azot; and he follows up the process of animal digestion, chylification, respiration, and transpiration, in order to indicate the mode by which the surplus of vegetable matter is gradually evolved and parted with by the different operations of the animal frame, and its deficiency of azot is in like manner supplied.

"But to complete the great circle of universal action," continues our author, "and to preserve the important balance of nature in a state of equipoise, it is necessary also to enquire by what means animal matter is reconverted into vegetable, so as to afford to plants the same basis of nutriment which plants have previously afforded to animals." The process of putrefaction is shown to be this principle; which is, hence, to be regarded as an important link in the great chain of life and harmony. Having pointed out the different changes, and the beneficial results which take place in putrefaction, the oration concludes with noticing the cause that impedes this common process in those cases in which animal matter is converted into *adipocere*, or a species of spermacœli; and perspicuously and satisfactorily explains the nature and unfolds the history of this extraordinary production."

"Zoography, or the Beauties of Nature displayed. In select descriptions from the animal and vegetable, with additions from the mineral kingdom (*Kingdoms*): systematically arranged: by W. Wood, F. L. S. Illustrated with plates designed and engraved by Mr. W. Daniell, 3 vols. 8vo." This work is chiefly valuable for its engraven illustrations; they do credit both to the genius and the execution of the artist; they exhibit him equally as a man of taste and of precision. The descriptive part has the negative merit of being carefully selected, and fairly arranged. It offers little that is novel, or beyond the range of a very limited library, or the recollection of a mind but superficially acquainted with natural history. The *additions* here introduced from the mineral kingdom, we should only have expected in a *zoography*, published on the other side of the Irish channel.

"Zoological Anecdotes; or authentic and interesting facts, relative to the lives, manners, and economy of the brute creation; exhibiting the most striking instances of the intelligence, sagacity, social disposition, and extraordinary capacities of various animals, both in their natural and domesticated state, 2 vols. 8vo." We have lately had several writers ambitious of the honour of becoming *historiographers* of quadrupeds, insects, and worms; and we have hence had our circulating libraries enriched with "animal biographies,"—as they are now likely to be with "zoological anecdotes." Now all this stilted absurdity of title gives us at once the idea of a departure from sober fact in pursuit of something romantic: it may do well enough, if such works be really meant as novels, to adorn them with the title of novels; but if they be really intended to exhibit Nature as she is, without "overstepping her modesty," a modester and correcter title would be far better adapted to the author's intention, and more fully display the actual contents of the work itself. To speak the truth, however, the present title is appropriate enough in this respect; for it not only presents us with much that is marvel-

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lous *in* nature, but with not a little that is marvellous *out of* nature;—it is about equally made up of actual, possible, and ideal. The compiler has lent too ready an ear to unauthentic accounts in natural history, and has, at the same time, taken effectual care, that the most wonderful tales should lose nothing of their raciness in passing through his alembic.

"An Introduction to Physiological and Systematic Botany, by James Edward Smith, M. D. F. R. S. Pres. of the Lin. Society, 8vo." It was a remark generally and justly founded of late, that though we were in possession of a great variety of highly valuable botanical works, some exquisitely beautiful for the truth of their coloured engravings, others peculiarly important for the accuracy of their descriptions, or the ingenuity of their physiological investigations, an elementary work upon this elegant science was still wanting in our own language. It was under this impression that M. Wildernow's "Principles of Botany and of Vegetable Physiology" were translated from the German about three years ago, and obtained, as the book well deserved to do, so extensive a circulation. It was the first work of the kind in our own tongue that undertook, within a moderate compass, to unite the elements of the science with its philosophy; and to present both to the general reader and the uninformed student, under a popular, perspicuous, and therefore highly captivating dress. But we see no reason why we may not become possessed of a work of this kind without being indebted to foreigners, and free from those occasional mistakes which too frequently deteriorate a translation, and of which we could indicate instances in the volume we here just referred to. And who is there among our countrymen upon whom such a task could have better devolved than upon the very excellent President of the Linnean Society? We hail, therefore, the appearance of the "Physiological and Systematical Introduction" before us; and from a careful attention to its arrangement and style, cannot avoid most heartily recommending it to all who are desirous of acquiring a knowledge of the delightful and elegant science of which it treats.

The work is divided into twenty-three chapters. Of these the first discusses the distinctions between animals, vegetables, and fossils—and comments on the vital principle essential to the animal division. It is ingeniously and carefully drawn up; yet we meet with a few terms used either in an erroneous sense, or a new sense, without having the immediate signification pointed out to us. As an example, we may give the following sentence:—"chemical changes, *putrefaction* and *destruction* immediately follow the total privation of life;" in which case *destruction* seems to imply *decomposition*, though there is no necessity for its being forced to this signification; while, if it imply not this the term is used inaccurately. Chapter II. gives us a definition of natural history, and particularly botany,—and adds observations on the general texture of plants. We are not perfectly satisfied with the definition here offered, which is rather a *description* than a *definition*, and is too long for citation. We have some doubts whether "the *medical* properties of plants" be, as here stated, a necessary branch of botany: if so, the science assumes a wider range than is usually allowed to it, and no one can be a botanist without a scientific and practical knowledge of

medicine. Chapters III. IV. V. VI. VII. VIII. IX. and X. treat of the constituent parts of the vegetable trunk—the cuticle, or epidermis, the cellular integument, the bark, wood, medulla or pith, sap-vessels, sap, and insensible perspiration, the secreted fluids of plants, grafting, and the heat of the vegetable body—the three last propositions being discussed in this last chapter alone. Upon all which we shall content ourselves with observing, that Dr. Smith is very much disposed to yield to Mr. Knight's theory of vegetable vascularity and the formation of vegetable integumentation, concerning which, we confess for ourselves, that we wait for the additional and elucidatory papers he has promised us in the last half volume of the Philosophical Transactions: and he seems disposed to revive somewhat of the Linnéan tenet, in regard to the vegetable pith, and to regard it as more of a genuine medulla than has been generally allowed to it of late years. Chap. XI. gives us the process of vegetation, and the use of the cotyledons. In Chap. XII. the author offers his observations on the root and its different kinds. Chap. XIII. is appropriated to the different kinds of stems and stalks of plants. Chap. XIV. is devoted to the subject of buds, and XV. to that of leaves: the first is highly ingenious, the latter is little more than a vocabulary derived from the incidences of their situation, insertions, surfaces, and forms. Their functions are discussed in Chap. XVI, and we regret that we cannot copy from it: it is big with instruction drawn from the best quarters. Chap. XVII. gives us the several kinds of fulcra or appendages to a plant. Chap. XVIII. treats of its inflorescence, and explains the different forms the inflorescence assumes: and Chap. XIX. explains the nature of the flower and fruit, and the various terms by which the different appearances they exhibit are distinguished. Chap. XX. enters upon the peculiar functions of the stamens and pistils, with the experiments and observations of Linnéus and others on this subject; an ingenious and extraordinary essay. Chap. XXII. offers us the systematical arrangement of plants; natural and artificial methods, genera, species, and varieties, and nomenclature. The observations on the last subject are just and valuable; the rest scarcely admit of much display of novelty. The concluding chapter gives a clear and correct explanation of the Linnéan artificial system, and closes with a few hints concerning the best means of preparing a *hortus siccus*, or *herbarium*. The subjoined explanatory plates are not possessed of the elegance, or even correctness, we could wish.

We pass on to the department of Agriculture; and commence, as we ought to do, from the general importance and advantage of its labours, with the first part of the volume for the year (being the whole that has yet reached us), numbered volume VI. of the "Communications" published by the Board of Agriculture, on subjects relative to the husbandry and internal improvement of the country. When we say, however, that we commence this part of our literary retrospect with these communications, as we ought to do from the *general* importance and advantage of the labours of the Society which has presented them to us, it becomes necessary to explain ourselves. We allude then to its *past* rather than to its *present* labours, for a book more made up of trifling, superannuated and *post obit* papers, it has never fallen to our lot to review. How it comes to pass that many of the articles, now for the first time brought before the public, have been kept back

back for ten, eleven, and even twelve years, without having been suffered to emerge from dusty drawers and pigeon-holes into day-light, we cannot altogether determine. Not less than six and twenty articles in the volume before us are dated between 1791 and 1798. A few of the papers thus out-Horacing and some of them almost caricaturing, the Horatian dictate, are worthy to appear at any time; many of them, however, have even now been published too soon, and are only fit for holocausts to expiate the sin of the respective writers, in having so uselessly squandered away their time, —while a third division of the same superannuates might have figured away to advantage, had they been published at the time of their composition; but their subjects be in altogether of a temporary nature, they are now of no more use in this country than they would be in Abyssinia, or among the Eskimaux.

One of the best papers in the collection is a contribution of the Bishop of Llandaff, "On Planting of waste Lands." The Rev. Mr. Willis, of Sopley, has communicated several valuable articles, on the same subject;—and the heath farmer may here derive great advantage from the advice offered him in regard to the best modes of fencing, manuring, cultivating, and stocking his ground. The observations of Mr. Edward Shepherd, "On fine-woolled sheep,"—if not new, after the remarks of Dr. Parry on the same subject, are well worth attention, as the result of a practical and liberal grazier, and as confirming the general statement of the latter. The paper furnished "by James Durns, Esq. British Consul *at Memel*, on the mode of cultivating flax and hemp in Russia, Prussia, and Poland," betrays its obsoleteness by its title; and, in effect, we have other reasons for believing that the substance of this article was drawn as far back as ten or twelve years ago at the least. It is, nevertheless, a useful paper still, and well worthy of perusal. We may say the same of another paper on hemp alone, by the *late* Robert Somerville, Esq. which is one of the *post obits* we referred to at the opening of this article. Baron Hepburn has also presented to the Society a very valuable practical paper "On the culture of Potatoes," in which he endeavours to prove, from his own practice, that potatoes reared from the seeds of the potatoe pome will uniformly resist the curl for several years: the first production thus raised is always small in size, but the bulk increases every year upon planting from the preceding year's crop; — and the writer, where the root is small, advises to plant it whole, but to divide it when large. He also observes, that the lacerated branches of the stem above, will put forth excrescences (which we should certainly call buds), and bear fruit in considerable abundance, provided they be not quite separated from the parent stem. Of the remaining papers in the volume before us, consisting in the whole of thirty-two;—we cannot lay our hands upon a single one worth noticing. Even the well known and justly celebrated Secretary himself has been unusually sparing, and we may add unusually unfortunate, upon the present occasion. In his paper on "*Economical* dwellings for *small* proprietors of land, accompanied by two engravings," we could not help smiling at beholding the plan here proposed;—which is drawn on a scale demanding an area of *one hundred* and *fifty-five feet* by *one hundred* and *twenty*, and provides for the *economy* of the *small* proprietor,

proprietor, a drawing-room, study, dressing-rooms, butler's pantry, servant's-hall, and a multitude of other offices. We have only to add that Mr Arthur Young has forgotten to recommend to the *economical* attention of his *small* proprietor, to be sure to furnish this minute cottage from the upholstery warehouse of Mr. Thomas Hope, who has lately published a folio volume, with a view of exhibiting to his astonished customers, the mode "of ennobling through means of their shape and their accessaries, things so humble in their chief purpose and destination as a table and a chair, a footstool and a screen," so as to obtain an "union of the different modifications of visible and intellectual beauty which are desirable, with the different attributes of utility and comfort which are essential; the association of all the elegancies of the antique forms and ornaments, with all the requisites of modern customs and habits." Thus economically built, and economically furnished, the *small proprietor* cannot fail to exhibit the pleasing picture of an honest rustic confining himself to his appropriate sphere of life, and sure to grow speedily rich from his frugality and homeliness of living.

"The English Practice of Agriculture, exemplified in the Management of a Farm in Ireland, belonging to the Earl of Conyngham, at Slane, in the county of Meath; with an Appendix, containing a comparative estimate of the Irish and English mode of culture, as to profit and loss: by Richard Parkinson, 8vo." This writer is well known by several antecedent publications, and especially by his "Experienced Farmer," and his "Tour in America." But Mr. Parkinson is somewhat too greedy of fame, and unfortunately for him, not perfectly acquainted with the best means of satisfying his voracity. He writes too fast, to render what he does write worth that attention which it probably would be if he allowed himself more time, and digested his matter with more order and precision. We are at a loss to ascertain the direct object of the book before us, notwithstanding the plenitude of its title. It is a collection of observations huddled together with inextricable confusion, sometimes pregnant with valuable hints, but more frequently resembling the mountain in labour; sometimes drawn from the store of his own facts, and sometimes of his own fancy. The "Experienced Farmer" is almost as much the author of this work as Mr. Parkinson is the author of the "Experienced Farmer;" for it is too generally made up of materials furnished from this elder publication of his, and for the most part without any other use than that of adding to the bulk and burden of the volume. The following description of the cultivation of the Irish soil we well know to be true, and we copy it that those who are ignorant of the real wretchedness of this numerous class, and of the actual cause of their misery may plead ignorance no longer: "There are very few respectable farmers; such as are called little gentlemen are amongst the meanest farmers, and they are worse in appearance, and enjoy much less comfort than an English labourer. The class that goes by the denomination of middlemen is the destruction of the country. The middleman purchases from the landed proprietor, for a sum of money, leases on lives at reduced rents; many of these middlemen are in the possession of perpetuities of this kind, purchased many years back at six shillings an acre, which

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now worth full thirty shillings, and might even be let for two pounds an acre and a fine. The middleman, having obtained such leases, lets the land out in small parcels at fifty or sixty shillings per acre, to men of little property, who build their own cabins, &c. and again underlet part of the land to labourers for the cultivation of potatoes or flax, or both, at five or six guineas per acre." The cabins of these labourers are the most wretched hovels imaginable, without chimney, and generally without door, chairs, or beds. The fire, as in a Kamtschadale cabin, is lighted in the middle of the hut, from wet hulm or straw, which blinds the miserable inhabitants with its smoke, and at night they stretch themselves without order or regularity upon the bare ground, or if covered, merely covered with stubble.

"Practical Observations on Gypsum, or Plaister of Paris as a Manure, 8vo." This treatise is from the pen of the writer we have just noticed; who ventures to set up his judgment in opposition to that of Bergman and Kirwan, and has the misfortune to conceive that gypsum is in no respect a manure, and affords no nutriment to vegetables. Mr. P. appears in this tract to know as little of chemistry as he does of modesty; he is totally ignorant of the elementary principles of the substance upon which he has ventured to speak so confidently, and seems still less acquainted with the physiology of the vegetable structure. We have the consolation, however, to learn from the well-grounded testimony of this recondite physiologist, that though gypsum, as a compost, never does *good* to any soil, it never can do *harm*; and that as a shade against the rays of the sun it may be advantageously scattered over soils of any and of every kind, whether light, dry, hot, sandy, or loamy!! We are astonished that a man who has travelled, and voyaged, and pretended to have been an observer from the shores of Ireland and England to the banks of the Mississippi, should have travelled, and voyaged, and read, and reflected to so little purpose.

"Chemistry applied to Arts and Manufactures: by M. J. A. Chaptal, 4 vols. 8vo." In our last volume we had occasion to notice, in terms of high respect, a treatise on Practical Mechanics, by Mr. (now Dr.) Olinthus Gregory. To this treatise the very valuable work before us will in every instance be found a most useful companion; it gives the general *praxis*, of the most important arts as that gave the *mechanism*: and "the man," says Mr. Chaptal, "who is already acquainted with the mechanical and practical part of an art, receives instruction with more advantage than another who is neither in the habit nor the practice of its operations. All governments," continues he, "are doubtless willing to protect the arts and commerce, but there are few whose conduct in this particular comes up to their good intention. Expedients to facilitate the developement of the arts, and to insure their prosperity are the following: to render the supplies of primary materials easy, and to facilitate the consumption; to grant premiums on exportation, that the productions of the national manufactures may find their way into all the markets of Europe; to employ its credit with other governments for the purpose of obtaining a knowledge of improvements, and new processes wherewith to enrich its own country; to determine and to maintain with energy the relation which ought to exist between the workmen and the master; to consult

consult the soil, the climate, the character of the inhabitants, and the interests of agriculture, that it may grant none but a judicious protection."

The work is divided into three parts: the first treats of chemical action, as subdivided into 1st, the natural causes that produce modifications in chemical action: 2d, the means employed by the chemist to prepare the corpuscles of bodies for this purpose, elucidated by a variety of experiments. The second part treats of those bodies which are the subjects of chemical action, such as gasseous fluids, metals, and other minerals, simple and compound combustibles, vegetable extracts, and compounds of acids. Part the third (here strangely denominated *Title* the third) explains the mixture and combination of bodies with each other; and comprises generally the subjects of gasses, earths, metals, separation of metals, combination of oxygen with metals, of oxygen with hydrogen, of sulphur with various bodies; of hydrogen with various bodies; together with the different combinations of sulphuric acid, nitric, muriatic, oxy-muriatic, tartric, acetic, oxalic, boracic, prussic, gallic, and carbonic acids, of tannin with gellatin, of alkalies with oils, and of fixed drying oils. A very full and perspicuous developement of the art of dyeing succeeds—and a chapter on fermentation brings up the rear. There are various errors in the version which we have not space to point out: nor does the translator appear to have comprehended in every instance the exact English synonyms of the French chemical terminology: upon the whole, there is much more taste exhibited than accuracy; yet the work, notwithstanding these drawbacks, is the best of the kind we at present possess upon the comprehensive and important subject to which it is directed.

"Lectures on Experimental Philosophy, Astronomy, and Chemistry, intended chiefly for the use of students, and young persons: by G. Gregory, D. D. &c." There are few scholars who have contributed more towards bringing down general science to the comprehension of the young than the late Dr. George Gregory; a very considerable portion of whose labours were for many years devoted to one of the departments of the New Annual Register, through the medium of which work we may now add, he chiefly succeeded in obtaining his presentation to the very valuable living of West-Ham. The name of Dr. Gregory, however, has been somewhat too widely used for his own reputation, and not unfrequently made the passport to trifling and insignificant effusions, altogether unworthy of his talents, and which most assuredly could never have proceeded from his pen. The work before us is liable to this charge in a few places: but it is deserving of a still severer censure on another account. It is brought forward posthumously, and is described as "a legacy to the public, left *behind him*, by the late excellent and lamented Dr. Gregory." Instead, however, of having been *left behind* him as a legacy, it went long before him, in regard to all its essential parts, as a publication superintended by himself, and the fruits of which he lived to enjoy. It is, in reality, a dish of second-hand materials hashed up in a new form from a periodical work largely contributed to by Dr. Gregory about eight years ago; and now re-exhibited under the imposing character of an original and posthumous production. We are informed, indeed, in the preface, that "*some* parts

parts of these lectures were formerly presented to the world in a periodical publication; but the *majority* of them have been re-written." So that while the bookseller, or editor is in one place pledging his word to us that these lectures are a *legacy to the public left behind him* by this respectable character, he is bold enough in another place to subvert the whole of this assertion, and to admit that the majority of them is an old work, merely re-written in another form. Yet even in this last assertion he is not fully borne out; for the *majority* of the work instead of being *re-written* is merely *re-printed*, without any revision or use of the pen whatsoever: of thirty-four lectures here presented to us, only five or six have any pretensions to originality: a few occasional alterations are introduced into the rest, and this, with the imposing assumption of a new form, is the whole of their qualification to the title of a new work.

We should have been less disposed to have noticed this delusion in detail, if we had not beheld a second attempt of the same kind, proceeding from the same quarter, and directed to the same end; and we now allude to two duodecimo volumes just published under the title of "Letters on Literature, Taste, and Composition, addressed to his Son: by George Gregory, D. D. &c." the whole of which is copied in like manner from the Monthly Preceptor, the periodical work we have alluded to above, though the changes introduced into this re-publication are more numerous and considerable than those made in the former, resulting, as we suppose, from a useful hint, dropped by some real friend of the deceased writer or the publisher. There is nothing in what we have thus advanced, intended in the smallest degree to reflect discredit on the memory of the author of these productions: the delusion does not belong to him; and consequently the censure it merits in no respect attaches to him. It belongs exclusively to those who, under the hollow-hearted pretence of veneration for his name, for the sake of a paltry and temporary profit, have done all they could to risk his reputation in the eye of the world, and have hence committed an equal injury against himself and the public. In the works themselves there is a considerable proportion of intrinsic merit; and had they been more honestly and ingenuously brought forward, we should have had much pleasure in awarding them our frankest and most unqualified approbation.

"The Modern Geographer; prepared and digested upon a new plan, from the latest and most accurate authorities, with Notes historical, critical, and explanatory: by F. W. Blagdon, Esq. Vol. I. 8vo. with maps and plates." It is very probable that several of the authors whose works we have occasionally reviewed, and perhaps some few of our stated readers may have hinted in the course of their perusal of this and other critical journals, that it is easier to review than to write; to point out the defects of others than to avoid equal defects ourselves. It is at least the grand character, as it appears to us, of the work before us. Every one knows that we have at this moment no geographical system that is worthy of being so called; and that but little progress upon the score of general accuracy has been made since the days of Salmon. Guthrie's is a more voluminous book; but its bulk proceeds rather from a greater fulness of the matter, than from a correction of the errors of

of its predecessor. The merits and defects of Pinkerton's later work upon the same subject are too well known to need pointing out; it certainly possesses an improvement of plan, and more distinctness of division, and brings down the system of geography to a later, though we cannot add, to the present period; but the inaccuracies of the first edition, in two volumes quarto, were not such as to demand a new edition immediately afterwards in three volumes of the same size; and if they were such, the work must immediately forfeit all pretensions to public patronage and protection from its original demerit. Even in its fullest and latest edition the writer before us undertakes to represent it as a work abounding in palpable and important errors; and on this opinion chiefly grounds the expediency of the system he now offers to us. It would have been as well, however, if Mr. Blagdon had taken equal pains to have avoided mistakes himself, as he has done to point them out in others: but there are errors in the present work which a schoolboy ought to be ashamed of; we meet with countries placed in quarters of the world to which they do not belong, and islands and continental settlements ascribed to parent states which have no pretensions to them whatever.

"A Concise Gazetteer of the most remarkable places in the world; with brief notices of the principal historical events, and most celebrated persons connected with them. To which are annexed references to books of history, voyages, travels, &c. by Thomas Bourn, 8vo." This book, as the title fairly expresses, contains an account of *remarkable* places alone. It is hence not intended as a book of general research, but may be consulted advantageously as to the places actually described. The authorities, however, that are referred to are not always of the best character, being too frequently drawn from monthly periodical publications, not remarkable for accuracy or sound information.

"A Complete System of Astronomy: by the Rev. S. Vince, A.M. &c. Plumian Professor, &c. Vol. III. 4to." On various occasions have we had to record the accuracy of Professor Vince's researches, and his elaborate caution in adjusting controverted points. In adverting to a late publication of his, we mean his "Observations on Gravitation," we had the additional satisfaction of beholding these well-weighed researches, and this studious heed purposely directed to the great cause of natural religion, and the proofs of an infinitely wise, and superintending Deity. The volume now offered is the continuation and conclusion of a work, of which the first two volumes have long been before the public, and the high merits of which have been long appreciated and acknowledged. It has been delayed on various accounts; but chiefly that the writer might have an opportunity of introducing into the body of his system the latest investigations of Mechain, Burg, Delambre, and La Place, against whose infidel conclusions, his treatise on the Cause of Gravitation was chiefly directed. We are aware that there is less taste in the arrangement of the materials of which this work consists than there ought to have been, and less attention to grammatical correctness, and a polished style, than we have reason to expect in any publication that flows from an university press: yet in despite of these defects—*maculas quas incuria fudit*, we have no hesitation in affirming that the present forms, upon the whole, the most

most complete system of astronomy which we possess as a nation. The astronomical tables are peculiarly entitled to our commendation for their range, method, and accuracy; and we particularly allude to those of the moon, the solar paralax, Mercury, Venus, Jupiter, Jupiter's satellites, and the Georgian planet. These are introduced by a valuable prolegomenon, explaining the sources whence they have been derived, and the uses to which they are subservient. The borrowed French tables have been minutely investigated and purged from error, and are, for the most part, exhibited in a more convenient shape than in the works from which they are taken. Thus revised and completed, these tables will, in a great measure, supersede the necessity of recurring to those hitherto in most general use, as Halley's, Dunthorn's, and Mayer's, and cannot fail to prove highly useful to the practical navigator, as well as astronomer.

"Mathematics Simplified, and Practically Illustrated, &c. by Capt. Thomas Williamson, 8vo." The avowed intention of this work is to adapt "the principal problems to the ordinary purposes of life, and by a progressive arrangement applied to the most familiar objects in the plainest terms;" and, to enhance the value of the work, the author has added what he calls "a complete essay on the art of surveying lands, by such simple inventions, as may for ever banish the necessity of costly and complex instruments." The intention is unquestionably good, and we have only to lament that Captain Thomas Williamson should be one of the very numerous tribe of those who are better able to *will* than to *execute*, and whose judgment does not always keep pace with their philanthropy. This redoubtable writer should have learnt as a preliminary *theorem* of more consequence than any theorem he has ventured to explain, that before a man undertakes to illustrate a subject, he should understand it; or the following of equal import and closely catenated with it, that the man who does not understand a subject, is not the best qualified person in the world to treat upon it. If these theorems had been known to him, or being known, had made that impression upon his mind which they ought to have done, we have much reason for believing that the gallant Captain would never have had the hardihood to have entered the lists against Euclid, and to have accused him of vagueness and contradiction; or if he had ever ventured into the craggy path of the *Elements*, would never have thought of getting beyond the *pons asini*, which he would have found a convenient and appropriate resting-place. A writer qualified to expose the imprecision of Euclid ought to have known that this *pons asini* is a name designative of the *fifth*, and not of the *forty-seventh* theorem, as he has ignorantly stated it to be; he ought also to have known that a theorem is not a *problem*, as he has, with equal ignorance, denominated this said forty-seventh proposition; and in affirming the production of a square to be one of the *most difficult* operations in mathematics, it might have been as well for him to have known, that there is pretty nearly as much difficulty in drawing hyperbolas, or parabolas, or in finding the fluents to elliptic transcendentals. In speaking of the cone, he emphatically denominates it the true *cone*, as though there were as many cones in mathematics as there are fancies in his own brain; and in explaining its nature, he speaks of two centres in a triangle,

angle, as though he had mistaken the triangle for an ellipsis, which last figure, he tells us with equal accuracy and emphasis, is "of a TRUE *egg*-form." Of the actual merits of the subjoined Essay on the Art of Land-Surveying, we are not competent to speak; for having waded so long and so wearisomely through the *palpable obscure* of the great body of the work, we were as anxious to revisit light, and escape altogether from its abyss, as Satan himself was to quit the horrid darkness, the wild and confused hubbub of Chaos, in his malignant journey to Paradise.

"The Means of finding the Longitude at Sea, gradually developed, discovered, and demonstrated, in four astronomical, geographical, nautical, historical, mathematical, and mechanical dissertations: by Major-general Grant, Viscount de Vaux, 4to." The author of this work is of English ancestry, but a Frenchman by birth; under the old regime he was possessed of considerable rank, but in consequence of the Revolution, and his own expatriation, he is now a foreigner in the land of his fathers. We would rather have met the Major-general in the line of his own profession, for we have little doubt that the very respectable talents he possesses, would have been employed to more advantage than in a line in which he is comparatively a stranger. With regard to the work before us, it is in many parts ingenious, and in more, fanciful. The author is better qualified to point out errors, than to rectify them: yet we have no objection to allow that his hydroscope, or instrument for measuring the longitude, is peculiarly ingenious, and may perhaps eventually be advanced to a simplicity and accuracy, that shall entitle it to general use; it consists in a new mode of employing steel-yards as a measure of resistance: this instrument, our author flatters himself, "will not only show on a dial plate all the different degrees of the ship's velocity at every second of time, but will also keep an account of the space run over in every direction, either by means of the falling of sand, or of regular clock-work."

"Mathematical Tables; containing the logarithms of numbers; logarithmic sines, tangents, and secants; and a transverse table. To which are prefixed logarithmical arithmetic, and plane trigonometry; also examples on the mensuration of heights and distances: by J. Brown, 8vo." The investigations relating to these different subjects are perspicuously exhibited, and the practical precepts deduced from them are for the most part clearly expressed. There are some omissions, however, which the editor might have avoided by a different method, and especially those of the nature and use of the arithmetical complement, of spherical trigonometry, and of various important problems in nautical astronomy. Besides the tables mentioned in the title-page, we have also tables of compound interest, of the probabilities of life, and of annuities on a single and on two joint lives. These tables are chiefly drawn from Demoivre, and consequently partake of the errors essential to his hypothesis. Why the author has not chosen to betake himself for information to such writers as Simpson, Price, and Morgan, we cannot tell; he would have been more correct and popular. Nevertheless the work before us, even in its existing state, is well entitled to the approbation of the public; though we trust to see it in a future edition

edition still more worthy of public patronage, by a correction of the errors we have thus cursorily glanced at.

"Ατλας Ουρανιος. The Celestial Atlas, or a new Ephemeris, &c.—carefully computed, by R. White." We are glad to behold this useful work encouraged and continued; not that it is free from mistakes, for these are numerous, and in many instances palpable; but that from its cheapness and adaptation to common use, it is of considerable importance in the general pursuits and amusements of astronomy; and we hope to behold it soon in a more immaculate form.

"Construction of several Systems of Fortification; for the use of the Royal Military Academy: by J. Landmann, Professor of Fortifications and Artillery, 8vo. with 26 folio plates, in a separate volume." Whatever falls from the pen of Professor Landmann upon this subject is, or ought to be, eminently entitled to the attention of the public, and especially of that part of the public to which such subject is more immediately addressed. His personal talents are well known, and the situation he holds at the first military school in the kingdom, necessarily keeps his mind in a state of perpetual activity, and qualifies him more than any other engineer we possess to speak with confidence and effect. Yet Mr. Landmann has hitherto given us nothing but elementary books, many of them, indeed, in the catechistic schoolboy form of question and answer; useful, indeed, so far as they go, but not going half so far as they ought; of this kind more especially are his "Principles of Artillery," and his "Principles of Fortification." The work before us is hardly an exception to this general remark; it is drawn up chiefly from Vauban, Cormontaigne, and Goulon, whose systems are given with sufficient accuracy in the mere outline of the plates, which again are fairly explained in the letter-press; but it is totally destitute of that which can alone make such *systems*, if the term must be thus improperly coerced into the service, of any use whatever; we mean the general principles upon which such systems are founded; and which alone can teach us to prefer the one to the other upon solid grounds, as well as furnish us with justifiable reasons for deviating from any one on particular occasions, and preferring irregular to regular works, according to the peculiarity of local situation, or of the attack or defence we are engaged in. We yet want a general systematic work of this kind in our own language, to which the present, together with Mr. Landmann's previous publications, might become so many efficient *graduses*; and we know of no man better qualified for such an undertaking than the Professor himself

CHAPTER III.

MORAL AND POLITICAL.

Containing History, Voyages, Travels, Topography, Politics, Law, and Ethics.

"A History of the early part of the reign of James the Second; with an introductory chapter: by the right honourable Charles James Fox, 4to." We may say without fear of contradiction that, since the invention of printing, there never has been published a work that has excited so much expectation as the present. The oratorical powers of the writer, the freedom of thought in which he always indulged, his manly patriotic spirit, his known familiarity with history, and especially the history of his own country, and his intimacy with the best models of historic composition, both in ancient and modern times: above all the high and deserved celebrity of his character as a statesman, contributed to excite and concentrate an interest in this publication, which no other publication has had, and perhaps no other publication ever will have a chance of rivaling. The copy-right, long before the work was committed to the press, was publicly reported to have been purchased at an enormous price; we have heard at not less than eight thousand pounds; a report, however, which we have since heard contradicted by another, which will not admit that the copy-right has ever been sold: not a bookseller's window in the metropolis was to be seen without this work blazoned in its front; nor a circulating, or even a private library of any extent was supposed to be complete without a copy of the same. Faultless indeed must be the work that can stand the test of such an expectation, and afford no reason for disappointing it.

The work before us, unquestionably, is not of this character, but it is, nevertheless, a work of extraordinary and very important merit. In point of style it is peculiarly defective; a man of but very ordinary education cannot turn over many pages without meeting with passages which his own moderate acquisitions will enable him if not to correct at least to object to. In avoiding latinisms and grecisms, Mr. Fox has often run into vulgarisms, and in escaping learned quaintnesses has fallen into colloquial. "The *then* state of Scotland"—"The man, *the having produced* whom is now her *chiefest* glory." p. 54.—are instances altogether in point, and we shall not invidiously quote further. In apology for this defect, however, it may be observed, that Mr. Fox had a deadly aversion to every species of affectation, and Lord Holland, in his excellent introductory chapter, has expressly observed that of two terms to express the same idea, he always professed to prefer using a vulgar to a recondite word. Under this impression, however, we are somewhat surprised that in illustrating our own history, he should have so frequently indulged, in what general readers cannot but regard as far-fetched allusions to the political transactions of Greece and Rome: while such a phrase as "the great *dictum* of Tully in

in questions of civil dissention"—is directly at variance with the rule it thus appears that he had laid down for himself; and in the court of King's Bench will hardly, we fear, escape the charge of an approach to affectation while it is fully convicted of the guilt of an unnecessary latinism. The best apology, perhaps, for most or all the defects of style with which this work is deteriorated, is, that the author did not live to correct it by a finishing hand; and, regarded in this light, criticism is at once disarmed of its powers, upon this individual and inferior point, and admits, without hesitation, the surpassing and characteristic merits of the work.

These merits are of various descriptions. The first is a most accurate and repeated investigation into the authorities it quotes, so as to be most confidently relied upon in its references. Next a keenness and scrupulosity of judgment on controverted points, formed from a deeply digested contemplation of the arguments advanced by antagonist memoirists, or historians. Thirdly, an ingenuousness of heart which proves the writer, in the clearest manner, to be chastised from all political prejudices, and influenced alone by the evidence of facts and experience. Fourthly, a generous allowance of merit, talents, and virtue, even in characters, whose general train of conduct he does not fail to condemn, and whose treasonable ambition or confederacy may have deservedly led them to the scaffold. As a work, therefore, both of general reading and research, this volume cannot cease to be highly interesting; and if it have not exalted, certainly has not, upon the whole, detracted from the pre-eminent character, whether literary or political, of its illustrious and lamented author. We cannot close our statement without acknowledging the great obligations the public are under to Lord Holland for his valuable and impressive introduction. The picture he has drawn of his right honourable and most excellent relation is drawn to the life; yet it is a sketch rather than a finished painting; it describes him in the domestic, rather than in the political circle; in the circle in which he was beloved, rather than in that in which he was admired; and it describes him, in Mr. Fox's own language, free, forcible, simple, and elegant.

"The History of Greece: by William Mitford, Esq. vol. IV. 4to." We congratulate our countrymen upon the appearance of this volume; it is a new and important link to one of the best historic chains exhibited in modern days; and goes far towards the completion of a scale by which we may safely ascend to some of the most important æras, and trustily contemplate some of the most important transactions of former times. In the volume before us, the history of Greece is brought down to the battle of Chœronea; and of course much of it is devoted to the contemporaneous and confederate history of Sicily. The two heroes of the piece are necessarily, therefore, Philip of Macedon, and Dionysius of Syracuse; and our author having adopted them as his heroes, has thought it necessary, in order to show that he is too virtuous a man to countenance moral turpitude and depravity, to white-wash these celebrated characters from the greater part, or at least the baser sort of the crimes that have usually been ascribed to them. Under the potent talisman here employed, the atrocious tyranny of Philip is metamorphosed into firm and active virtue, triumphing over unprincipled insults and aggressions; and the lawless ambition of the latter into a generous

desire

desire of power to communicate universal harmony and happiness. We cannot say that we have become converts to this new representation of things; but we are bound in justice to admit, that the author has consulted the very best authorities that are extant, and has made the very best use of them in support of his own opinion; and it is no small degree of credit to him that he has for the most part confined himself to contemporary historians and annalists, rather than relied upon the statements of subsequent writers; so that he has uniformly drunk of the fountain head whenever it has been possible. Of course Demosthenes, who has hitherto been the idol of most modern compilers of history, is thrown completely into the shade, and described, in general terms, as destitute of all true patriotism, and stimulated by selfish motives alone. Much benefit cannot fail of resulting from the new view of the subjects presented in this volume; because, admitting that Mr. Mitford is an undue panegyrist of the characters he has undertaken to justify, we are now put into possession of the two extremes of the case, and are better able, by the full evidence before us, to make an impartial decision, and return a trusty verdict.

We are astonished, however, that a scholar of so capacious a mind as the writer before us, and who certainly does not stand for trifles on other occasions, should descend to the littleness of affecting, in many cases, an unbecoming quaintness and pedantry of style, and of being a rigid stickler for a new invented mode of spelling, which in no instance appears to us to answer the purpose better than the accustomed mode, and in many instances, is decidedly changed for the worse. We shall quote the following passage, as an example of what we allude to, at the same time that it will serve as a specimen of the author's general style of writing. "When the fear of Lacadæmon or Thebes, long the salutary check upon this vicious government, was removed by the event of the battle of Mantineia, its extravagances soon became extreme. The people in general assembly being *soverein*, with power less liable to question than that of a Turkish sultan, who dares not deny his veneration for Mahomet's laws, or his respect for those appointed to high situations under it, any adventurer in politics who had ready elocution, could interfere in every department of government. Ratification by the people was required for every measure of administration. The most delicate *forein* interests were discussed before the people at large, and the contending orators abused *forein* powers and one another with equal grossness. *Unsteddiness*, then, became a characteristic of the Athenian government. Propositions rejected in the morning, says Isocrates, are often ratified before night, and condemned again at the next meeting of the assembly; and we find even Demosthenes, the *popular favorite* of his day, complaining that a measure decreed was as uncertain of execution as if it had never been taken into consideration. Assurance, therefore, for *forein* states of any maintenance of public faith was impossible. As soon as a treaty was concluded, it was the business of the opposing orators to persuade the people that they had been deceived and misled. If the attempt succeeded, the consistency of government and the faith of the republic were equally disregarded; the treaty was declared null, and those who had persuaded *to it*, rarely escaping *capital prosecution*, were fortunate if they could escape

escape capital punishment. Seldom, therefore, *tho* every thing must be discussed, could there be any free discussion. In the *soverein* assembly of Athens, as in democratical assemblies in England, a common hall of the city of London, or a county meeting for political purposes, freedom of speech often was denied; the people would hear the orators only on one side. Flattery to the tyrant, as we have seen the people in democracy often called among the Greeks, was always necessary. But honestly plain admonition, tending to allay popular passion, to obviate mischievous prejudice, or even to correct popular misinformation, could rarely obtain attention, unless in times of pressing public danger, and alarm among all parties."

"Modern State of Spain; exhibiting a complete view of its topography, government, laws, religion, finances, naval and military establishments; and of society, manners, arts, sciences, agriculture, and commerce in that country; by J. Fr. Bourgoing, late minister plenipotentiary from France to the court of Madrid:"—to which are added "Essays on Spain by M. Peyron; and the book of post-roads: with a quarto atlas of plates, 4 vols. 8vo." Connected as we now are with the Spanish peninsula by a chain of indissoluble alliance (so at least we hope it will prove) and upon the noblest principles that can stimulate the human heart, whatever work has a tendency to give us information in regard to this interesting and high-spirited people, cannot fail to be sought after with avidity, and perused from one end of the country to the other. On this account every volume, correct or incorrect, flimsy or well-digested, that has for the last twenty or thirty years been published in England upon the subject of the Spanish people and government, has of late been brought forth, often from dusty shelves, and in a moth-eaten state, and has found a ready market. The present history, therefore, cannot fail of success; for it is unquestionably the very best work upon the subject before us, composed by a statesman, who, from various circumstances, was better qualified than any other man in the world to enter upon such an undertaking; and, what is perhaps of more consequence than any thing else, it is brought down to the present eventful æra, and carefully unfolds the seeds of that mighty revolution which is advancing before us, and the characters of those who are most prominently engaged in the wonderful drama. This work has already excited so much interest in France as to have reached a fourth edition in that country; and it is from this last and most improved edition that the version now before us is produced. "M. Bourgoing," observes the translator, "enters the country by (*the*) way of Bayonne, and proceeds through Biscay and the two Castiles to Madrid, taking notice in his progress of whatever appears worthy of a digression. Having reached the metropolis, he directs his attention to the various branches of the administration; to the character and manners of the inhabitants of Spain; and to every subject connected with the state of society, the arts, sciences, and literature, the agriculture, commerce, and manufactures of that kingdom. Leaving the capital, M. Bourgoing conducts the reader to the southern provinces of the peninsula, and back to Madrid. He then describes several excursions in the environs of the metropolis, and particularly a visit which he paid to Ar-

ragon, and returns to France through the kingdom of Valencia and Catalonia *(principality of Catalonia)*. Thus it appears that the various theatres of the arduous struggle in which Spain is at this moment engaged, are more especially the objects of the author's notice." There are a few points omitted in the original of M. Burgoing, which we should have liked to have seen noticed; but these are now judiciously supplied by the addition of M. Peyron's Essays. The quarto Atlas is a useful accompaniment.

"A Description of Ceylon, &c. by the Rev. James Cordiner, A. M. late Chaplain to the garrison of Columbo, 2 vols. 4to." Of Ceylon almost as little is yet known as of Africa. We have heard much of the coast which is the whole of the island that Europeans have ever been able to lay a claim to, the vast interior being jealously kept possession of by the king of Candy; so jealously indeed, that Europeans find more difficulty of exploring it than of intersecting China. This coasting range, which now belongs to Great Britain, girding the island as with a belt, extends in some places not more than six, in others thirty, and on the northern side even sixty miles into the interior country. Almost the whole of its circumference is lined with a sandy beach, and a broad border of cocoa-nut trees, behind which are seen double and treble ranges of lofty mountains covered with wood. The south-east coast, viewed from the sea, is particularly picturesque and romantic. This country, in the highest degree mountainous, presents hills beyond hills, of which many are covered with the richest verdure, others are rocky and precipitous, of extraordinary shapes, resembling ruined battlements, ancient castles and lofty pyramids. The northern parts of the island are flat, and frequently indented with shallow inlets of the sea.

Such is a bird's eye view of Ceylon, here undertaken to be described by Mr. Cordiner. It is but a very few years since a description of the same country was brought forward by Mr. Percival, which we noticed with the applause which was unquestionably due to it. Mr. Percival's work was comprised in one volume 4to: the present is in two volumes; and occupies about double the space of the former. Yet it does not appear to us that there has been any necessary demand for such double space from the nature of the materials the present author is in possession of; the same subjects for the most part recur, and are rather merely dilated than relieved by new incidents or information. Yet Ceylon is a country highly interesting and attractive, and as the same account of it, when fairly drawn up, would bear a second perusal without fatiguing, the present, though in many cases unnecessarily full and minute, may be read with pleasure and profit. Columbo, the present seat of government, is agreeably described, and if the town itself have nothing very inviting in its buildings and conveniences, the European, or rather the English society, in our author's estimation, makes ample amends, by its general urbanity and politeness; while the country around is a paradise exquisitely studded by the villas of the English inhabitants in high and conspicuous situations, most of which command a view of the wide semicircular bay that expands into the mouth of the *Calany ganga*.

"Nothing about Columbo" observes our delineator," is apt to excite admiration

admiration more than the flourishing state of the vegetable world. So much beauty and variety are in few countries equalled, and no where excelled. The thick shade of majestic trees, the open prospects, the lively verdure, the flourishing shrubs and parasitic creepers, unite their charms to render the morning rides delightful. No climate in the world is more salubrious; and a person who remains within doors while the sun is powerful, never wishes to experience one more temperate. The air is at all times pure and healthy, and its temperature uncommonly uniform. Fahrenheit's thermometer usually fluctuates in the shade about the point of 80°. It seldom ranges more than five degrees in a day, and only thirteen through the whole year, 86° being the highest, and 73° the lowest point at which it has been seen in any season." This to ourselves and our countrymen who are often exposed to a difference of from fifteen to twenty degrees within the range of a few hours, and, within that of a few months, are called upon at one time to broil in the heat of the equator, and at another time to freeze like Laplanders, is like fairy land; yet we believe the steadiness of temperature here asserted to be true; for it coincides with the observations of other travellers upon this subject. We should have been much pleased with a bill of health and longevity, under these circumstances, but we have searched for such a document in vain. Our author is most at home in describing the magnificence of style in which the governor lives and travels, the superbness of the court dresses, and the elegance and sprightliness of the conversation of the court ladies. In his travels he is conveyed in palanquins, and reposes under sumptuous bungaloes; he is protected by guards of Lascareens, and enlivened by the beat of Ceylonese drums. Every thing proves that our author lived in the very lap of luxuriance and ease, and was seldom subject to any of those inconveniences which so largely fall to the lot of travellers in general; even the musquito itself seems to have been an insect of rare occurrence and molestation in the course of his pursuits, since in noticing its existence at Point de Galle, he thinks it necessary to describe it as "a species of gnat troublesome in various parts of *India*." Yet we ought not to close this history without adding, that we have a good account of elephant snares, and some valuable observations on Burmhism, and the general customs of the Ceylonese brahmins. For the interior of the country, however, we must still content ourselves with consulting honest Robert Knox.

"A Voyage to the Demerary; containing a Statistical Account of the Settlements there; and of those of the Essequibo, the Berbice, and other contiguous rivers of Guiana: by H. Bolingbroke Esq. Deputy Vendue Master at Surinam, 4to." This title is better qualified for the Irish than the English side of St. George's Channel. The whole of this volume is called a *voyage;* yet the voyage extends to nothing more than the first chapter. This *voyage,* moreover, is said to contain an account of the various settlements in Demerary; the progress of the *book,* we admit, contains such an account, but the *voyage* does not offer us a syllable upon the subject. It gives us, however, some observations on the ravages on ships built of European wood in tropical seas, which our naval architects may not find uninteresting. Yet we apprehend that this subject still requires to be investigated; the cause lies deeper, and is

more of a chemical nature than has hitherto been suspected. We know less of the relative properties of sea-water, and its innumerable zoophytic and other worms in different parts of the world than we ought to do in the present day. The *teredo* is perhaps only one animal in a million that destroys the texture of our toughest oak planks; and, perhaps, for every visible worm there may be a thousand that are invisible from their minuteness. The frequent and extensive putrefaction of these animalcules when they have once worked their way into the interior of the wood, is, as we suspect, in a variety of cases, communicated to the wood itself, by the escape of the elementary particles of animalization in the form of gases, uniting, in proportion as they escape, and forming new combinations with the surrounding ligneous matter. We copper-bottom our ships to preserve them from this destruction; and we find, that ships sheathed by the same artist, and with plates of the same thickness, will last as long again when dispatched to some seas, as when dispatched to others. The artist has often been subjected to much obloquy on this account, and has been accused of using plates of not more than half their proper weight and thickness, in those cases in which they have been soonest and most easily eroded. Such dishonesty may have occurred occasionally; but the same fact has been traced in cases in which the deceit could not possibly have been perpetrated: and in these instances the difference can only be referred to the different powers of zoophytes, and other submarine worms; or, which is perhaps the chief cause, to the different degree of action of the galvanic gas in different seas. This introduces a new question into naval architecture, and we trust the importance of the subject will excuse the digression to which we have been led.

Our author having completed his *voyage*, on the Guiana coast, gives us, in his second and third chapters, a lively and picturesque account of Stabroek, the chief town in the Demerary settlement. In the fourth he becomes a politician, and criticizes its form of government, which, to say the truth, preserves too much of the old and awkward republicanism of the once famous United Provinces. The fifth chapter opens to us the deputy Vendue Master's opinion of negro-slavery, of which under certain restrictions, he is a sturdy defender. There is a little special pleading in this defence, but nothing that stands in need of a detailed animadversion. He chiefly argues that the slaves were slaves in their native country, before their purchase by an European master, and that after such purchase, and especially of late years, their condition is infinitely better than antecedently to it. The author might have spared himself the trouble of all such observations; for they have nothing to do with the principle on which the question rests, viz. its justice or injustice; at the same time that it ought to have been obvious to him, that the African negro is, for the most part, only enslaved in his own country in consequence of the European demand for him; and that the recent amelioration in the European treatment, has succeeded to the earliest debates upon its abolition, and has chiefly been intended to rebut its necessity, and not from any simple feeling of benevolence. Yet the deputy Vendue Master has so high an opinion of the felicity of these poor labouring slaves, that he boldly denominates them *the peasantry* of the

the settlement, and maintains that the slave-trade is an universal benefit "not less so to the wretched captive than to his tyrannic lord." Chapters six and seven treat of the Caribbee nations and districts, and re-echo their cannibal customs, together with some other extravagancies of as wild and outrageous a nature. The four ensuing chapters are of a miscellaneous kind; and the two next describe the animals and vegetables of Guiana. In chapters fourteen, fifteen, and sixteen, our author's views are directed to trade, commerce, and cultivation. Chapter seventeen is for the most part an extract from Sir Walter Raleigh's voyage: and chapter eighteen gives a general recapitulation of the preceding pages, together with a strong and earnest recommendation to government to abandon the West India islands in favour of an extensive establishment on this part of the continent, which our author assures us is "the mildest and most wholesome, of any tropical country hitherto inhabited by Europeans," and very considerably free from those accidents by which our insular crops are so frequently ruined. Finally, the deputy Vendue Master, in the true spirit of his profession—would have the establishment he proposes, of the most magnificent structure—abundance of places, luxurious salaries, and unsparing emoluments; believing that a vast increase of national felicity must necessarily be the result of such a plan.

"Travels in America, performed in 1808: for the purpose of exploring the Alleghany, Monongahela, Ohio, and Mississipi, and ascertaining the produce and condition of their banks and vicinity: by Thomas Ashe, Esq. 3 vols. 12mo." There are persons of distinguished character and honour who need no introduction, their own name being an ample passport, and a ready welcome. Thomas Ashe Esq. has conceited himself to be a species of this genus—and hence, the whole of his history, ways and means, rank in life, and object, are comprised in the title. Yet to us, who are not always acquainted with the names and character of the distinguished genus aforesaid, and who do not remember to have heard the name of Thomas Ashe, Esq. announced by the heralds of literature, or of fashion, this information is not quite sufficient, and we still burn to know something more of his birth, parentage, and education, and whether, without the present *title*-page, he would ever have possessed any title whatever. There is a facility of composition in these volumes, not unlike that so proverbially manifested by the renowned Sir John Carr; yet we have not at present, heard of this extensive traveller's having obtained leave at the herald's office to operate a change in his name: there is also much of the wildness and composite incident of the equally renowned Damberger; and Sir Richard, who was the good-natured publisher of both these sets of adventures, as though he was the only man in London for marvellous adventures of this kind, once more kindly steps forward with his obstetric aid, to usher into being the present "exploratory voyage" of this *novus homo*, Thomas Ashe, Esq. To speak seriously, Mr. Ashe, if such a person actually exist, may have performed the *travels* he here pretends to have perfomed; and he may have beheld much of the romantic scenery, and been a party to many of the extraordinary and hair breadth escapes, which he here lays claim to; but there is a bold-

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ness in these books which is destructive of their own veracity, and the careful reader will not want for *intrinsic* evidence, that he neither performed the whole, nor saw the whole which he here affects to have done. There is, nevertheless, a spirit, and an ease, though we cannot say a correctness, in the description of the various incidents that make up this new tale of wonders, that have induced us to copy in another part of this Register as far as we have been able; and we have no doubt, that, like other romances, these travels, may obtain an extensive range in our circulating libraries.

"Travels in Asia and Africa: by the late Abraham Parsons, Esq. Consul and Factor-Marine at Scanderoon, 4to." These travels contain an account of a journey from Scanderoon to Aleppo, and over the desert to Bagdad and Bussora; of a voyage from Bombay to Morha and Suez; and of a journey from Suez to Cairo and Rosetta. There is much that is still valuable in the work, though, from the length of time its publication has been delayed, it has lost a large portion of the interest it would have excited, if it had been published when first compiled. The range of time the volume includes, is from 1772 to 1779; and consequently, not less than thirty years have now revolved since the matter of which it consists was completed. Why this matter, if brought forward at all, should have been so long locked up in the private escrutoire of the author's family, and only dragged out in a state so antiquated and replete with assertions now known to be incorrect from the concurrent testimony of later travellers, as to lose half its value, we are not very fully informed. The author died at Leghorn as long ago as 1785, and his papers have since been successively in the possession of his brother-in-law, the late Rev. J. Berjew of Bristol, and Mr. Berjew's son, the last of whom, pleads the extent of his "professional engagements" as the cause of that part of the delay which is attributable to himself. We find little that is curious in this work, and as little that can claim attention from a polished elegance of style: but whatever is related in connection with the physical state of the countries through which our author passed, and which is little liable to change, or to deceive by its appearance, seems to lay claim to a very ample reliance. There is a simplicity of narration, and a punctuality and method in our author's mode of journalizing the transactions that occurred to him, that sufficiently bespeak his trust-worthiness and authority—perhaps, the most essential qualities with which a traveller can be complimented.

"A General, Historical, and Topographical Description of Mount Caucasus; translated from the works of Dr. Reineggs and Marshal Bieberstein, by Charles Wilkinson: 2 vols. 8vo." Marshal Bieberstein was a good naturalist, and the friend of Gmelin; his work, written during an unfortunate campaign, is, consequently, chiefly devoted to this branch of physical science. M. Reineggs was a physician of eccentric habits, and a restless mind: his travels, or rather rambles, led him far into the east, first to Constantinople, then to Smyrna, and afterwards to Georgia; from which province he roved to a very considerable extent over other districts of the Caucasean regions, surveyed them in all their wonder and variety, their beauty and fertility; their horror and magnificence, their winter verdure and summer snows. He studied

died the customs and manners of their different tribes, pagan, mahometan and christian; the servility of one kind, the stern independence of another; enjoyed luxuriant slavery with the former, and honest, parsimonious liberty with the latter. There is no country in the world that presents such a rich variety of character; manners so inconsistent and opposed; tribes so remote in origin, though so contiguous in dwelling as that immense chain of mountains, designated by the name of Caucasus, and stretching from beyond the Indies eastward, to the Caspian and Black Sea on the west; though it is to the latter division exclusively that the present description is directed, as, indeed, is almost every description which has hitherto been presented to the European world; the oriental range of this wild and wonderful belt yet remaining to be explored and unfolded. M. Reineggs, however, offers us a few hints concerning the eastern tribes, but they are hints alone —a mere sketch that remains to be filled up by the pencil of some future traveller. "The inhabitants of the whole eastern Caucasus," says he, "are short, strong, lively, inquisitive, mistrustful, reserved, brave, very intelligent, and in instruction extraordinarily docile. They are well versed in the management of the gun; which with the sabre, dagger, and a pistol, constitutes their whole armour: bows and arrows they have long since laid aside."

Some provinces of the Caucasean regions, and even of a more western direction, are peculiarly fertile and indulgent. Such especially is the province of Iberia or Immeret: "it is impossible," says M. Reineggs, "to imagine the quantity of apples, pears, prunes, apricots, cherries, figs, and almonds: whole mountains are covered with chesnuts, hills overgrown with olives, and plains full of granates and laurels. The almond and medlar stand in thick forests of quince and apple trees laden with fruit. Pear, apple, and prune trees, often bear twice a year. All other fruit trees blow at least twice, and are engaging in autumn from their vernal attire. When with this abundance we consider the plentiful harvests of rice, millet, wheat, cotton, flax and hemp; and add to it the silk which every family grows for its own consumption, but *(which)* by less labour would *(might)* be raised in much greater quantity, can there well be found a more favoured land?" All this is pleasant, and cannot fail to entertain a cursory reader: but the botanist desires to know the particular species, bulk, and flavour of the pears, apples, apricots, &c. with which the country is so richly endowed—and how nearly these wild and indigenous fruits approach the perfection of those propagated by cross-breeds, and laborious cultivation; while the naturalist, and the manufacturer are anxious for information as to the tree on which, in another part, we are told that every village, nay, every family grows silk in abundance, and the weight and glossiness of the cocoon. Nevertheless the whole is highly attractive and inviting, and we have no reason to doubt the *general* fidelity of the pictures so pleasingly exhibited. On a few occasions, nevertheless, we think M. Reineggs appears to have taken rather too much upon trust; as, for instance, when he undertakes to unfold all the peculiarities, customs, and domestic economies of a tribe of European origin, which, he tells us, at the same time, guards the passes into its interior incessantly.

ly, and allows no entrance either to a stranger or neighbour: and when he asserts, with equal confidence, that "one of the tribes, the Kabardins, continues to sacrifice human victims, *though secretly*, on the tombs of the dead, as a sin-offering for the departed soul." M. Gueldenstaedt's Catalogue of Indigenous Plants, is a document of considerable value, and the annexed map appears to be well laid down. The version is by no means so correct as we could have wished it; yet the translator has added some valuable explanatory notes, which in no small degree atone for his deficiency in grammar and idiom.

"Travels in Turkey, Italy, and Russia, during the years 1803-1806: with an account of some of the Greek Islands: by Thomas Macgill, 2 vols. 8vo." It does not appear when or where, or on what account these letters were compiled; and we have much reason for believing that they are rather presented to the world from the author's mere reminiscences, than as drawn up from any contemporary note-book. Yet they are composed with spirit and amenity, though without any credentials of accomplished authorship. It is probable that Mr. Macgill's good nature may have led him to commiserate the avidity of the public for books of travel and foreign adventure, and hence to contribute his mite towards satiating so thirsty an appetite. Our epistolarian first visits Venice, about the period of the commencement of the present war; and he describes the curiosities of this extraordinary and unfortunate place with a minuteness that shews him to have been there; but with a want of taste, that shews at the same time, that he might almost as well have been at home. From Venice our author proceeds to Ancona and Loretto, and ascribes the loss of our lady's real jewels to that rude infidel Bonaparte, asserting, and firmly believing, that he stripped off the whole, and carried them away in his hat; although was induced, in consequence of an angry look from the image as he was on the point of decamping with his booty, to make her a present of a set of false stones, of the same size and form instead. He gives a truly curious description of a horse-race at Ancona, which, after it had commenced, was postponed till the next day, by order of the governor, on account of some slight informality between the jockies: which next day, however, proving somewhat chilly, the general who commanded the band of Roman soldiers ordered out to keep the ground on the occasion, transmitted his compliments to the govenor, and requested, on account of these soldiers, that the race might be still postponed till warmer weather. The governor unpolitely refused, observing, that "as the weather was not too cold for the ladies, he thought it was not too much so for Roman soldiers:" and the soldiers were consequently compelled to expose themselves to the inclemency of the heavens; and if not on this day, at least on others, our author adds, that on their turning out he has seen every one of them "with an umbrella under his arm, the drummer and fifer alone excepted."

This excursion being completed, Mr. Macgill next quits Venice for the Levant: at Scio he is shewn the place where *Homer kept school*, and the seats on which some of the boys sat while learning to read and write; at Smyrna he meets with another school of the said pedagogue Homer; but upon the whole the account of Smyrna is well detailed. From Smyrna our traveller winds his way

way by land to Constantinople, which is also well described, and from which he makes various excursions, and especially to Ephesus, in the course of which he delineates the massy ruins of the temple of Diana. Mr. Macgill next makes an interesting voyage to the coasts of the Black Sea, and carefully inspects the towns of Taganrock and Odessa. Notwithstanding all the impediments that exist in the Turkish empire, the spirit of improvement appears, from these travels, to be making a very considerable progress. We have often had occasion to notice the printing press established by Selim III. at Scutari, especially in our retrospect of Foreign Literature for 1806, p. 406. Mr. Macgill informs us, that the building for this purpose is on a scale somewhat extensive; that ten presses were at work when he visited it; and that adjoining it was a fine paper manufactory, established also by Selim. Various books on geography were here shewn him, translated into Turkey, and among the rest Cook's Voyages: he also saw, lately worked off, a Turkish version of Euclid's Elements, and numerous specimens of maps and charts.

"Memorials of Nature and Art, collected on a journey in Great Britain, during the years 1802 and 1803, by Christian Augustus Gottlieb Goede; translated from the original German by Thomas Horne, 3 vols. 12mo." These *memorials*, as they are somewhat quaintly called, relate rather to the character than the country of our compatriots; and are much more generally drawn from what the writer saw or heard of in the metropolis, than from any thing that occurred to him in the course of his *journey*. We could point out a great variety of mistakes in facts, and false estimates in reasoning: yet it is not easy for a foreigner to acquire great accuracy upon national subjects of so wide a range as those admitted into this work, with the limited term to which the author's observations were confined. In the original German, and perhaps in a French version, the work, as a slight sketch, may be useful; but we have many doubts as to the expediency of presenting it in an English dress, and the success which will attend it.

"The Costume of Great Britain: designed, engraved, and written by W. H. Pyne, Elephant 4to. *nine guineas*, boards." In this superb and expensive work it is the artist's intention to include all classes of society, and to offer delineations from the most elevated ranks of public functionaries down to the lowest gradations of mechanical and laborious industry. The costly volume consists of not more than *sixty plates* with a vignette in the title-page, and a very small portion of explanatory letter-press. The subjects thus selected to convey to foreigners, and to transmit to future generations, the *costume* of the day, are as follows: 1. Pottery. 2. Leather-dressing. 3. Yeomen of the King's Guard. 4. Firemen. 5. Woman selling saloop. 6. Herald. 7. Chelsea Pensioner. 8. Wardmote Inquest. 9. Welch Peasants washing. 10. Country Fair. 11. Halfpenny Showman. 12. Brewers. 13. Women churning butter. 14. Coal-heavers. 15. Beadle of the Church. 16. Lord Mayor. 17. Serjeant Trumpeter. 18. Slaughter-man. 19. Brick-maker. 20. Knife-grinder. 21. Alderman. 22. Bishop. 23. Doctor of Laws. 24. Milk-woman. 25. Fisherman at a Capstan. 26. Knight of the Garter. 27. Waterman to a Hackney-coach Stand. 28. Dustman. 29. Lamp-lighter. 30. Pillory. 31. Guy Faux. 32. Admiral. 33. Rabbit

Rabbit Woman. 34. Judge. 35. Barges. 36. Speaker of the House of Commons. 37. Peer of the Realm. 38. Waggon. 39. Water Cart. 40. Grass Roller. 41. General Officer on horseback. 42. British Fishery. 43. Bill Sticker. 44. City State Barge. 45. Round-about. 46. Baron in Coronation Robes. 47. Baker. 48. Worsted Winder. 49. Highland Shepherd. 50. Prison Ships. 51. Lord Mayor's State Coach. 52. Smithfield Drover. 53. Dragoon. 54. Royal Mail. 55. Life-Boat. 56. Royal State Carriage. 57. Lottery Wheel. 58. Country Butcher. 59. Female Shrimper. 60. Highland Piper.—It will be obvious from this list, that several are introduced that scarcely admit of specific character, as, for example, the Grass Roller; while other subjects are omitted, which are either of national importance, or peculiarly characteristic of national manners, both in the highest and lowest orders. We have no costume of an English king or queen in their robes, or of ladies or gentlemen dressed for a levee, among the higher subjects; and among the lower no picture of a British soldier, a British sailor, of a boxing match, or a Newmarket jockey. Upon the whole, the inferior ranks are described better than the superior: the two best drawings are those of the *Brewers* and the *Fisherman*. The letter-press is in every respect of very small value. The information it conveys is trifling; and its mis-spellings are numerous.

"A Topographical Dictionary of England; collected from the most authentic documents, and arranged in alphabetical order: by Nicholas Carlisle, Fellow and Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries, 2 vols. 4to. 5l. 5s. boards." This is a work truly valuable, and is likely to succeed upon the ruins of all other Gazetteers, where the price is not an object of consideration. It comprises far more subjects than Gazetteers in general, though it is exactly of this description, and undertakes to exhibit the names of the several cities, towns, parishes, tythings, townships, and hamlets, with the county, and division of the county to which they respectively belong: the valuation and patrons of ecclesiastical benefices, and the tutelary saint of each church: the resident population according to the returns made to parliament in 1801; and the amount of the parochial assessments according to similar returns in 1803: the distance and bearing of every place from the nearest post office, and from the county town; markets and fairs; members of parliament and corporations; free-schools; petty sessions and assizes; together with occasional information respecting monastic foundations, and other points of local history. Large as this work is, and economically as it is printed, we could have wished for more, rather than for less matter, under the plastic hand of the very industrious compiler; since there are several valuable subjects that yet remain untouched, and which we have no doubt that he would have introduced if he had not been cramped for space. Nevertheless, the topography of England alone is given in these volumes; that of Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and the islands in the British seas, being reserved for a third volume, which we trust the success of the work before us will soon call for.

"Anecdotes of the Manners and Customs during the Eighteenth Century; including the charities, depravities, dresses, and amusements of the citizens of London during that period; with a review of the state of society in 1807: to which is added,

added, a sketch of domestic and ecclesiastical architecture, and of the various improvements in the metropolis. Illustrated by fifty engravings: by James P. Malcolm, 4to. 2l. 2s." The title of this book will induce many of our readers to compare it, in their own *fancy* at least, with Mr. Pyne's *Costume* of Great Britain, which we have just noticed. The subjects made choice of for the engravings, however, are considerably more select; and though the plates are less attractive, no possible comparison can be made between the literal descriptions of the preceding and of the present work. London may be regarded as an epitome of the country at large, in consequence of the facility of communication which now exists between every part of the island and the metropolis, and the speed and avidity with which fashions starting up in the latter, are conveyed, as by telegraphic dispatch, to the former: and the "Manners and Customs of London" may therefore be regarded as nearly parallel with the "Costume of Great Britain" in general. To say that many subjects are not omitted (perhaps forgotten by the author) in this volume, which in our opinion ought to have found a place, would not be to offer an honest opinion upon the merits of the work, but we can fairly aver, that this performance will afford considerable assistance to every one who is desirous of forming a just estimate of the manners of the English in the eighteenth century. The collections here offered afford striking proofs of the fondness for sights and prodigies, the whimsicality and eccentricity of ideas, the disposition towards wagering, rioting, credulity, and coarse merriment, which have always distinguished the great bulk of our countrymen, and which still break out occasionally, though in forms less gross and absurd in our own times: they will also shew that if the existing period be characterized by some new and more extravagant follies, and even vices, than past ages, it is equally characterized by a general spirit of liberality and improvement, which has softened its manners, and banished much of the coarseness that prevailed among the multitude in former times.

"An Essay on Government: by Philopatria, 8vo." The subject is important, and has exercised the private meditations and the public pen of the profoundest philosophers, and the most comprehensive statesmen of almost all ages and nations. It is here, however, ventured to be glanced at by a female speculatist, who, with a modesty becoming her sex, has denominated her undertaking an Essay: and our readers will not be a little surprised when we inform them, that we have strong reason for believing that the female speculatist in question, the *Philopatria* before us, is no other than the *celebrated* Mrs. Lee, who but a few years ago acquired no vulgar portion of notoriety by her conduct towards the Gordons—a conduct to this hour mysterious; but which we have some reason to believe will not always remain so. The work is "humbly dedicated to the British nation;" and from the following note subjoined to the introduction, which succeeds to the dedication, our readers will perceive that, even from the book itself, independently of collateral testimony which has reached us, our surmise is by no means without foundation, more especially when we add, that it is addressed from "Clarges-street, Piccadilly;"—"The subject of the following Essay, and the chief motives which induced me to dedicate it to the British nation, gave rise to the national name which I have adopted;

adopted; but, with the sanction of several friends, I now subjoin the one which I have borne the last thirteen years, R. F. A. Lee."

In examining the merit of the treatise, we have nothing to do with the antecedent part of the author's life; and we have no hesitation in stating, that those who peruse it will forget what is past in the contemplation of what is before them. Mrs. Lee shows herself here at least, not to have acted *unthinkingly;* she has well pondered her subject; she has studied from the best authorities, and apparently in Latin as well as in French and English. Beccaria seems to have been her pole-star; yet she has deviated from him in many important particulars; Locke, Blackstone, and De Lolme she has investigated critically, and though sensible of their weight and merits, has no hesitation in controverting several of their favourite positions, nor needs either of them be ashamed, female as she is, of the antagonist that thus fearlessly enters the lists with them. The following are the subjects treated of. On the freedom of the press, with respect to political enquiries. Of the rights of the people. Of universal principles. Of civil distinctions. Of the sovereignty. Of the representatives of the people. Of the constitution of England. Of sedition and treason. Of judges. Of secret information. Of oaths. Of torture. Of influence. Of bribery. Of the dignity of the plebeian character. Of slavery. Of society. Of right. Of property. Of education. Of women. Of the education of women. Of marriage. Of the claims of children. Of public schools. Of public charities. Of servants. Of inns, public-houses, &c. Of the minor regulations in cities and towns. Of national institutions, public buildings, &c. Of funerals. Of public festivals and games. Of dress. Of military and naval honours. Of titles. Of war. Of taxation. Of posts. Of disaffection. Of duelling. Of crimes. In the course of this Essay there is too frequent a reference to promiscuous reading upon subjects that depend not upon learning or authority for their support; and there are some eccentric principles started from the author's not having duly appreciated the authorities she has consulted; but, intermixed with these venial errors, there are also a comprehensiveness of view, a soundness of discrimination, and an acuteness of reasoning, for which we have often sought in vain in the writings of professed civilians.

"An Enquiry into the Extent and Stability of National Resources: by the Rev. T. Chalmers, 8vo." The *drum ecclesiastic* is here loudly beaten to warn us of the desperate danger to which we are exposed from the power and talents of Bonaparte: a new scheme of national preservation is devised; and instead of our armies being drawn from the bold and sturdy peasantry of the country, these, the reverend politician before us, advises to be let alone to till, to sow, and to reap, and thus to provide us with articles of the first necessity; while every other class of the community, excepting indeed the race of tailors and shoemakers, and blacksmiths and carpenters, who are to be in like manner left alone to provide clothes, and hovels, and instruments for the men of the field, are to be surrendered altogether to the *arbitrium* of government, to be employed as soldiers or sailors, or in whatever other capacity the said government may choose to make use of them, as a mean of resisting the tremendous overthrow with which the country is threatened. With the sole exception of the peasantry of Great

Great Britain, and its coadjutors, as above stated, the whole of our population, it is here recommended, and insisted upon, must necessarily submit to the *shackles* of martial law, in order to preserve its *freedom*: the idle and the honourable, the artisan and the professional man, must equally consent to enter the ranks, and carry the knapsack—every luxury must be relinquished, whether domestic or foreign: and taxes and imposts are to be hailed as the best blessings of the country; and when this happy point has been accomplished, when our diet is reduced to that of a poor-house, and our liberties to those of a house of correction, we shall have acquired the happiest state imaginable, and may defy all the numerous evils, the wretchedness and misery with which we have been so long menaced by the imperial despot of France. "In the name of every thing dear to the country,"—it is thus our enquirist eloquently apostrophizes the minister, "tax us with an unsparing hand: it is to avert a greater calamity; and if *any* grumble, *he* is not a patriot; he deserves not that an ear should be turned to his remonstrances:—No, this is not a time to hesitate about trifles. Accommodate the distribution of your people to the existing necessity: be prompt, be vigorous, be unfaultering: for *I swear by the ambition of Bonaparte*, that he will be soon among us at the head of his marauders, if he knows that instead of meeting the population in warlike and defensive array, he will find them labouring in their work-shops, writing in their counting-houses, balancing their ledgers, and persevering in the good old way of their forefathers." Where the Rev. T. Chalmers picked up this new-fashioned oath we know not: it is not yet, that we have heard of, introduced into our *courts*, and has not, as we verily believe, exceeded the limits of his own *pulpit*. Bonaparte is, in truth, an odd sort of a divinity for a North-Briton, or a Briton of any kind to swear by; and especially a Briton whose profession should have taught him to "swear not at all."

"Essay on the Theory of Money and Exchange: by Thomas Smith, 8vo." Mr. Smith finding, as every political financier has pretended to find before him, that all his predecessors in the same line have talked or written on wrong principles, undertakes in the work before us to advance something less exceptionable and more correct. In the prosecution of this intention he proposes "first, to state what appears to be the ground-work or true first principle upon which the existence of money, or a circulating medium, depends; second, to shew the nature and properties of coins, and their connexion with the first principle; third, to shew the nature and properties of paper-money, and its connexion with the first principle; fourth, to shew the true theory of exchange or connection with foreign countries." Mr. Smith has certainly given the subject a new, and we have no hesitation in adding, a plainer and more conspicuous view; he writes sensibly and acutely; he is chiefly defective in his explanation of money as a standard of value.

"An Inquiry into the State of National Subsistence, as connected with the Progress of Wealth and Population: by W. T. Comber." The national subsistence here referred to, is the quantity of corn grown indigenously or imported from foreign states: and the object of the work before us is to explain the nature and tendency of the laws which have been passed at different times in relation to the corn-trade.

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The subject has been so bewildered by the multiplicity of our corn-laws, and more especially by the different legislative views which have been taken of it from time to time, and upon which such multiplicity of antagonist laws has been founded; but most of all, by the numerous dreams and speculations which have been advanced in regard to it by hordes of writers of the present day, that it is no easy matter to unravel it from its entanglings, and to offer it in the form of a plain and simple proposition to the common sense of the community. Mr. Comber, however, has followed it up with tolerable success; though he himself is also guilty of entangling it occasionally in a few unnecessary mazes, when he carries us back to the feudal system, and to dissertations on the Saxons and the Danes, which have no more connexion with the thread of his discourse, than the history of Adam and Eve in paradise. Yet, upon the whole, the present book is well worth perusing, and especially under the extraordinary complexion of the day: Mr. Comber is a friend both to the bounty and the restraining laws under certain circumstances, which circumstances he has fairly and explicitly pointed out. Here, however, we differ from him: and can see no reason why the trade in corn may not be suffered to proceed as freely, and unrestrictedly as any other trade: if the antagonist laws of bounty and restraint have occasionally been serviceable, there is no doubt also that they have occasionally been productive of mischief; and while it is a question on which side the balance lies, we wish to see our statute-book divested of the burden altogether.

Whilst upon this subject we cannot avoid observing, that the late "Orders in Council" relative to neutral vessels, have produced a considerable number of publications, but chiefly in opposition to that measure. Of these perhaps the most popular have been Mr. A. Baring's "Inquiry into the Causes and Consequences of the Orders in Council, and Examination of the Conduct of Great Britain towards the Neutral Commerce of America:" and Mr. Brougham's "Speech before the House of Commons, Friday, April 1, in support of the Petitions from London, Liverpool, and Manchester, against the Orders in Council." It is known, or should be known to our readers, that in November 1806, Bonaparte issued his famous decree at Berlin, declaring the British islands to be in a state of blockade, and announcing his intention to capture all vessels trading to our own coasts; shutting up, at the same time, all the continental ports under his authority, against all vessels which had cleared out from Great Britain, and subjecting to confiscation all cargoes of British produce or manufacture. He ordained, shortly afterwards, that all neutral vessels arriving at any port in his dominions should bring with them a certificate under the hand of the French consul at the port of shipment (which he denominated a *certificate of origin)* that the cargo was not of British produce or manufacture; and that all vessels met at sea without such a certificate, should be liable to capture. In the subsequent January our late ministry, to oppose this violent measure, issued an order subjecting to seizure all neutral vessels trading from one hostile port to another with hostile property. This not appearing to answer the purpose in the opinion of the existing ministry, shortly after their appointment to office, in consequence of the carrying trade of America being

being still conducted in spite of the aforesaid threat, in the ensuing November (1807) the orders in council, upon which the controversy hinges, made their appearance. By these orders France and all her tributary states are declared in a state of blockade, and all neutral vessels trading to, or from, them are lawful prize; at the same time, that all vessels whatever are made liable to seizure, on which shall be found any such certificate of origin as is required by the above decree of Bonaparte, dated at Berlin.

The joint object of the publications before us is to prove, that these orders are equally unjust to neutral states, and impolitic in regard to our own trade. They tell us that the commerce of neutrals will hereby be destroyed; that, in point of fact, we are the aggressing power, for that Bonaparte, though he issued his own decree long-antecedently to the appearance of the orders in the British council, suffered the decree to lie dormant; that he had not, at the date of the orders in council, carried it into execution, except in one or two instances in which the vessels were restored upon a proper application; and, more than this, that he had expressly declared to the American minister, Mr. Armstrong, that it never was his intention to carry it into execution; and that, finally, the Americans, so far from submitting to the Berlin edict, had, by their secretary Mr. Maddison, positively declared, that "the honour of the United States was a sufficient pledge that no culpable acquiescence" should ever take place on their part. Such are the arguments brought forward in proof of the *injustice* of the orders in council. In proof of their domestic *inexpediency* and impolicy we are told, that while the imports into America from England are annually upwards of eight millions sterling; the exports from America to England scarcely exceed five millions sterling for the same period: that this balance in favour of our own country is chiefly paid by a balance due from the European continent to the United States in consequence of its trade with France and other continental powers, by which it gains about an average balance to that which it loses by its trade with England; and consequently that, by an enforcement of these orders, we equally deprive ourselves of the accustomed balance belonging to us from our American commerce, and cut off the means of paying such balance, even if it could nominally accrue. To which is added, that we are equally compelling both the European continent and the United States to become commercially independent of us, to turn their attention towards other markets, to encourage a domestic manufacture of the articles with which we have hitherto supplied them, or to learn to subsist without such articles altogether: so that, even on a return of peace, the same trade will not return to us, being entirely obliterated, and the capital employed in it being irrecoverably thrown into other channels.

All this is plausible; but as it appears to us, it is little more than plausible. Neutral states must always be sufferers in the event of hostilities between powers stronger than themselves. If Bonaparte did not, in the first instance, enforce the execution of his decree, it was only because he found that more mischief would result from its execution than from its dormancy; and foresaw the mischief that would fall upon his own head, from the consequent adoption by England of such a measure as the orders in council; which

which he endeavoured, therefore, as much as possible, to avert, by pretending to a leniency and liberality, which was an act of force and not of free-will. Finding, however, that his own forbearance did not prevent the British government from punctiliously executing the full spirit of the orders in council, he has since, if we be rightly informed, returned to his own original intention; the Berlin decree is perpetually carrying into effect, and American vessels are at this moment seized and condemned through all the ports of France. The whole of the mischief that has resulted to American commerce, therefore, whether on the part of France or of England, must be laid at the door of the Berlin decree, as the *punctum saliens* from which the mischief originally flowed. No one denies that such a decree on the part of the French emperor ought not to have been met by a similar decree on the part of the English government; all that is contended for being, that it ought not to have been *enforced*, so long as Bonaparte chose not to enforce his own decree. But where, we enquire, is the dignity of passing a decree without intending to carry it into execution? if it were politically wrong to execute it, it was politically wrong, it was childish and absurd to ordain it; if the complexion of the times demanded that it should be ordained, it demanded also, as an act due to the dignity of the British government, due to that contempt with which the Berlin decree ought to be contemplated, that it should be instantly and rigidly carried into execution. The political *inexpediency* of the measure is urged, if we mistake not, with as little success. America may gain something from us by being compelled to exercise her own ingenuity, and to endeavour to shift without many of the articles with which we have been accustomed to supply her, or to manufacture them for herself: but she will lose as much by compelling the British West India colonies to pursue the very same plan. The trade to the United States for provisions and lumber is now completely gone by; and let a peace return when it may, it will never revert, at least in an equal degree, to its original channel; while, at the same time, that which is thus lost to America, is transferred, mediately or immediately, to the parent state. The assertion, moreover, that the British capital which used to be employed in the American trade is now no longer capable of employment, and remains almost as a dead weight to its proprietors, proceeds from very narrow views of the subject. The boundary of commerce is interminable; shut it up at one point and the prospect enlarges at a thousand others. Europe itself has had a thousand proofs of this, and Bonaparte is now sensible of the absurdity of attempting to blockade what may be called our home quarter of the world. America is, in an equal degree, a living example of the same fact. The United States have interdicted us from their coasts, and have refused all other dealings with us; but a theatre of far ampler extent has since burst open to us in the same quarter of the world; and the capital which is thrown back upon us, from the United States, is now only transferred to the Spanish and Portuguese parts of the same continent, where it has the promise of a much richer harvest.

"An Historical Survey of the Foreign Affairs of Great Britain, with a view to explain the causes of the late and present wars: by G. F. Leckie,

Leckie, Esq. 8vo." The object of this pamphlet is threefold: first, to point out that the whole of the conduct of Great Britain, how much soever the ministry may have changed, has been, in regard to the continent, and indeed to our own best interests, wavering, discordant, and despicable. Next, to give us a truer picture of Sicily than has yet been presented to us, and to shew us how little we ought to expect from the people, and even from the government itself of this island. And lastly, to exhort that, relinquishing the continent altogether, we would bend the whole stress of our powers to keep possession of the insulated parts of Europe, and especially those of the Mediterranean. Sicily, by proper means, (and means which have never yet been pursued,) he yet thinks might be retained in subjection, and the Greek islands might easily be gained over. This survey, as the result of an actual observer, is well entitled to notice.

"A Sketch of the Causes and Consequences of the late Emigration to the Brazils: by Ralph Rylance, 8vo."

"Vindiciæ Lusitanæ: or an Answer to a Pamphlet entitled 'The Causes and Consequences of the late Emigration to the Brazils: by E. J. Lingham, Esq. 8vo.'" The object of the first of these pamphlets is to prove, that the Prince Regent left Portugal to take possession of his American territory by the tacit consent of Bonaparte, who clearly foresaw, that if he remained behind, and connected himself, as he was on the point of doing, with France, England would instantly step in and seize the Brazils to herself; while by allowing the Prince Regent to retire to his American settlement, Bonaparte might at any time, towards the close of the war, obtain exclusive advantages over him in consequence of some arragement in regard to the mother country. The writer of the second pamphlet is furious upon this charge; and with much wrath and scurrility of language, yet, in our opinion, with a better personal knowledge of facts, represents the Prince Regent as a hero of a most magnanimous and independent mind, —a mind that no offers of Bonaparte could ever tempt from the line of rectitude and political probity: and he speaks of the whole of the Portuguese people with the profoundest reverence for their patriotism, intrepidity, and moral worth. The only point in which the combatants agree is, that of the escape of the Prince Regent and the Portuguese court, without any collusion with our own, or any interference on the part of the English minister, by which he was persuaded to take such a step.

"Speeches of the Right Hon. John Philpot Curran, on the late very interesting State Trials, 8vo." "*State Trials*" is here a sort of catch-word; for not more than half the speeches recorded in this volume are devoted to this subject. Whatever be their subject, however, they are well worth perusing—and even in their present imperfect and degenerate form, from which we hope shortly to see them purified by a better and more correct edition. We have run through them with a lively interest, and admiration of the talents of their justly celebrated and impassioned author.

"A Letter to the Livery of London, relative to the views of the Writer, in executing the office of Sheriff: by Sir Richard Phillips, Knight, one of the Sheriffs of London and Middlesex, 8vo." Whatever may have been the author's motives, which are differently esti-

mated by different parties, in publishing this letter he is certainly engaged in a good cause, and we wish he had been more fortunate in supporting it. Yet it is probable he might have been more successful, if he had been less restless: there are many points to which he has directed his reforming energies that are altogether unworthy of attention, and by grasping at every thing, he appears to have laid hold of nothing.

"Scotch Reform: considered with reference to the proposed Plan in Parliament, &c. in a series of Letters addressed to the Right Hon. Lord Grenville: by J. Bentham, of Lincoln's Inn, Esq. 8vo." This pamphlet is, from the beginning to the end, an eulogy upon the Grenville act for reforming the Scotch Courts of Judicature: yet it is not mere eulogy; it points out in the most forcible, though by no means the most clear and elegant manner, the necessity of some such reform as that proposed by Lord Grenville, from a great variety of the grossest evils that are ingrafted into every part of the process by which justice is at present administered throughout North Britain.

"A Letter to a Country Gentleman on the Education of the lower Orders: by John Weyland, junior, Esq." *In medio tutissimus ibis*; so, with true classical spirit, thinks the present epistolarian; and hence, while some speculative sages are for teaching the poor reading, writing, and accounts, so that they may become qualified for various important posts in life, and others are for teaching them nothing at all, the writer before us, who is altogether of the *middling* kind, advises that they be taught *reading*, as conceiving that no harm can happen from this act of benevolence; but he strenuously dissuades us from teaching them any thing farther, as clearly perceiving that an incredible portion of impiety and rebellion lurks under the sly magic of writing and arithmetic.

"Every Adventurer in the present State Lottery his own dupe." The spirit of gambling that characterises the inferior orders of the present day upon the subject in question, imperatively demands a variety of such publications as the present; in which the folly of those who found splendid expectations on these fashionable schemes of chance, is justly exposed by the most glaring facts, and the most ridiculous narratives.

CHAPTER IV.

LITERATURE AND POLITE ARTS.

Containing the Transactions of Literary Societies, Biography, Grammar, Classics, Philosophy, Poetry, Drama, Novels, and Tales.

"THE Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London, for the Year 1808," are in every respect entitled to our first attention in this chapter. They open with one of the most important papers which have marked the progress of science for at least a century past; which is Mr. Davy's "Bakerian Lecture on some phenomena (phænomena) of chemical changes produced by electricity, particularly the decomposition of the fixed alkalies, and the exhibition of the new substances which constitute their bases; and on the general nature of alkaline bodies." The train of experiments and reasoning here introduced, are a continuation of those which formed the subject of this transcendent chemist's Bakerian lecture for the preceding year, and of which we gave an account in our retrospect of the "literature" of that period. The paper before us is so intrinsically valuable, that, instead of epitomising it in the present place, we have thought it our duty to transcribe the chief part of it, verbatim, into an antecedent section; and on this account have only now to make an observation or two on the doctrines which seem to result from it, or which it is expressly intended to inculcate. Mr. Davy has completely succeeded, in our opinion, in proving that the bases of potash and soda are pure genuine metals, possessing the common metallic characters, and only differing from those characters in their very extraordinary specific levity. To these new metals he has very properly given the names of *potasium* and *sodium*: and it appears to us, that the alkaline salts of potash and soda ought, for the future, to be regarded as merely oxyds of these respective metals, since, like all other oxyds, they are only these metals with a certain proportion of oxygen. It seems, however, to be pushing the principle too far to assert, from the discoveries hitherto made, that all alkalies and alkaline earths are the result of a metallic basis; and more especially to assert, as is here asserted, that oxygen is as truly and essentially an alkalescent as an acidifiable element; and consequently, that the whole of that extensive part of the new chemical nomenclature, which is founded on the doctrine that oxygen is the element or principle of acidity alone, is erroneous, and that a new chemical vocabulary is become necessary. In the production of acids, we find it a maxim of universal application, that according to the quantity of oxygen with which an acidifiable basis is combined, will be the strength of the acid hereby produced: diminish the quantity of oxygen, and the degree of acidity will be diminished; increase it, and it will be augmented. Yet we have not only no such maxim of universal application at present, in regard to the production of alkalies, but the few facts which the admirable paper

before us has put us into possession of, are in direct hostility to such a maxim; thus soda, although a substance less highly alkalised than potash, contains a larger proportion of oxygen; while the volatile alkalies, which, from being the most highly concentrated alkaline substances we know of, ought also, if this maxim were at all applicable, to be at the same time the most highly oxygenated, are the least oxygenated of any of the alkalies; for while potash contains one part of oxygen to six of the metallic or alkaline base, and soda two parts of the former to seven parts of the latter, ammonia is so very trivially combined with oxygen, as not to contain more than seven or eight per cent. In the formation of alkalies then, all that we seem to know at present is, that oxygen is absolutely necessary, in some quantity or other, to co-exist and combine, in order to produce this effect; while, in the formation of acids, it not only co-exists and combines, but enters as an integral and constituent part into the produced acid itself: in the one instance it is an essential *agent*, in the other it is an essential and vital *principle*.

The remaining articles are as follow: II. "On the Structure and Uses of the Spleen, by Everard Home, Esq." This paper is only introductory to a more general inquiry, in regard to the subject it announces. It offers experiments made chiefly upon dogs, in which the pylorus of the stomach were secured in each by a ligature, to prove a communication between the cardiac portion of the stomach and the circulation of the blood through the medium of the spleen. The subject is curious. We are yet in the dark as to the medium of this direct communication between the cardiac portion of the stomach and the spleen; but the ingenious writer promises "to prosecute the inquiry on a more extensive scale of experiments;" which promise the reader will find fulfilled in Art. XI. of this part of the Transactions.

III. "On the Composition of the Compound Sulphurat, from Huel Boys, and an Account of its Crystals, by James Smithson, Esq." This paper is designed to correct what the author imagines to be a few errors in Mr. Hatchett's account of the sulphurat here referred to, as well as to give a more definite statement of its form; and the experiments it details go to prove, that instead of its being a direct quadruple combination of lead, antimony, and copper, with sulphur, it is rather a combination of the three sulphurats of these metals. As to the form of this sulphurat, it was supposed in the paper inserted in Part II. of the Transactions for 1804, to be extremely variable, and not less than seventeen figures, of different shapes, assumed by its crystals, were inserted in the plate annexed to that article. Mr. Smithson, on the contrary, contends, that its shape is uniform, and he has presented this shape in an adjoined plate, differing only from increased aggregation of its crystals.

IV. "On Oxalic Acid, by Thomas Thomson, M. D. F. R. S. Ed., communicated by Charles Hatchett, Esq. F. R. S." This is a paper of experiments alone, and serves to illustrate more fully than we have hitherto been acquainted with, the relative proportion of oxalic acid in the different oxalats which have attracted the notice of chemists. The experiments appear to have been conducted with great accuracy, and are important addenda to those of Hermstadt, Westrumb, Berthollet, Fourcroy,

Fourcroy, and Vauquelin. Dr. Thomson's observations on the composition of oxalic acid are highly ingenious and interesting.

V. "On Super-acid and Sub-acid Salts, by William Hyde Wollaston, M. D. Sec. R. S." This may be regarded as a supplement to the preceding paper, both being founded, in a very considerable degree, on the theory of Mr. Dalton; and the latter being expressly intended to illustrate, by a variety of easy and ingenious experiments, the general axiom, that in all cases the simple elements of bodies are disposed to unite atom to atom singly; or if either be in excess, it exceeds, by a ratio, to be expressed by some simple multiple of the number of its atoms.

VI. "On the Inconvertibility of Bark into Alburnum, by Th. A. Knight, Esq. F. R. S. in a letter to Sir Joseph Banks, K. B., &c. &c." Mr. Knight, in this paper, pursues the subject he has so often antecedently brought before the public, and opposes the theory of Duhamel, Mirbil, and almost all our earlier phylologists, as to the conversion of the liber or inner bark into alburnum; believing that this last substance is augmented by an increase of its own vascular system. By what means, however, this increase takes place upon his own theory, he has not yet informed us; though he proposes to do so in a short period. We shall resume the subject when he has completed his theory by the promised papers.

VII. "Some Account of Cretinism, by Henry Reeve, M. D. of Norwich, communicated by W. H. Wollaston, M. D. Sec. R. S." This is a valuable paper, both in a physiological and a medical view. Its object is, to prove that none of the causes which have hitherto been advanced for the production of this deplorable malady, are founded in fact; that there is no necessary connection between goitre and cretinism; that the latter does not depend upon snow-water, or water impregnated with calcareous matter; but that it has a strong affinity to rickets, and, like rickets, is the result of marsh effluvia in infantine life, and a humid, close, and oppressive atmosphere; and that the mind becomes affected and debilitated through the previous affection and debility of the body.

VIII. "On a new property of the Tangents of the three angles of a plain triangle, by Mr. William Garrard, communicated by the Astronomer Royal."

IX. "On a new property of the Tangents of three arches trisecting the circumference of a circle, by M. Maskelyne, D. D. F. R. S. and Astronomer Royal." It is impossible to abridge these papers, and we shall only observe, that for *new property* in each, we ought to read *newly discovered property*.

X. "An Account of the Application of the Gas from Coal to economical purposes, by Mr. William Murdoch, communicated by the Right Hon. Sir Joseph Banks, Bart., &c." This paper is of considerable consequence to those who have lately embarked their money in this metropolis upon a plan for obtaining a patent for illuminating the metropolis, and other parts of the country, with gas lights, obtained by a process asserted to be new and original. It distinctly states the employment of this very process, for the last six, eight, ten, and sixteen years, upon extensive scales, in some of the largest manufactories in this kingdom, and with an enormous saving; the manufactories particularly alluded to are Mr. Boulton's, at the Soho foundry, and Messrs. Phillips' and Lee's, at Manchester.

XI. "Further experiments on the Spleen

Spleen, by Everard Home, Esq. F. R. S." In this ingenious paper the subject commenced in Art. II. is resumed and prosecuted indefatigably; and it seems clearly to result, that the liquids received into the stomach are partly conveyed, through the medium of the spleen, into the circulation of the liver; and that this connexion "will explain the circumstance of those who are in the habit of drinking spiritous liquors having the spleen and liver so frequently diseased, and the diseases of both organs being of the same kind." It is at the same time admitted by Mr. Home, "that the spleen is not an organ essential to life, (which, upon such a theory, it should seem to be); and that the vessels which communicate between the stomach and the spleen have not been discovered."

"Asiatic Researches, or Transactions of the Society instituted in Bengal, for inquiring into the history and antiquities, the arts, sciences, and literature of Asia, vol. viii." This is one of the most important and valuable volumes which have ever issued from the labours of the Asiatic Society. More than usual care has been displayed in the selection of the papers of which it consists. The subjects are, for the most part, highly interesting, and the writers of high reputation and talent. The first article consists of "Observations respecting the remarkable effects of sol-lunar influence in the fevers of India; with the scheme of an astronomical ephemeris; for the purposes of medicine and meteorology, by Francis Balfour, Esq. M. D." The theory here submitted, as fairly issuing from a long course of extensive practice and observation, is comprised in the following proposition. 1st, That the paroxysms of fevers discover a tendency to appear and disappear in coincidence with those positions of the sun and moon, that regulate the rising and falling of the tides; showing themselves more frequently during the spring tides, becoming more violent as these advance, and subsiding during the neaps. 2d, That there is, however, a certain state of the human constitution denominated the critical disposition, which tending gradually to maturity, at length concurs with certain remissions of sol-lunar power in exciting and reiterating paroxysms in such a manner as to complete them. 3d, That in the course of the disease, there takes place in the constitution, a certain state, denominated the critical disposition, which tending gradually to maturity, at length concurs with certain remissions of sol-lunar power to produce a crisis; by which salutary change the tendency to paroxysm is diminished or removed, so as to bring fever to an end after certain intervals of time."

II. On the Origin of the Hindu Religion, by J. D. Patterson, Esq. "The Hindu religion," observes Mr. Patterson, "appears to me to have been originally a reform of existing systems, when the arts and sciences had arrived at a degree of perfection; it appears that it was intended to correct the ferociousness and corruption of the times, and to reduce mankind to an artificial order, on a firmer base of polity; that it was the united efforts of a society of sages, who retained the priesthood to themselves, and rendered it hereditary in their families by the division of the people into separate casts; that it was supported by the regal authority, which, while it controled, it supported in return; that it was promulgated in all its perfection at once as a revelation of high antiquity, to stamp its decrees with greater authority; and that it was founded on pure deism, of which the Gayatri,

Gayatri, translated by Sir William Jones, is a striking proof; but to comply with the gross ideas of the multitude, who required a visible object of their devotion, they personified the three great attributes of the Deity." We do not altogether concur in this opinion; we wish to see the resemblance between the mythologies of Greece and India, followed up and developed more minutely. There is a much stronger parallelism between these, than between the mythologies of Egypt and Greece, notwithstanding that the Grecian religion has been far more usually ascribed to Egypt as its source than to India; and a parallelism that seems clearly to ascertain the fact of an ancient connexion between India and Greece, independently of Egypt, as a middle point of union; a connexion perhaps opened and maintained by the Pelasgian tribes.

III. "On the Hindu Systems of Astronomy, and their Connexion with History in ancient and modern Times; by J. Bentley, Esq." In this paper the author endeavours to prove, that the knowledge of astronomy in Hindustan is much more modern than is usually supposed. From two chronological systems, contained in an astronomical work, entitled the Graha Manjari, he infers that the words yuga, mahayuga, and manwantura, formerly denoted very different, and considerably shorter periods than are understood by those expressions at present. The same work enables our author to ascertain the period elapsed since the creation, according to both systems, down to the era of Vicramaditya; and dividing the number of years into the periods indicated in each, he finds the commencement of the last golden age in the year 3164, before Christ, according to the first; and the birth of Swáyambhuva, or Adam, 3878 years before the same period, according to the last. The monstrous system of chronology now adopted by the Hindus he refers to Brahma Gupta, an astronomer who lived about the year 500 of our era. The necessity of accommodating history to this change, occasioned the new modelling of the Puránas: but for this purpose it was necessary to destroy all astronomical works which might detect the imposition; and there is a report that it was the Mahrattas who performed this task.

IV. "An Essay on the Sacred Isles in the West, with other Essays connected with that work, by Captain Wilford." This is indeed a very curious inquiry, the object of which is, to prove that Great Britain and Ireland are the sacred isles of the Hindus, "of which Swetaduipa, or the *White Island*, is the principal, or the most famous, in fact, the Holy Land of the Hindus." The paper before us, however, is only one of six other essays connected with it, which yet remain to be brought forward, and the most important of which will make its appearance in the next volume of the Asiatic Researches. We shall, therefore, postpone all examination into the author's plan, till we are more fully in possession of it; and content ourselves at present with having merely announced it.

V. "On the Vedas, or Sacred Writings of the Hindus, by H. T. Colebrooke, Esq." This is the most important article in the volume. The vedas have been very largely collected and perused by Mr. Colebrooke, who very ably supports their authenticity. "Each Veda," he observes, "consists of two parts, the Mantras and the Bráhmanas, or prayers and precepts. The complete collection of the hymns, prayers, and invocations belonging to one veda, is entitled its Sanhitá. Every portion

portion of Indian scripture is included under the general head of divinity (Bráhmana). This comprises precepts which inculcate religious duties; maxims which explain those precepts; and arguments which relate to theology. But in the present arrangement of the vedas, the portion which contains passages called Bráhmana, includes many which are chiefly prayers or mantras. The theology of the Indian scripture, comprehending the argumentative portion, entitled Vedanta, is contained in tracts denominated Upanishads, some of which are portions of the Bráhmana, properly so called; others are found only in a detached form, and one is a part of the Sanhitá itself.

"Prize Essays, and Transactions of the Highland Society of Scotland, vols. ii. and iii." This society commenced in 1799, and on the publication of its first volume, its members amounted to five hundred. The patronage it has met with from government, and the general countenance afforded it through the whole of North Britain, have induced it, in some degree, to change its plan and enlarge its views, and in the volumes before us, it assumes the character and functions of an agricultural society for Scotland. In the introduction to the second volume, Mr. Mackenzie reports, that the attention of the society has been directed to procuring proper seed-corn, and early crops of potatoes; to the prevention of emigration; and the improvement of lands subject to the servitude of *thirlage*. Yet as a proof that its labours are not exclusively confined to agricultural pursuits, we are also informed, that under the class of literature, it has patronised a Gaelic grammar, a new Gaelic edition of the scriptures, and an etymological dictionary of the Scottish language. It has also, directing its eye to another quarter, encouraged the ingenious inventor of a life-boat, for saving persons exposed to ship-wreck. The prefatory pages of the third volume, arrange the subjects prosecuted by the society, under the heads of public-works, fisheries, agriculture, and manufactures. We also meet with a few articles belonging to Celtic literature and antiquities, especially with an additional notice of a Gaelic dictionary; an account of two ancient harps, one of which was presented to the ancestor of the present possessor, by queen Mary, when she was on a hunting excursion in the Highlands; (a paper we noticed in a separate form in our retrospect for last year;) and the report of the committee appointed to inquire into the nature and authenticity of the poems ascribed to Ossian, which has also passed under our examination as a separate article. We cannot enter farther into the particulars of these volumes. The subjects they contain are, for the most part, interesting and valuable; and we cannot forbear wishing success to so truly patriotic an institution.

"Transactions of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce, vol. xxv." As the annual volume of this respectable establishment grows thinner, we are glad to find that it grows select, and that it is not from want of matter that it curtails the extent of its publications, but from a more matured judgment. In the class of agriculture we meet with various papers of utility and curiosity; amongst which may be mentioned, Dr. Hewison's communication on the Chinese method of propagating fruit-trees by abscission. "They select," says he, "a tree of that species which they wish to propagate, and fix upon such a branch as will least hurt or disfigure the tree by

by its removal. Round this branch, and as near as they can conveniently to its junction with the trunk, they wind a rope made of straw, besmeared with cow-dung, until a ball is formed five or six times the diameter of the branch. This is intended as a bed into which the young roots may shoot. Having performed this part of the operation, they immediately, under the ball, divide the bark down to the wood for nearly two thirds of the circumference of the branch, A cocoa-nut shell, or small pot, is then hung over the ball with a hole in its bottom, so small, that water put therein, will only fall in drops; by this the rope is constantly kept moist, a circumstance necessary to the easy formation of the young roots, and to the supply of nourishment to the branch from this new channel. During three succeeding weeks, nothing farther is required, except supplying the vessels with water. At the expiration of that period, one-third of the remaining bark is cut, and the former incision is carried considerably deeper into the wood, as by this time it is expected that some roots have struck into the rope, and are giving their assistance in support of the branch. After a similar period the same operation is repeated, and in about two months from the commencement of the process, the roots may generally be seen intersecting each other on the surface of the ball, which is a sign that they are sufficiently advanced to admit of the separation of the branch from the tree. This is best done by sawing it off at the incision, care being taken that the rope, which by this time is nearly rotten, is not shaken off by the motion. The branch is then planted as a young tree." This method appears to afford a promise of the production of fruit much earlier than from seeds; though it is probable a longer period would be necessary for the process in Europe than in India.

A Productive and Economical Method of rearing Poultry is communicated to the Society by Mrs. Hannah D'Oyley, to whom a silver medal was very deservedly voted. It is founded on the Egyptian plan of increase by artificial heat, as improved by M. Reaumur; in the course of which, the real mother is allowed to hatch her chicks by incubation, but, instead of being suffered to rear them afterwards, has another collection of eggs immediately placed under her for the same purpose, the newly-hatched brood being taken away and committed to an artificial mother, the roof and back of which are lined with lambs' skins dressed with the wool upon them, and steadily heated, by being placed in a long wicker cage, fixed to a hot wall at the back of the kitchen fire; the chicks are fed by a boy, by coarse barley-meal, steamed till soft, interchanged with minced potatoes.

Among the chemical papers of the Society, one of the most valuable is a communication from Lord Ribblesdale, of Gisburn Park, Yorkshire, respecting a mine of zinc ore, and his application of it as a white paint. His lordship, who appears to have tried this ore very carefully and repeatedly, prefers it as much, in every other respect, to that of white paint, as in its being free from all poisonous effects; its whiteness improves by time; it covers a larger surface, and its price may be rendered lower. From various trials made by the Society, it did not seem to possess all the properties asserted by the noble discoverer; but it is probable that these trials were not quite properly conducted; the Society, nevertheless,

less, judged the discovery possessed sufficient merit to induce them to vote a silver medal to his lordship.

Among the Mechanical papers, we meet with various ingenious contrivances, that we should like to detail if we had space, especially Mr. Christopher Wilson's invention of a new secure-sailing, or life-boat, for which the gold medal was awarded to him. Mr. W. Shipley's scheme for a *floating-light*, calculated to save the lives of persons who have the misfortune to fall overboard in the night from any ship; and Mr. John Bell's invention of throwing a rope on shore, by means of a shell from a mortar on board a vessel in distress, an account of which very valuable discovery we have extracted in another department of this volume.

"Transactions of the Linnéan Society of London, vol. viii." The papers in this volume are nineteen; and there is scarcely any one that does not possess high interest and importance; it is a truly valuable contribution. The following are the subjects: "Observations on the Perigynous Insertion of the Stamina of Plants, by B. A. Salisbury, Esq. F. R. S., &c." It may be necessary to inform some of our readers, that the tribe of plants referred to by the term *perigynous*, first introduced by Jussieu, is that whose stamens are inserted in the calyx. 2d, "Descriptive Catalogue of the British Testacea, by W. G. Mahon, M. D. and the Rev. Thomas Rackett, A. M." Various alterations from the Linnéan character, language, and arrangement, take place in this article, which is the longest of the whole, and occupies more than half of the entire volume. These alterations are not uncalled for; and we cannot but regard the catalogue before us as a most valuable guide to the study of British conchology. A numerous list of synonyms is given, and the *habitats* are carefully noted from the most authentic writers, from the observations of the authors themselves, or from those of their friends. The whole is illustrated by five plates, containing sixty-one figures, elegantly and accurately drawn, and engraven and coloured with great delicacy and truth. 3d, "Some Account of the Pitch Lake on the island of Trinidad, in two letters; the first from Samuel Span, Esq. to James Tobin, Esq. and the other from Mr. Tobin, to Charles Hatchett, Esq. with Observations by Mr. Hatchett." This lake, hitherto supposed to consist of pure bitumen alone, is proved, in the letters before us, to consist, in a great measure, of argillaceous stone, impregnated with bituminous matter. 4th, "Description of a new species of Lichen, by Turner Dawson, Esq." To this lichen Mr. Dawson gives the name of Phôedephulus, from the peculiar nature of its crust; it has a strong alliance to his own chrysocephalus. 5th, "Account of chrystallised *(crystallized)* oxalic acid, produced from the boletus sulphureus, by Robert Scott, M. D. of Dublin." 6th, "Observations respecting a species of Phalarope, and some other rare British birds, by Mr. T. W. Simmonds." 7th, "Account of some remarkable shells found in the cavities of a calcareous stone, called, by the stone-masons, *Plymouth Rag*, by W. G. Mahon, M. D. and the Rev. Thomas Rackett; with some additional Observations relative to the mytilus lithophagus; by Mr. James Cowsly." We have nothing particular to observe on any of these papers, unless that the second offers an abortive attempt to establish a new species of phalaropè, and that the general intention of the third is,

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to prove that the stone described is not a *Plymouth Rag*, though so denominated in the title, but a foreign material brought in ballast, and containing shells which are not, or at least many of which are not, indigenous to this country. 8th, "Account of the Bromus Triflorus of Linnéus, by J. E. Smith, M. D." The object of this paper is, to prove that the plant here described is not properly a *bromus*, but a festuca. 9th, "Description of a species of Jerboa, found in the upper provinces of Hindustan, between Benares and Hurdwar, by Lieut.-Col. T. Hardwicke." There is nothing so peculiar in the specific character of this dipus as to detain us. 10th, "Characters of three new species of Baronia, by J. E. Smith, M. D." We are indebted to Dr. Smith for the arrangement of this entire genus, which, with three new species now noticed, advances it to seven. 11th, "Account of a Storm of Salt, which fell in January 1803, by R. A. Salisbury, Esq." The salt deposited upon plants by the storm here described, and injurious to many, while others, which we should most have expected to have been injured, escaped without mischief, is ascribed to the effect of winds blowing directly from the sea, and loaded with the spray of salt water; a cause, however, which seems hardly efficient to all the results which are here stated. 12th, "Description of seven new species of plants from New Holland, by Edward Rudge, Esq." 13th, "Observations on the Genera of Trollius, Eranthis, Helleborus, Coptis, and Isopyrum, by R. A. Salisbury, Esq." 14th, Characters of several Genera, in the natural order of Coniferæ, with remarks on their stigmata and cotyledons, by the same." It is sufficient to remark of these three papers, that they evince an acute and scientific attention to the department to which they belong. 15th, "Description of a new species of Macropus, from New Holland, by A. B. Lambert, Esq." If it be necessary to distinguish the macropus from the didelphis, the present appears rather to be a variety of the former than a separate species. 16th, "Experiments upon a substance called Dapèche, from South America, by W. Allen, Esq." This appears to be a species of fictitious caoutchouc from successive depositions of a milky vegetable juice, in the subterranean cavities in which it was discovered. 17th, "Account of a new British species of Caltha, by T. F. Forster, Esq." There are peculiarities in the plant here described, which entitle it to be regarded as a new species; it approaches nearest to C. Palustris. 18th, "Description of a new genus in the natural order of Rubiaceæ, called Rudgea, by R. A. Salisbury, Esq." Of this new genus two species are described, natives of Guiana, discovered by Martin. 19th, "New Arrangement of the plants of the Monandrian class, usually called Scitamineæ, by W Roscoe, Esq." This is a well-arranged and valuable paper, by the biographer of Lorenzo del Medici, and we lament that we cannot give a detailed account of it.

"Essays of the London Architectural Society, 8vo." We merely notice this as the *primitiæ* of a society in its infancy, and to which, from the specimens here presented to us, we earnestly wish success. It affords a pleasing promise of much future utility and entertainment.

"The British Encyclopedia (Encylopædia), or Dictionary of Arts and Sciences, comprising an accurate and popular view of the present improved state of human knowledge, by W. Nicholson, 12 vols. 8vo."

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This is a very useful and valuable epitome, completed in the short period of a twelvemonth, from a variety of sources, in general of the best character, and in many instances the original contributions of scholars, philosophers, and men of science, well known to the world. That a work so extensive should have been conducted with so much general accuracy as is here evinced, is highly creditable to the indefatigable attention of those who have had the superintendence of it. It is not to be expected, however, that in such a mass of multifarious matter as is here presented, there should be a perfect uniformity of excellence; we would easily designate articles in which the science treated of is by no means brought down with all its improvements to the present day; but we turn from the invidious task to observe, that many of the subjects exhibit great novelty of thought, neatness of execution, or accuracy of arrangement; we have been most pleased with those on chemistry, mechanics, medicine, mathematics, anatomy, physiology, geology, and various processes of manufactures. The engravings, which amount to a hundred and forty four, are of very different merits; a large portion are distinct, correct, and elegant; but great numbers, and especially in the natural history, are too crowded and diminutive to communicate any thing like an accurate idea of what they profess to represent.

"Universal Biography, containing a *copious* account, critical and historical, of the life and character, labours, and actions, of eminent persons, in all ages and countries, conditions and professions, arranged in alphabetical order, by J. Lempriere, D. D. 4to." We here meet with all the wise and the learned, the great and the mighty, the studious and the witty, the precise and the eccentric, the good and the bad, the benevolent and the tyrannical, the fair and the homely, the scholars, philosophers, politicians, poets, historians, legislators, kings, tyrants, saints, and sinners, that have ever flourished from the beginning of time, and, by merit or accident, have transmitted their names to the present period, crowded, like the clean and unclean beasts in the ark, into one single quarto. And concerning each and every one of them; we here also meet in the title page with the very acceptable promise of "a copious account, critical and historical, of their lives, characters, labours, and actions." Now every reader must perceive, from the title-page alone, that the author has unwittingly engaged in an undertaking it is absolutely impossible to perform. Yet we have another charge to bring against him, of a nature at least as serious, and that is, that he has not only attempted an impossibility, but he has not fulfilled that which he might have accomplished, and which, in his introductory remarks, he has undertaken to accomplish; we mean that he has not sufficiently consulted his judgment to distinguish truth from error! and has by no means appropriated the size of his portraits to the characters of those they represent. Three or four lines for Alfred, Adrian, or Archimedes, must necessarily have sufficed us, provided that not more than one or two could be alloted for persons of less interest or importance; but there is an unpardonable want of graduation in the scale that allots, as the present does, not more than the above space to these pre-eminent personages, while whole columns are devoted to eternise the memory of Garrick, Foote, and other play-actors.

The single, or original biographers of

of the year, form a numerous tribe, and to many of them we are indebted for much amusement and information, though we can by no means boast of so rich an assortment of works of this kind as during the two preceding years. Amongst the foremost in interest appears to stand Mr. Caley's "Memoirs of Sir Thomas More, with a new translation of his Utopia, his History of King Richard III., and his Latin Poems, 4to. 2 vols." The very chequered life, the manly firmness, the unswerving virtue, and the final martyrdom of this illustrious character, render it impossible that his biography, by whomsoever written, should be altogether uninteresting to an English reader. It is not long since we had to notice a shorter account of him, drawn up with no inconsiderable portion of judgment and spirit, by the late Mr. Macdiarmid, in his Lives of Eminent Statesmen. Yet we can still bear another history, and the rather, as the present, instead of precisely rivalling the former, proceeds on a much broader scale, and presents us with a variety of striking details, which the abridged state of the preceding work precluded from all possibility of introduction. Having selected, in another department of the Register, two or three extracts, which may serve as specimens of the general interest of the life itself, and of the general merit of the biographer, we shall only farther observe, that Mr. Cayley appears to have improved his style by practice, and that his Life of Sir Thomas More is, in many respects, better written than his Life of Sir Walter Ralegh. The authentic documents introduced are numerous, and many of them singularly valuable. The Utopia is well translated; and the History of Richard III. is certainly better adapted to the present day than the English version of the Latin copy, written, though never finished, by the author himself. The historic doubts exhibit a specimen of hypercriticism which do no credit to the author's severity.

"Memoirs of the Life and Writings of George Buchanan, by David Irving, A. M. 8vo." Mr. Irving, like the preceding writer, has already appeared before the public as a re-caterer of posthumous biography, and in his Lives of the Scottish Poets has discovered a considerable portion of industry and research. The same qualities are peculiarly observable in the present work; the whole is fitly put together; every needful document appears to have been scrutinized; an inextinguishable spirit of examination is for ever bursting through the whole, and there is, as in his former work, a very abundant attachment to his North British compatriots. We have copied from the volume, in another department of the Register, as from a compilation on which we may faithfully depend, but we cannot recommend it as a work of fashionable style or exalted genius.

"Memoirs of the Life of Isaac Pennington, to which is added, a Review of his Writings, by Joseph Gurney Bevan, 8vo." Notwithstanding all the quaintness that disfigures the very numerous extracts from friend Pennington's works, with which the present volume is filled; there is an air of simplicity and sincerity so peculiarly predominant and impressive, that we do not envy that man his feelings who can peruse these pages unmoved. The biographer is not unknown to us; we have seen him and hailed him as a *sacred critic*—a character not often assumed by the society of Friends; and from the taste, learning, and general knowledge of the Quaker

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sect, which he has so largely evinced, we should feel ourselves much indebted to him for a genuine history of its rise, progress, and present state. There is yet abundant room for such a work; for though Mr. Clarkson has given us an agreeable book, and a book which cannot fail, for various reasons, to be acceptable to the great body of *modern* quakers, yet we very much suspect that he has not always given us the true motives, or *spiritual impulses*, of the venerable fathers of the society; he has rather given us logical arguments, than esoteric feelings, and has rather written for the present day, than given us a portraiture of the past.

"Memoirs of the Rev. John Newton, late rector of the united parishes of St. Mary Woolnoth, and St. Mary Woolchurch Haw, Lombard-street, with General Remarks on his Life, Connexions, and Character, by Richard Cecil, A. M., &c. 8vo." In the hands of a dashing memoirist (if such should ever think of condescending to notice a man who has often been stigmatised as a methodist), there is matter enough in the cheap, unobtrusive volume before us, to be wire-drawn to seven or eight octavos. Mr. Newton was the intimate friend of Cowper, and though not touched to the same fine poetic issue, by no means uninfluenced by a poetic spirit; he was the intimate friend, and one of the active distributors of the unbounded benevolence of the late John Thornton, Esq. who (while we are upon this subject) is reported, immediately after having given a donation of 50*l.* to a stranger who had called upon him for a contribution towards erecting a chapel in a situation in which there was no parish church, excepting at a very considerable distance, to have received a letter, conveying intelligence, that a ship he had freighted, and not insured, had just been lost, with all its cargo, and instantly to have called back the stranger, who was then on the point of departure, and to have given him a check for 100*l.* instead of for 50*l.*, adding, at the same time, that if he did not make haste to employ his property to more useful purposes, he should soon lose the whole of it. Mr. Newton was also a mariner, and an African slave in the earlier part of his life, and, to crown the whole, he was a prodigy of impiety and blasphemy, before he became a model of moral excellence and Christian zeal, a change which, if we have been rightly informed, will also apply to his venerable biographer and long-tried friend. It is the Christian religion alone which can produce such changes; and were it of no value on any other account whatever, it would be truly valuable on this.

"Memoirs of the Life and Character of the late Rev. Cornelius Winter, compiled and composed by William Jay, 8vo." This is also a biography of much incident, the earlier part of which was prepared by Mr. Winter himself, and addressed to Mr. Jay in the form of letters. The subject of the biography was born in Gray's-Inn-Lane, October 9, 1742, of the meanest parentage; at a very early age he was left an orphan, received some rudiments of education in the charity school of St. Andrew's, Holborn; he was then, from the incapacity of his friends to support him, sent to the work-house, from which, sorely against his will, he was taken by a mercenary kinsman, to whom he served a reluctant apprenticeship; after which, having from an infant, according to the account before us, evinced a strong sense of religion,

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and love for public worship, he accidentally became acquainted with the celebrated George Whitfield, accompanied him to America, and continued to possess an irresistible desire to enter into holy orders. On his return home, therefore, he applied to the bishop of London to be ordained; who, with a firmness and consistency of character equal to his philantrophy, refused to admit him into the hierarchy, as a person not duly qualified by his education and manner of life. In consequence of this rebuff he joined the dissenters, for whom, as well as for the methodists, according to his own statement, he had a great antipathy in the earlier part of his life, but among whom he continued to labour till an advanced period of age, and by whom he appears to have been deservedly respected.

"The Life and Writings of the late Henry Tanner, of Exeter, published from his own MSS. by the Rev. Robert Hawker, D. D. 8vo." There is nothing in this volume that ought to have called for its publication, and certainly much, very much, that should have been suppressed; and we now allude, especially, to the author's own narrative of his first wife (for he was twice married), who appears to have been a prostitute of the grossest description, and whose misconduct it was altogether unnecessary, nay, highly illiberal and indecent in the husband, to proclaim before the world. It is in vain to add, that the volume is published for the benefit of a widow, now upwards of eighty years of age, and a daughter who has no dependence but upon general benevolence; general benevolence might have been tried, and ought to have been resorted to, in the first instance. There is no want of it in this country when the objects come properly recommended; most unquestionably (and we are sorry for it), the publication of this work will not recommend them: if assisted at all, it must be upon other claims.

"Memoirs of Captain George Carleton, an English Officer; including anecdotes of the war in Spain under the Earl of Peterborough, and many interesting particulars relating to the manners of the Spaniards, in the beginning of the last century, 8vo." This is what is called, in the language of the booksellers, a *taking* title; the editor has greedily seized hold of the present situation of the two countries to re-introduce (for after all it is nothing more than a re-introduction), an account of a somewhat similar situation a century ago. Yet the book is worth reading; it is full of business, of anecdotes, and incident, and the real hero of its pages, the celebrated Earl of Peterborough, exhibits a character that was never more wanted than in the present day:—low as the affairs of Spain have sunk, could they once be intrusted confidently and collectively to the sole management of a politician and soldier of his consummate subtlety and enthusiastic intrepidity, we would not despair of success in so glorious a cause. We need add nothing more in recommendation of this book;—if read at all, we trust it will have a reflex influence.

The department of philology has been sparingly occupied in the course of the year before us. Mr. James Pickbourn, however, has furnished us with a "Dissertation on the Metrical Pauses and the due Construction and Proper Manner of reading Latin Heroic Verse, 8vo:" in which the powers of the classical accent and cæsura are again investigated, and theorized

theorized. Mr. Pickbourn always writes with good sense, and sufficiently evinces from a long habit of common places and select passages (we suspect him to have been for many years a public classical tutor) that he is at no loss for materials to support his own opinion. Yet there is nothing very prominent in this opinion. If he do not err egregiously, he has taken effectual care that he would not be egregiously excellent:—he uniformly adheres to what he denominates the middle point between the controversial grammarians, and conveniently asserts "that accent *in some degree* effects quantity: i. e. it makes the accented syllable a little longer than it would be without it; but its operation is never so great as to make a short syllable become long; nor does the privation of accent ever make a long syllable become short, for there are degrees of time both in long and short syllables."

We have been better pleased with Dr. Carey's "Latin Prosody made easy, 8vo.:" in a new edition comprising so much additional matter, and so many improvements upon that with which the public was some time since favoured, as to induce us to notice it as an almost original work. A work of more industry, and, for the most part, of more taste and accuracy, we have never seen. The writer, in the overflow of his classical recollections, appears seldom to have satisfied himself with sufficient instances upon the various points he attempts to establish. Yet his exertions in this respect are rather rich than superfluous: other grammarians have given us *examples*, he has not satisfied himself without giving us *proofs*: and for this reason, instead of confining himself, as has been too often done for the sake of greater ease, to plain hexameters or pentameters, which would have afforded examples alone, he has gone much farther afield, and his deduced instances from Archilochian Catalectics, against which no exception can be taken, and which determine the question, not by doubtful examples, but by grammatical demonstrations. For the same reason the fulness of his instances advanced in his "Analysis of the Hexameter," are advantageous, though we are aware of the trouble which their selection must have produced: "I wished," says he, "to give examples not simply of a dactayl or spondee in a particular position, but of such dactyl or spondee preceded or followed by feet of diversified construction, the better to show the effect of every possible combination." We cannot avoid regarding this as a valuable work in the science of prosody, and heartily wish the author the recompence he deserves for the very great pains he has bestowed upon it.

We are insensibly led to the classic writers of Greece and Rome, in regard to which, however, we have not much to remark as having occurred within the range to which we are limited. We have first to mention

"The Satires of Juvenal, translated and illustrated, by Francis Hodgson, A. M. 4to." In the late attempt of Mr. Giffard to vernaculize these highly-spirited productions, we had occasion to notice, that amidst much general and successful imitation, he appeared chiefly anxious to catch the sudden turns, the striking points, and peculiar contrasts of his great original. All this the writer before us expressly foregoes. Yet he too pretends to be a close renderer of his original text: and hence while

while he relinquishes these considerations as utterly below his notice, he undertakes to put us into possession of another peculiarity of the author, "that sweeping granduer of declamation, that exalted style of poetical oratory, which are the chief favourites of this sonorous writer." To speak the truth, Mr. Hodgson has very fairly fulfilled his promise; and if his immediate predecessor had only been attentive to those minor considerations which he seems desirous of attributing to him, we should have had no objection in conceding the palm of superior merit to the version before us; but this not being the case, we cannot avoid maintaining that there is, in our opinion, more varied excellence, and at least as much euphony and force of rendering in Mr. Gifford as in the present translator. Yet we admire the talents of the latter, and heartily wish him success. His work, however, is of two kinds; and while we pay this voluntary respect to his poetic faculties; we are unfortunately compelled to withhold the same remuneration towards him as a commentator. In this department of his volume we freely confess we have been greatly disappointed: the wit is flippant, the general matter introduced irrelevant, and the taste unclassical and adulterate.--There is also a strange want of policy in entering the lists with such determined and rancorous hostility against writers so established, and so justly established in popular favour, as Thomson and Cowper, as we meet with in these annotations: if we mistake not, Mr. Hodgson has hereby tied a mill-stone around his neck, which will very unnecessarily sink him to the bottom; for we can by no means perceive any pre-eminence of merit in his own style and manner, sufficient to draw away the public voice in his favour at the expence of writers of such peculiar and acknowledged excellence. We are sorry also to charge the present translator of Juvenal, with a very unjustifiable excentricity in attacking Mr. Cowper on account of his religious opinions, and in blending his unsupported sarcasms upon his poetry, with equal sarcasms upon his piety. Mr. Hodgson appears to laugh at expositors and annotators in many parts of his work, and to be a zealous champion for what he calls *text* against *comment*. We sincerely wish that he had more fully adhered to this feeling; for of the two parts of which his volume consists, the former is infinitely more meritorious than the latter.

"The Georgics of Publius Virgilius Maro, translated into English Blank Verse, by J. R. Deare, L. L. B. 8vo." This attempt seems to be almost a work of supererogation, after the classical and polished versions of Warton and Sotheby, and we fear that the form of blank verse, now that we have been so long accustomed to the glow and richness of rhyme, will not weigh very much in its favour, although it gives us a greater variety. In heroic poems, we look for blank verse, because we have been accustomed to look for it, and because, also, it allows a change of cadence which forbids the harmony of numbers to fatigue the ear, to what length soever the poem may be protracted; an advantage which rhyme can never boast, though modelled by the most skilful hand. In didactic poems also of considerable length, whether descriptive or scientific, but especially if the latter, we seem to require the same variation of pause; but in the Georgics, independently of our being led by an almost obdurate habit to look for the couplet, the

brevity of the whole poem, and especially of the respective books of which it consists, seems to plead strongly in favour of their still being rendered in rhyme. Yet Mr. Deare is not deficient in poetic talents, and his translation is possessed of genuine merit. It is almost as close, in many passages of considerable length, as if it were prose, and, in this respect, may be useful in schools that admit versions of any kind. It is for the most part smooth and euphonous, though occasionally marred by breaks and jolts of a most rugged and fatiguing character: we sometimes meet with instances of the harshest and most unpardonable elision, but more frequently with instances of a contrary kind, in which the iambic is feebly spun out by straining such words as *invocation* and *vegetation* into five syllables, instead of being exhibited in their standard measure of four, and thus making each of them fill up half a line, with a terrible havoc of taste, harmony, and spirit. In the following passage the translator seems to have been guilty of an anachronism not chargeable on his original.

And now admiring his maternal courts,
And humid reign, by cavern'd lakes he pass'd,
And echoing groves, and with astonish'd sense
Heard the loud waters, and each river view'd,
Which glides diverse beneath the *globous* earth.

The Stoics indeed contended for the spherical figure of the earth in opposition to the Epicureans; but Virgil, whatever he may have done afterwards, certainly had not imbibed this doctrine of the Stoics at the time of composing his Georgics; nor does the original,

Omnia sub magnâ labentia flumina terrâ
Spectabat diversa locis. Lib. iv. 365.

justify such an idea, but rather evinces some tendency to the opposite theory. As the passage is short, we shall copy Mr. Sotheby's parallel version for a comparison, they are both good of their kind:

Awe-struck he pass'd along her wat'ry reign,
Through opening wonders of the mighty main;
Lakes in their caverns pent, and sounding woods,
And the wild uproar of unfathom'd floods:
Fierce streams that burst their subterraneous caves,
And dash'd afar the thunder of the waves;
'Mid the foundations of the world below,
Each in his source, he saw the rivers flow.

Before we enter upon the department of national poetry published during the year, we shall devote a few lines to works of a mixed nature, and which may be regarded as combining an equal portion of philology and antiquity.

Of these we shall first notice Mr. Douce's "Illustrations of Shakspeare, and of ancient Manners; with dissertations on the Clowns and Fools of Shakspeare; on the collection of Popular Tales, entitled Gesta Romanorum; and on the English Morris Dance, 2 vols. 8vo. with Wood Engravings." Of these volumes the first is altogether, and the second only in part, allotted to the purpose of *illustrations*; the chief portion of the latter being applied to the remaining subjects mentioned in the title-page, which are treated in the form of Essays. The great benefit resulting from antiquarian and black-letter studies, has induced many inamoratos of this branch of science to push it beyond all

all bounds, till at length we are as much troubled with the multitude of keys that are offered to us, as we are with the rusty and intractable lock which they are designed to open. It would be in vain to assert, that no proofs of this excesive partiality for obsolete literature were visible in the work before us; or that it possesses nothing of the regular confusion so common to such kind of attempts. But if we are occasionally led astray from the text by the comment that would unfold it, we often feel ourselves indebted to the assiduity and zeal of the commentator, for a new and more accurate light. We had noted down a great number of instances in the course of our reading, but our limits forbid us to quote them. Of the essays some judgment may be formed from the extracts we have made in another department of this volume.

"Essay on the Authenticity of the Poems of Ossian; in which the objections of Malcolm Laing, Esq. are particularly considered and refuted, by Patrick Graham, D. D. 8vo." We have had to notice this dispute in every volume we have presented to the public, for the last three or four years. Yet we judge that the controversy is nearly at an end; and have little doubt that the truth will be at last admitted to exist, where, indeed it is so often to be found, in a midway path between the two sets of disputants. There is some ingenuity in the work before us; there is much plausibillity in Dr. Blair's and the Abbé Cesarortti's celebrated essays; there is still more in Sir John Sinclairs dissertation, and the documents accompanying it, lately published by the Highland Society of London, and adverted to in our last Retrospect—but none of them are sufficient to do away all the objections, the stubborn and intractable facts advanced by Mr. Laing: and the opinion intimated, if not directly supported by the Highland Society of Scotland, in their very elaborate and impartial inquiry, appears to be the one best entitled to belief, that Macpherson collected a great multitude of old national Gaelic ballads, and morsels of longer poems, and cemented together the *disjecta membra*, the separated fragments, into two or three tesselated and uniform poems; the cement being altogether of his own manufacture, and producing so delicate an effect, that the joints are often invisible to the most prying eye, or even the best glasses of the acutest critics.

"Lectures on the truly eminent English Poets, by Percival Stockdale, 2 vols. 8vo." These lectures contain great soundness of judgment, true genuine taste, fine delicate feelings, and an ample command of language. They perhaps engage too largely in controversies that are now become obsolete, as, for example, in an appropriation of nearly half the work to a refutation of Johnson's ill-natured and unfounded attack upon Milton and Gray;—and a very prolix re-examination of the Rowleyan dispute. Yet some apology may be offered for the defence of the two former poets; since it is not enough that the heresies of Johnson should have been branded by his own contemporaries, and the cause decided against him in his own day; it still remains that the same decision should be approved of, and become the dictum of every subsequent age, and afford, by written and imperishable documents, our common unity of opinion, gathering fresh force, by the accumulation of new evidence and research. Mr. Stock-

dale begins his range at an earlier epoch than Johnson, for he opens with Spencer; and on this account his work is peculiarly valuable, as extending to a field of the richest harvest, far less cultivated than it ought to have been, and which has amply repaired the labourer, and will equally repay the reader for lecturing in it. The rest of the characters noticed inthe first volume, are Shakspeare, Milton, Dryden, Pope, and Young. Young is again put to the test in the second volume, with the remainder of whose life and poetic character it opens; and successively passes on to Thomson, Chatterton, and Gray, closing with an appendix containing a few general remarks on the antecedent pages. With a little revision, and the addition of a few more names, for we cannot bring ourselves to admit that the whole stock of truly eminent poets is here exhausted, these lectures bid fair to form a standard work in the polite literature of our country: a second edition, we trust, will soon afford the venerable and respectable writer an opportunity of making such alterations, and we shall hail its appearance not less from the intrinsic merit we are sure it will possess, than as an honourable mean of adding to his pecuniary comforts.

"Midus; or a Serious Inquiry concerning Taste and Genius; including a proposal for the certain advancement of the elegant arts. To which is added, by way of illustration, a Fragment of Ancient History, by Anthony Fisgrave, L. L. D." It is a dangerous thing for a man to meddle with a character for which he has no qualifications, whatever may be his own opinion of his abilities. There are thousands of simpletons who would think their talents very much underrated, if they were to be told that they have not wit enough for the fool of a pantomime. The writer before us, appears in like manner, to have thought that he could with equal ease copy the burlesque parts of Swift's writings, or the keen continuator of Johnson's criticisms upon Gray; and being equally deceived in his own powers, he has equally failed in his undertaking. The only person he has exposed, is himself.

Among the re-impressions, or new editions of British Poets, for the year, we have, in the first place, to notice "Mr. William Shakspeare's Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies; published according to the true original copies. London, printed by Isaac Jaggard and Edward Blount, 1623, folio. *5l. 5s.* reprinted for Johnson." This is a truly valuable and admirably executed imitation of an original which is now become so scarce, that a single copy was known as long as fourteen years ago, to be sold at a public auction for *35l. 14s.* In paper, type, and size it surpasses the beauty of the original: in almost all other respects it is an accurate *fac simile*: yet we have no memorandum, either at the beginning or the end, to inform us by whom the work has been undertaken. The paper has been manufactured for the purpose, as it is obvious from the water-mark of Shakspeare upon every sheet.

"The Plays of Philip Massinger, with notes critical and explanatory, by W. Gifford, Esq. 4 vols. 8vo." We are glad to see this edition: it was called for by the incorrectness or want of taste of those that preceded it. That of Coxeter is extremely erroneous; and that of Mason still worse by voluntary alterations of the text, and metre. The present editor has shown great diligence in restoring

ing the different readings to their genuine purity from the oldest editions, many of which appear to have been neglected by Mason.

"The Works of John Dryden, now first collected in eighteen volumes, illustrated with notes, historical, critical, and explanatory, and a life of the author, by Walter Scot, Esq. 8vo." We cannot compliment Mr. Scot upon this undertaking, and we would much rather have seen it in the hands of a man of not more than a tenth part of his taste and genius. In reality he seems through almost every volume to have been *above* it himself; for nothing else, most assuredly, could have rendered him so careless in arrangement, so incorrect in reference, so tautological in quotation, as we here find him. He has rather lent his name, if we mistake not, to the proprietor, than deeply engaged in the work himself. The first volume contains the life of Dryden, the next seven comprise his dramatic pieces; his poems, which follow, extend to to the fifteenth inclusive, and the remaining volumes are devoted to miscellaneous prose.

Of the origianal Poems produced in the course of the year, the only one entitled to particular notice is, "Marmion; a tale of Flodden-Field," from the exquisite pen of the same writer. Of this we have given so many specimens in another department of the Register, and feel so fully incompetent to convey any just idea of its variegated and peculiar beauties and brilliances, that we shall only add, that in versification it resembles the Minstrel, but is enriched with a greater number of separate songs and ballads; that in many of its descriptions, it is if possible, more forcible and glowing, but in the general tenor of its diction less sweet and harmonious, and less agreeably impressive on a retrospect of its plot.

"Latin and Italian Poems of Milton, translated into English Verse, and a Fragment of a Commentary on Paradise Lost, by the late William Cowper, Esq. with a preface by the Editor, royal 4to." The versions are very neatly and elegantly executed, as every one will prejudge from the name of the translator: yet we cannot avoid wishing, he had devoted the time bestowed on the matter here offered, to some original subject. The commentary on Paradise Lost extends only to book iii. v. 341. The volume is embellished with three highly classic designs, by Flaxman, and is published for the benefit of the poet's orphan godson.

Of the remaining poems of the year, it will be almost enough to catalogue them. "Remains of Henry Kirke White, &c. with an account of his life, by Robert Southeby, 2 vols. 8vo:" Evincing various specimens of fine taste, exalted genius, extensive fancy, somewhat tinged with a sombre hue, and strong attachment to virtuous pursuits; all unfolding at a very early period of life, and raising the author from a very humble situation, to prospects of literary fame and pecuniary comfort. But the inflexible hand of death interfered, and he was cut off in the spring time of his life and of his studies. The biographical account is peculiarly interesting.

"The Resurrection, a Poem, by John Stewart, Esq. author of the Pleasures of Love, 8vo." It was kind in the author to remind us of the second of these poems:—the merits of his present performance are indeed altogether of a similar character; and unless again reminded

ed by some third attempt, we are afraid these also, will soon escape from our memory. "The Minstrel; or Progress of Genius; in continuation of the poem left by Dr. Beattie, book iii. 4to." There is here a smoothness of versification, and occasional glimpses of genius enough to induce us to wish that the writer had attempted something of his own, for we are persuaded he will never succeed in grafting his scion on the stock he has selected. "The Contrast; including Comparative Views of Britain, Spain, and France, in two parts, by Mr. Pratt." Mr. Pratt here gives us a repetition of whatever excellencies exist in his antecedent works and *nothing beyond;* we meet also with some repetitions, which might as well have been avoided. "Fowling, a poem, in five books, 12mo." The anonymous writer of this poem has drank of the true Castalian flood—and is a very successful rival of Somerville. We trust we shall soon meet him again, in some other sports,—he deserves to be successful. "A Day in Spring, and other poems, by Richard Westall, Esq R. A. 8vo." The author of these effusions adds to the number of the present race of painters, who have shown that painting is not their only qualification. The pieces here offered are neatly and correctly written, and sometimes afford proofs of poetic genius; they are also accompanied with four beautiful engravings, from designs, by Mr. Westall. "The Highlanders, and other poems, by Mrs. Grant, 12mo." There is much smoothness and elegance, and some beautiful and appropriate descriptions in these poems; but it is to her prose, and not to her poetry, that this lady must chiefly look for success.

In dramatic productions and novels entitled to any kind of notice, the year has been uncommonly barren. Mr. Edwards has produced a tolerable tragedy in five acts, from the Cyropœdia of Zenophon, entitled "Abradates Panthea." A much better drama, by an anonymous writer, has appeared under the title of "The Fall of Portugal; or the Royal Exiles, a tragedy, in five acts," drawn immediately from the events of the day. Under the head of Novels, we may notice, "The Wedding day," by Mrs. Spence. "Monks and Robbers," and "The Atrocities of a Convent," both published anonymously; and under that of Tales, Mr. Dallas's "Knights' Tales Illustrative of the Marvelous:" and Miss Barrell's "Riches and Poverty;" while Miss Hamilton has given us a tale of much more merit and interest in her "Cottage of Glenburnie," a tale well worthy of general perusal.

FOREIGN LITERATURE

Of the Year 1808.

CHAPTER I.

BIBLICAL AND THEOLOGICAL.

Containing a Sketch of the chief Productions of Germany, Sweden, Denmark, France, and America.

WE have more reason than ever to lament the severe interdict which, acted upon with equal rigidity on both sides, shuts up our own country from the rest of the world, and the rest of the world from our own country. It is a new æra in the history of nations; for it has not been till of late, or at least, it has not been so among civilized states, that literature has shared the fate of commerce, and that the sword which has prohibited all political intercourse, has at the same time forbidden all scientific communication. But we are now excluded from two continents, or rather almost wholly from one, and from a very considerable part of another: and our means of foreign intercourse are necessarily more limited than in any former period. Our readers will see, therefore, and admit the strong claim we have upon their indulgence, and will candidly rest satisfied with such statement as we are able to communicate. We shall, as usual, commence our lucubrations with Germany.

We have met with no new version, either in whole or part, of the Jewish or Christian Scriptures in the German tongue; though we have been informed that a translation from the correctedtext of Griesbach is now meditating at Jena. With this text the critics on the continent appear to be perfectly satisfied; and we have heard of but little opposition that has been given to it of any consequence, excepting the incidental remarks of Mr. Butler upon the passage of the three witnesses, noticed in our last year's retrospect, and which has been greedily laid hold of by one or two German critics, as a powerful instrument in their hands, so far as its influence extends. This elaborate edition of the new testament has found its way to Moscow, and has obtained considerable patronage there, notwithstanding the hostility of M. Matthæi, who has laboured with all his might to prove that M. Griesbach's emendations are, in many instances, too lax, and in some instances even dangerous to doctrines founded on the common text. While we are upon this subject, we will observe that a stereotype edition of the Griesbach text is now just printed in our own country

country by Mr. Wilson, in one octavo volume, with a short prolegomenon to each book, and that an English version of it has appeared which we shall examine in our next volume.

M. Otto of Gottingen continues to publish his Neuer Kritischer Commentar über das Nue Testament. "New Critical Commentary on the New Testament." We noticed the commencement of this work in our retrospect of foreign literature for 1805. There is a keen spirit of research, combined with deep reverence for the importance of the sacred writings evinced in this work, which cannot fail to render it highly serviceable to the learned writer's country, and to Germany in general. It is not always that we have seen in the critical commentators of this part of the continent, so much learned indagation, chastized by so resolute a determination to abide by admitted texts and received opinions. The very laudable object of the author, indeed, appears to be rather to support what is generally allowed, than to innovate with untried and fanciful conjectures. We have reason to believe, though we have not been able to obtain a copy of the work so far, that M. Otto has continued his labours to the close of the gospels, and with these has concluded his third volume.

Professor Thiess, who still continues in his dignified retirement at Holstein, still continues, also, to favour the world with additional parts of his commentary on the Old Testament. This commentary we are glad to find, is less imbued with the heterodox theology of his contemporaries, than we were fearful, at its commencement, it would have been. The learned expositor, we understand, has reached the first book of Samuel; though the copy we have received hardly extends to the whole range of the Pentateuch.

At Nuremberg, M. Hübner has published a plain and cheap history of the bible (Bibliche Historien), with plates, for the use of children. It is in one volume octavo, and well compiled; it deserves encouragement, and might, perhaps, be successful in an English dress.

Of sermons we have met with but few that are entitled to much distinction. Amongst those that that have best pleased us, we may mention M. Ewald's "Predigten über Naturtexte," "Discourses on Natural Subjects," printed in two volumes, 8vo. at Hanover; and an additional volume by M. Ammon of Gottingen, entitled, "Christliche Religions Vortrage in Geiste Jesu." "Christian Sermons in the Spirit of Jesus." We also perceive a new version of Dr. Blair's Sermons, "Blair's Predigten," published at Halle, in four volumes 8vo.

Before we close this department of the German press, we will first notice that M. Bardt has given a very useful and interesting work to preachers of every denomination in his "Rhetorik für geistliche Redner." "Rhetoric for Pulpit Orators." It abounds with judicious remarks, and lays down a system of rules, that are well entitled to attention. This work is also from the press at Halle.

In the theology of Sweden we are glad to find that the "Strödda filosogiska Anmärkningar öfver Svenska Tolkminger," "Miscellaneous Philological Remarks on the Swedish Translation of the Gospels," by that excellent scholar and biblicist, Dr. Tingstudius, bishop of Sudermania, are still continued. We noticed, about two years ago, his completion of the gospel of St. Matthew, and the

we now find that the whole is on the point of conclusion, with the same sobriety of criticism, and accuracy of investigation, which distinguished the earlier parts of this admirable work.

Our communication with Denmark has, unfortunately for us, been small indeed. We have already observed that Professor Thiess is prosecuting his commentary on the Old Testament in his dignified retirement in Holstein; to which we may add, that M. Nicholas is continuing his learned and valuable labours at Copenhagen, under the title of "Theologisk Maanedskrift für Faedrelandets Religionslaerere;" or, as we should denominate it in our own country, "Theological Monthly Repository for the established Religion." To this establishment all due reverence continues to be paid; but a very high degree of liberality towards the doctrines of other churches, and the opinions of individual theologians, is indulged in every page. This work appears to be conducted with an equal portion of hierarchical attachment and true Christian charity. May it long possess and exhibit these qualities.

"Voyage Religieux et Sentimental aux Cimetières, &c." "Religious and Sentimental Visits to the Church-yards of Paris, containing a great variety of inscriptions, accompanied with devotional and moral Reflections: by Anthony Caillot, vol. I. 8vo." This is one of the best written books upon the subject of religion that has reached us from the Paris press. Unlike our own Harvey or Young, M. Caillot was engaged in an actual survey of the state of the church-yards at Paris by order of government, and the reflections which follow, are the result of the visits he progressively paid to these mansions of the dead; and unlike our English writers, also, he neither indulges in horrific melancholy, nor disgusts us with the affectation of fine writing. There is a spirit, sentimentality, and candour in this volume, which do great credit to its author, and present him in a very favourable point of view: his reflections are for the most part natural, and are given with animation and pathos. Having visited one of the cemeteries belonging to the Palais Royal, and afterwards a church-yard in the fauxbourg Saint Antoine, he could not avoid noticing the very striking difference that exists in the ages of the dead in these different repositories, as engraven on their monuments. "What was my astonishment," he observes, "to find the greater number of these sad inscriptions informing me that they commemorated the graves of fathers of families who died at an advanced age, or after having passed the maturity of life! How striking the contrast from the graves in the church yard of Montmartre, the greater part of which contains husbands and wives, and young girls cut off in the vigour of youth. How is this phænomenon to be accounted for, and why does the enemy of mankind, strike more young persons than old in one place, and more old than young in another?" His explanation of this curious fact is perfectly satisfactory, and we copy it, as being well worthy of attention, not only in France, but in our own country. He ascribes this difference of dates not to a difference between the air respired in the fauxbourg Saint Antoine, and that of the Palais Royal; but to the intemperance so prevalent in the latter of these districts, and to that intoxicating passion for public exhibitions and nocturnal festivities, in which the youth of both sexes

sexes violate the laws of nature, and disobey the dictates of prudence; while, on the contrary, in the faux-bourg Saint Antoine, industrious habits, regular hours, and more moderate and simple pleasures, instead of committing an outrage against nature, produce better health, protect against bodily infirmities, and ensure a peaceful and venerable old age. On remarking, in the cemetery of La Chaise, not only that all ranks of life, but that individuals of all religious sects, had deposited their bones in the same receptacle, he thus exclaims with genuine liberality, "Ah! who shall now dare to tell me, that if I do not adopt such particular opinions I shall be condemned to eternal punishment? What barbarian shall now dare to assert "out of my communion there is no salvation?" Incomprehensible and all-merciful Being! hast thou then empowered any individual to avenge thyself? Does it belong to a vile creature to say to his fellow-mortals, "subscribe my creed, or be for ever miserable?" What limits, great God! ought finite beings like ourselves, to affix to thy clemency and justice? How shall I exclaim to thee, here shalt thou punish, and there shalt thou reward? Answer O ye dead! who are mouldering into dust, was it *possible* for you all to follow the same creed?

"Histoire Critique de la Philosophisme, &c." "Critical History of English Philosophism: by M. Tabarand." This is a more useful work in France than in our own country, in which the previous labours of Leland, conducted upon a broader scale, and brought down to a lower period, have altogether superseded its scope and object. M. Tabarand commences with Lord Herbert, and closes with Lord Shaftesbury: Blount, Hobbes, Locke, Collins, Tindal, Toland, and Woolston, filling up the interspace. The range of his inquiry, therefore, descends to the period of time in which Voltaire first imported these *treasures* of English philosophy, as he denominated them, into France. The writer appears to have viewed the opinions of Locke, and even some few of those of Shaftesbury, through a false medium. His critical examination of the tenets of the rest is, for the most part, correct, and his refutation of their errors complete, and in several of his arguments, original.

From America we have received but little that is entitled to any degree of attention. Dr. Clarke, of Boston, in a work entitled "The Office of Reason in Religion," has called his countrymen to an examination of their religious creeds by the test of intellect. Nothing, however, can be more illogical. Reason or intellect should rather be applied to the facts on which such creed is founded, than to the doctrines of which it is composed, which, in many instances, cannot fail to bid defiance to its powers, not as being incongruous, but incomprehensible. In a book of a diametrically opposite character, the Rev. Mr. Edwards of Northampton, has published "A Faithful Narrative of the Surprising work of God, in the conversion of many hundred souls in Northampton, and the neighbouring towns and villages of New Hampshire in New England." This is, indeed, in the language of the writer, *a surprising work!* which is almost the only assertion it contains in which we can agree with him.

CHAPTER II.

PHYSICAL AND MATHEMATICAL.

Comprising the chief productions of France, Germany, Sweden.

IN the department of medicine, M. E. Duvillard has furnished us with a very valuable and laborious work in his "Analyse et Tableaux de l'Influence, &c." "Analysis and Tables of the Influence of the Small Pox on Mortality at all ages; and of the Influence which such a preservative as Vaccination may have on Population and Longevity, 4to, Paris." The best inquiries which have hitherto been pushed into this subject, are those of Daniel Bernouilli, published in the volume of the French Academy of Sciences, for the year 1760; and that of D'Alembert, published in the same work in the year ensuing, with a view of controverting some of Bernouilli's results. The question is here examined upon other grounds than those of statistics, which, in point of fact, do not go to the root of the inquiry; mathematics, in the papers before us, add their aid to statistics, and the investigation is continued through the medium of the differential and integral calculus. The analysis and tables before us are conducted upon the same principles, and with a direct reference to the antecedent labours of these great calculators; and M. Duvillard has a very considerable advantage over his predecessors, by being able to draw a great body of facts from the effect of vaccination, as a supposedly perfect preservative, and to muster them as a datum of new power and influence. "It is not sufficient," he observes, "in order to ascertain the influence of the small-pox on the mortality of each age, to know the proportion of deaths produced by it, compared with deaths produced by other diseases; it is equally necessary that the following important questions should also be resolved: What are the laws of the mortality of a given country, and the number of persons living at different ages in the natural state? What the number of those who have never had the small-pox? Of these again, how many annually catch it, and under what ages? Of these moreover, how many die, and under what ages? Amongst those who have died of other diseases than the small-pox, how many have not received this complaint, together with their different ages? What is the law of the mortality of those who have had the small-pox, and of those who have never had it?" Among the more extraordinary results obtained by M. Duvillard, it appears that the mortality of catching the small-pox increases and decreases in a small degree only with the danger of dying when attacked by this disease; and that the disease is less dangerous after the age of twenty-nine, and in proportion to the patient's advance in years beyond this period. We are not quite satisfied, however, with the nature or extent of the tables upon which this last result is founded, yet we cannot avoid observing, that the vaccinists of our own country, in calculating

calculating the actual saving of life to the community, by the introduction of vaccination, admitting it to be a complete prophylactic, have reasoned very inconclusively while confining their observations to a mere comparison of the effects produced by vaccination and variolation. The aggregate of life and population, in a statistic view, can only fairly be contemplated in conjunction with a variety of other causes, or agents, which ought not to be separated from these. We shall conclude with observing, that one of the chief objects of the book before us is, to recommend vaccination from a mode of reasoning that has not hitherto been applied to it, and which is, nevertheless, perhaps possessed of as much, or more validity, than any that has hitherto been brought forwards.

"Recherches Physiologiques sur la Vie et la Mort, &c." "Physiological Inquiries concerning Life and Death, by M. X. Bichat, physician of the Hôtel Dieu, professor of anatomy, physiology, &c." This is the work of a man of some judgment, but of more fancy; yet who has certainly studied his subject with minute attention, and whose theories are entitled to respect. It consists of two parts—Inquiries concerning Life—Inquiries concerning Death. "Life," observes our author, "is the union of those functions which resist dissolution." This, however, is a vague and unsatisfactory definition; it gives us nothing tangible or substantive; a union of functions should imply a something that performs those functions, and upon which such an union operates. What is this something? We are completely out at sea, and without helm and compass. Living organised bodies, we are told, are surrounded by agents of destruction. Upon such living bodies, inorganic bodies act incessantly, and a mutual conflict is the result. Life is alone preserved by a permanent principle of re-action, which is here supposed to be the principle of life, and which is only known by its phænomena. Life is divided into animal and organic; and each of these into two orders of functions: the existence of animal life is evidenced in man, and other animals; that of organic life in vegetables. The first order of animal functions is, that which communicates the impressions of the senses to the brain; the second, that which communicates the impressions of the brain to the organs of loco-motion; the first comprises *sensation*, the second *volition*. The first order of the functions of organic life is denominated composition, resulting from digestion, *circulation*, respiration, and nutrition. This illustration is unquestionably gratuitous and fanciful; for the second quality is often incapable of proof in the subjects of mere organic life, the third nearly as often incapable, and the first equally so in various instances. In the author's inquiries concerning death, which constitute his second part, he observes, that in all sudden deaths, the organic survives the animal life a certain greater or less time, and that the contrary cannot happen, though the death of both may, in some cases, be nearly synchronous. This, however, is by no means correct; for, on various occasions, both kinds of death may be perfectly synchronous; and we now allude to death from electricity or lightning, and from a sudden and violent blow on the stomach. Of sudden death, indeed, produced by a violent blow on the stomach, so fully examined into by the late Mr. John Hunter, and accompanied with the very extraordinary phænomenon of a destruction of the coagulability of the blood

blood, our author takes no notice whatever; his division of this part of the subject being into sudden deaths, which have their origin in the heart, lungs, or brain; the cause of death in the two surviving organs from the inaction of the third; the mechanism by which the death of the body follows that of the affected organ; the nature of the different diseases affecting the heart, lungs, and brain.

"Histoire Naturelle, Génerále, et Particulière, &c." "Natural History, General and Particular, of Crustaceous Animals and Insects, forming part of the continuation of the works of Leclerc, De Buffon, and of the complete Course of Natural History, edited by C. S. Sonini, member of various learned societies, by P. A. Latreile, member of the National Institute of France, of the Linnéan Society of London, &c. 14 vols. 8vo." This is, indeed, a very admirable work, and we hope to see it either wholly, or in an abridged form, for it will admit of compression, introduced to the English reader in his own tongue. The introductory volumes consist of eight dissertations, a sketch of eutomological systems, and an exposition of the families of the author's genera: the dissertations are on the following subjects: I. Of the Nature of Insects, and of their Order in the series of Animals, in the course of which, M.L., following the division of Lamark and Cuvier, separates them from the crustaceous tribes, and defines them as "animals without vertebræ, and with articulated feet;" in most instances destitute of red blood. II. Of the Manner of studying Insects. III. Of the Instinct and Industry of Insects, as well in their modes of nourishment as in their means of self-defence. IV. Of the Utility and Depredations of Insects. V. Of the Internal Organization of Insects. VI. Of the External Organization of Insects. VII. Of their Generation. VIII. Of their Instincts in the Preservation of their Offspring, and of their metempsychoses. This account of insects extends to the close of the third volume. The three ensuing are devoted to the new class of *Crustacea*, which are described as animals "destitute of vertebræ, with articulated feet, often ten in number, apterous, invested with a calcareous covering, furnished with four antennas, palpigerous mandibles, with several jointed and imbricated peices beneath, and feet destined only for walking or swimming; sometimes they are covered with a horny or soft substance, with not more than the usual number of antennas, and in a few instances none; mandibles naked, and unprovided with the numerous jointed peices beneath, feet hookless, some of them apparently furnished with branchial processes, and two or four of them antenniform." This account of the crustacea, whether regarded as definition, or description, is too loose and indigested for any system; and we are sorry it should have been given to the world in a shape so extremely vague and unscientific. We have only time to observe, that it is intended to include the Entomostraca of Muller and Lamark, and the Malacostraca of the ancient Greek writers; the former including the oyster, the latter the crab tribe

"Nouvelles Observations sur les Abeilles, &c." "New Observations relative to Bees, addressed to M. Ch. Bonnet, by Francis Huber, 12mo." This little work is the production of one of the most indefatigable eutomologists of the present day, directed to a point of very considerable importance, and pregnant with

with most useful and satisfactory information. M. Huber, after many years of most patient attention, and minute investigation, has at length unequivocally determined that the anomaly of neuter bees no longer exists, and that those which have hitherto been so denominated, are genuine females, with undeveloped female organs, yet capable of development by a particular mode of treatment. His observations into the nature of the impregnation of the queen bee are peculiarly interesting: which he sufficiently proves neither takes place by seminal aura issuing from the bodies of the numerous drones or males, as was suspected by Swammerdam, nor even within the limits of the hive itself, but by an aerial excursion made by the queen-bee, on the second or third day of her age, in which she is accompanied by her whole seraglio of males, one of which she appears to select from the rest, and with which our author has unquestionably proved that she forms an actual coition. The subject of swarming is also treated with minute and interesting attention, and we are sorry we have not space to detail M. Huber's very important observations. The cause of this useful instinct, which has been so eloquently and pathetically pleaded by the Poet of the Seasons, is here supported on a principle more intelligible, perhaps, and certainly more persuasive, to most country bee-masters, viz. their own interest.

In the botanical department of natural history, we have received no work from the French press worthy of particular enumeration. At Gottingen, M. Adolphus Schrader has published the first volume of his valuable Flora Germanica, enriched with six well-executed copper-plates; and a new edition is forthcoming of Dr. Kust Springel's "Introduction to the Study of Cryptogamous Plants, in Letters." This volume deserves encouragement; it is written in a perspicuous familiar style, and brings down the subject to the discoveries of the present day. The first letter gives the general characteristics of this division of plants, classically, ordinally, and generically. The different orders are then treated of in succession, and under every genus we have a reference to the best delineations of its different species. We understand this book is just translated into our own tongue, as is also another very valuable German work, in the same department, entitled "A General Historical and Topographical Description of Mount Caucasus, with a Catalogue of Plants indigenous to the country." This translation is from the labours of Dr. Reineggs and Marshal Bieberstein, in 2 vols. 8vo. by Mr. C. Wilkinson. We shall notice it in our next volume.

In Sweden, M. Quensel's friends and successors have met with sufficient encouragement to prosecute his very excellent National Zoology, with coloured plates, published under the title of "*Svensk Zoologi, eller Svenska Djurens Historia, med Illuminade Figurer.*" A number still continues to be published quarterly, six of which constitute a volume. The work has now reached its fourth volume, and we expect a part of the fifth in the course of the spring.

"Traité Elémentaire de Minéralogie, &c." "An Elementary Treatise on Mineralogy, with its Application to the Arts, a work designed for instruction in the National Lyceums, by Alexander Brogniart, Mineral Engineer, and Director of the Imperial Manufacture of Porcelain, at Sevres, 2 vols. 8vo, with 16 plates, Paris." Almost every country

country has of late years paid great attention to the subject of the present work; yet such is the intractable nature of the materials it comprises, and so destitute are they of those obvious characters which discriminate the animal and vegetable kingdoms, as to render it still capable of an improved arrangement. Hitherto we have had minerals distributed under the one or the other of the three following systems: that of their external character—that of their interior structure—that of their elementary composition. The first forms the most obvious mode of discriminating them, and were it susceptible of sufficient accuracy, it ought immediately to supersede every other. In the hands of M. Werner, this method has certainly been advanced to a very considerable state of precision; and since the publication of his tract on the External Characters of Minerals, in 1774, a new school has been founded, whose influence is rapidly extending over Europe. Yet this system is loaded with that common fault of the German philosophers, a most wearisome subdivision; its language is also, for the most part, harsh and unclassical; and it betrays, in a variety of instances, an undue inclination to bend the course of facts from a right line to the figure that will best support its principles. For the groundwork of the second system we are, in the first place, indebted to Linnéus; the plan was improved by Bergman; still farther advanced by Romé Delisle, and brought to its present state of perfection by the very valuable labours, and indefatigable attention of Häuy. The third method would perhaps be the most satisfactory of the whole, if it had not a variety of pertinacious obstacles to its general adoption. It is, in the first place, extremely operose; it involves, next, the destruction of a part or of the whole of the specimen to be analysed, and hence must be often accompanied with a very heavy expence; and lastly, we are not yet acquainted with a sufficient number of tests, or instruments of convenient use, to be able to resort to it as a ground-work of universal application. It is the peculiar advantage of the work before us, that it endeavours to extract from these three systems, their most prominent features, and such as are best calculated to amalgamate. It is, on this account, unquestionably superior, in every essential point, to any treatise upon mineralogy we have hitherto seen, and is enriched with a vast mass of knowledge disposed in a luminous order, and condensed into a convenient brevity. The author has not confined himself to a bare description of minerals, but has given a large portion of variety and interest to his work, by noticing their application to the arts, by sketching their natural history, or by indicating the geological theories which have been proposed to explain their formation. The concise view of mining and metallurgy, subjoined to the treatise, as it includes the most recent improvements in those branches, is peculiarly valuable; and we cannot but applaud the judgment and impartiality which the author has every where displayed. The following is the classification under which the subject is treated: I. Combination of oxygen, with substances that are not metallic. II. Salts that have not a metallic base. III. Stones. IV. Combustibles. V. Metals. These five classes are subdivided into orders, genera, and species. Salts constitute two orders, those with an alkaline, and those with an earthy base. Stones give rise to three orders, hard, unctuous, and

and argilloid. Metals are distinguished, as usual, into brittle and ductile. The numerous subdivisions are exhibited in a convenient synoptic table, prefixed to the body of the treatise.

"L'Art de la Teinture du Coton en Rouge, &c." "The Art of Dyeing Cotton Red, by M. J. A. Chaptal, Member and Treasurer of the Senate, &c. 8vo. with four plates, Paris." There is no person to whom the perfection of modern manufactures is more indebted than to the indefatigable writer before us; who, with a singular and most fortunate union of talents for science and practical labour, has for many years devoted a large portion of his time to the improvement of almost every art that has any connection with chemistry. The general principles of dying were first developed by Bergman; the theory was considerably advanced by Berthollet, to whom the work before us is dedicated; and, if not brought to the highest state of perfection of which it is capable, is at least very considerably perfected by M. Chaptal. We may peruse this book, therefore, with a twofold advantage, since it not only presents us with the ideas of an enlightened philosopher, but contains the result of an extensive application of them to actual practice; for M. Chaptal informs us, that he has for some time conducted a large dying manufactory, in which every individual process recommended in this volume has been sanctioned by ample experience. The first two chapters are introductory, and describe the situation proper for a dyeing establishment, the arrangements necessary for its various processes, and the instruments requisite to be employed. The third chapter considers the materials had recourse to in dyeing cotton by madder, viz. the madder itself, oliveoil, soda, alum, and galls. Chapter four contains minute details respecting the various manipulations of different parts of the process: and chapter five gives an equally distinct account of the means by which the cotton is made to assume the dye. The operation is divided into four stages—the preparation of the cotton—the application of the mordants—the application of the madder—and the brightening of the colour. The mordants employed are alum and galls, and the colour is brought out by nitrat of tin.

In our survey of the higher branches of physical philosophy, we shall commence with noticing a German work of some consequence, from the pen of M. Schroeter, entitled "Seleno-Topographische Fragmenter and Beomachtunger, &c." "Seleno-Topographical Fragments and Observations, with a view to an exact Description of the Moon, the changes to which she is liable, and the nature of her atmosphere; to which are subjoined Maps and Drawings. Gottingen, 4to, with 32 engravings." M. Schroeter is by no means unknown to our own countrymen, nor is the fame he has acquired amongst us of a vulgar kind. He is a valuable Fellow of our Royal Society, and his paper on the planet Vesta, inserted of late in the Transactions of the Royal Society, cannot fail of being known to the scientific readers of this excellent journal. He has for many years, moreover, been particularly patronised by his Britannic Majesty, by whom the most valuable of the astronomical instruments, *lately* at least, in the possession of the University at Gottingen, were presented gratuitously; and to whom, in proof of his gratitude, M. Schroeter has dedicated the work before us. For the rest, together with much accuracy of remark,

nark, it contains no small portion f fanciful description; we will not ay the author has altogether become *lunatic*, but he pretends to a much nore political, geographical, and omestic knowledge of the moon, nan many of our politicians, geo- raphers, and economists do with heir own mother earth.

"Exposition des Operations, &c." Exposition of the Operations per- ormed in Lapland for the determi- ation of an Arc of the Meridian, n 1801, 1802, 1803, by Messrs. Svverbom, Svanberg, Holmquist, nd Palender, the whole drawn up y Jons Svanberg, Member of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Stock- olm, &c. and published by the Academy, 8vo. Stockholm." This a very important work, and con- ains an accurate and scientific ac- ount of a mensuration made in apland, with as great attention to xactness, and on principles equally ist with those that have been per- ormed in England and in France. f this production Delambre has poken with the highest and most ppropriate commendation; and to he compiler of it, and the most active gent in the operations it describes, he French National Institute has ecreed the prize of the medal ounded by Lalande.

"Memoire sur la Relation, &c." Memoir on the Relation subsisting between the respective Distances of any five points whatever taken in Space, to which is added, an Essay on the Theory of Transversals, by L. N. M. Carnot, &c." This volume discovers indefatigable study and minute calculation. To the transcendent a list it may afford amusement, but it does not admit of abridgment.

"Récherches Arithmetiques, &c." "Arithmetical Inquiries, by M. C. F. Gauss, of Brunswick, translated (into French) by A. C. M. P. Delisle, Professor of Mathematics, &c. 4to. Paris." This work is devoted to transcendental rather than elementary arithmetic, and in this view it is truly valuable, though neither happily arranged, nor always perspicuous. The author, however, proves himself, in every instance, an adroit and able mathematician; his researches are often original, and his inventions, if not useful, curious and interesting.

"Aperçu Général et Raisonné, &c." "General and Scientific View of the Fortifications of Places, composed for Officers of the Line, by the Baron L. de Fages Vaumale." We cannot give much praise to this volume; its language is imprecise, and its general principles do not quadrate with those most approved by other engineers of the present day.

CHAPTER III.

MORAL AND POLITICAL.

Comprising the chief Productions of France, Spain, Germany, and America.

THE present state of the continent, and the glorious and ennobling cause that is still stimulating its south-western peninsula, be the termination of this struggle what it may, calls upon us to notice, in the first instance, M. Bourgoing's "Tableau de l'Espagne Moderne." "View of Modern Spain," in three volumes 8vo." It is sufficient, however, for us merely to notice this work, as we have already given some account of its nature and extent, and the exclusive pretensions with which it is presented to us in a preceding chapter, that embraces the translation that has just been made of it into our own tongue. Four editions of this work have already appeared in France; and the volumes before us constitute a correct re-impression of the last and best printed in our own country, in consequence of the great popularity which the work has acquired on the continent. We have no doubt of its being as much in demand among ourselves, nor will the English version supersede its use: for though the latter must be sought after with avidity by those who are unacquainted with the French tongue, there can be no doubt that every one who can read it in the original, will prefer it under this shape.

"Tableau Historique, &c." "Historical, Statistic, and Moral View of Upper Italy, and the surrounding Alps: to which is prefixed, a comparative view of the characters of the emperors, kings, and other princes who have reigned in Lombardy, from Bellovesus and Cæsar to Napoleon the First; by Charles Denina, Librarian to his Imperial and Royal Majesty, 8vo. Paris." This volume evinces considerable industry and acquaintance with his subject, on the part of the writer, though it is deformed by a very undue subserviency to the ambitious plans of the personage it is chiefly designed to celebrate, and by a general spirit of adulation to which no independent man could ever consent to stoop. In the opinion of M. Denina, the exploits of Bonaparte, exalt him equally above all the ancient and modern invaders of the country he describes; the Cæsars, Justinians, and Charlemagnes of different ages, lose their lustre, and hide their diminished rays in the brighter corruscation of the great star that now rules the ascendant. The work itself is divided into twenty sections, and comprises an account, 1st, of Piedmont, properly so called, forming, at present, the department of the Po, and the twenty-seventh military division of the French empire; 2. of the provinces that constitute the department of the Stura; 3. of the maritime Alps; 4. of the department of Tanuro; 5. of the provinces and districts which constitute the department of Marengo; 6. of the countries on the right bank of the Tesin including many provinces of the *ci-devant* Piedmont; 7. of the depart-

ment

ments of the Sesia and the Doire; 8. of the eastern and western sides of the Alps; 9. of the departments of Mont Blanc, and of Lake Leman; 10. of Austrian Lombardy; 11. of the two *ci-devant* Venetian provinces, now called the departments of the Seiro and the Mella; 12. of Modena and Ferrara; 13. of the legations of Bologna, and Romagna, now two departments of the kingdom of Italy; 14. of the states of Parma; 15. of Eastern Liguria; 16. of the countries situated between Liguria and the kingdom of Etruria; 17. of the parts of Italy formerly belonging to the house of Austria. Reflections on the character of the different nations amalgamated by the late revolutions are interspersed, and are often drawn with a masterly hand.

"Nouveau Voyage en Italie, et en Sicile, &c." "New Travels into Italy and Sicily; by M. Creuse Delesser, 8vo." This volume is composed with taste and spirit: our traveller appears to have been an attentive observer of facts and phænomena, and an industrious collector of anecdotes and collateral information. The sumptuous architecture around him appears to have engrossed more of his time than statistics, and classical antiquity more than buildings of recent date. His description of Pompeia is the fullest and best detailed we have met with in any history, and the interest which its actual situation excited in him does credit to his heart. "I have beheld," says he, "almost every thing remarkable that Italy presents to the eye of a foreigner; I have surveyed the Pantheon, Vesuvius, the Colosseum, and St. Peter's: I have visited Milan, Florence, Naples, Palermo, Rome; but what I chiefly desire to see again is Pompeia. Pompeia was nothing more than a little city of Campagna; it is but a small remain of antiquity, and yet it is the truest and most affecting one in existence. It has not the least resemblance to Herculaneum, where, indeed, nothing extraordinary is to be found; it is an ancient town whose inhabitants appear to have fled but yesterday. But what do I say? the unhappy people could not fly! The inhabitants of Herculaneum had nearly all of them time to escape from the lava which pursued them; but here the ashes, more rapid and more destructive, overwhelmed, in a few moments, the whole of the city, and its entire population.—You descend but a few feet to enter this city built by the Romans; you pass along the solitary streets; you behold the houses of the inhabitants; you survey their paintings, and form an idea of their manners; there is not a single object which is not remarkable; a single stone that is not interesting. The street which has been excavated is very narrow; it is paved with the lava of Vesuvius. We still distinguish the traces of the wheels; traces which prove that the carriage-way was but four feet broad. There are foot paths three feet in breadth on each side; all the houses resemble each other, the greatest and the smallest alike possessing an inner court, in the midst of which is bath. Most of them are adorned with columns, and the distribution of the chambers is equally simple and uniform. Several shops are still distinguishable, and in one of them we find the prints made by the cups or small vases, on the marble which covers the counter. One of the most interesting objects, is what the stranger is generally shown last; this is a country house or villa at a little distance from the city. He arrives there by means of a most

agreeable road, which tends only to render, by contrast, the tomb into which he descends still more dreary. Yes, I repeat it—the tomb! for this residence, although the roof is destroyed, still conveys, by means of its internal structure, a better idea of the dreary houses of antiquity than any other I have yet beheld. The very garden is discovered, and the fish-ponds and their divisions are still visible."

"Notice Historique sur le Royaume des deux Siciles." "Historic Memoir relative to the Kingdom of the two Sicilies, 8vo." The two Sicilies, from a variety of circumstances which will at once present themselves to the reader's recollection, have obtained a more than ordinary degree of attention from the literary and political world, within the range of the period to which our present lucubrations are limited. In the course of our domestic history, we have had to notice one or two publications of no ordinary merit upon these countries, and the present forms the third submitted to our contemplation in the department of foreign literature. It is published anonymously, but the writer needed not to have suppressed his name. The scope undertaken by him is very extensive; in effect it commences with the decline of the Roman empire, and is continued down to the installation of his present majesty Ferdinand IV., upon whose eventful and unfortunate reign, the historian, with a modesty not often to be met with in anonymous writers, chooses to be silent. "After having passed in succession, (it is thus he concludes his rapid sketch,) under the dominion of Charles II. son of Leopold and the Emperor Charles VI., the two Sicilies were conquered in 1734 by Don Carlos, who governed them with sagacity, and a degree of goodness truly paternal. He resigned the sceptre to Ferdinand IV. his son, in 1759, in order to reign over Spain. Such is a rapid sketch of the most signal events that have occurred in these two states: and they have been regularly traced without the omission of a single epoch, *with an exception to the present alone.*" The writer may fairly assume this boast; and we have no objection to add, that they have also been traced with spirit and independence, and contain a faithful epitome of the transactions that distinguish, with so deep an interest, the countries before us.

Closely connected with the preceding, we are next called upon to notice a partnership publication brought forward by M. Jube and M. Servan, entitled "Histoire de Guerres des Gaulois et des Français en Italie, &c. "History of the Wars of the Gauls and of the French in Italy, from the earliest accounts to the present times, 5 vols. 8vo." Of these the first volume alone is the production of M. Jube. It commences with the earliest exploits of the inhabitants of ancient Gaul in Italy, and extends to the æra of Louis XII. of France. The four ensuing volumes are conducted by General Servan, the friend of the celebrated Madam Roland, and do credit to his pen. The second and third volume fill up the interval from the reign of Louis XII. till the death of Louis XV, and close with a general picture of the seventeenth century. The two last volumes are more interesting than any of the preceding, as comprising events contemporaneous with ourselves, and which have made a deep and permanent impression upon every heart. They contain an authentic history of those campaigns which terminated in the late conquest of Italy, and laid the foundation

foundation for the enormous power of the present ruler of France. We must necessarily make allowances for the impulse under which the history of these desolating wars was composed, and the present manacled state of the Paris press. M. Servan, however, does not appear altogether in the light of a flatterer of Bonaparte, and if we may credit an assertion in the work before us, he has always been viewed by him with jealousy: and on more occasions than one, there appears to have been no small room for jealousy in the bosom of a man so devoured with ambition as Napoleon I.

We have not yet done either with Italy, or its modern ravager. The "Récit Historique de la Campagne, &c." "Historic Account of the Campaign of Bonaparte in Italy, in the years 1796 and 1797, by an eye-witness," still claims our attention. The present work, however, is of a different character from any of the preceding, and for this very reason, we feel a particular desire to notice it. The name of the eye-witness we know not; but there is a general air of impartiality and fairness in his statement of facts, that very much, we confess, prejudices us in his favour. We are, at the same time, aware that his facts do not at all times warrant his conclusions, and hence feel disposed to make some allowance in the argumentative parts of his work. It is the author's direct object to refute the accounts contained in a well-known work, entitled "The Campaigns of Bonaparte in Italy, during the years IV. and V. of the French republic, by a General Officer," which is here said to disguise and misrepresent facts, and to be a monument of adulation and baseness. In the prosecution of this object the present writer has certainly presented us with a most simple and intelligible statement of transactions, purposely dressed up for effect by his predecessor, and has in many cases reduced battles to skirmishes, and victories to slight advantages, the result moreover of accident or sheer good-luck, rather than of heroism or comprehensive foresight. He succeeds in reducing to a far inferior number than has been usually supposed the Austrian forces, and in augmenting those of the French army; and he deserves the thanks of every liberal mind for having rescued from obscurity names which deserve to be held in remembrance, and for having dissipated a variety of bombastic and illusory boasts of pretenders to heroism.

"Histoire de Campagne, &c." "History of the Campaigns of the French Armies in Prusia, Saxony and Poland, during the years 1806 and 1807; preceded by a history of the late war with Austria, and followed by short accounts *(notices)* of the marshalls of the Empire, 3 vols. 12mo. Paris." These volumes are chiefly compiled from the French official accounts, and bear the general stamp of the official language: their tone is bold, glowing, and pointed, when directed to the partisans of the French empire, and humiliating and contemptuous when describing its enemies. Even in the midst of all the parade of military virtues and political craft here exhibited, nothing is more obvious than that Bonaparte has been more indebted to the weakness and blunders of his adversaries, than to his own counsels and prowess. The short biographic notices of his chief officers, subjoined to this work, is entertaining, and may prove useful.

"Pièces Historique de la Revolution, &c." "Historic Summary of

of the French Revolution, by Lacretelle the younger, 2 vols. 12mo." Whenever this writer does not come in contact with Bonaparte, he is an able, impartial, perspicuous, and elegant narrator of events; but here, as in almost every other French political work, whenever the great name of Napoleon I. is introduced, the fumes of incense that are poured forth on the occasion, are fulsome and intolerable. The author has already acquired considerable reputation by two antecedent summaries of very important events in recent French history, entitled "The Legislative Assembly," and "The Executive Directory," which now constitute a part of the present volumes.

"Tableau des Revolutions, &c." "View of the Revolutions in Europe, from the subversion of the Roman Empire in the West, to our own times; preceded by an introduction to history, and enriched with maps and genealogic and chronologic tables, by M. Koch, Member of the Tribunate, &c. 3 vols. 8vo. Paris." This is a very judicious and admirably digested work: but the talents of M. Koch have been long known to the literary world. He divides his history into eight periods, corresponding with the principal revolutions which have successively changed the political state of Europe; at the head of each division is given either a sketch of a grand revolution, or an account of the power which took the lead in the course of the period referred to. The chronologic and genealogic tables, with which the work is enriched, cannot fail of proving highly useful to the reader, and appear to be drawn up with great caution from the best sources.

"Discussions du Code Civil dans le Conseil d'Etat, &c." "Discussions respecting the Civil Code in the Council of State; preceded by the corresponding articles of the text and plan; with notes principally relating to the observations and jurisprudence of the courts of reversal and appeal, by M. M. Jouanneau and L. C. de Solon, 4to. 3 vols. Paris." It is impossible to do more than merely notice this work, and strenuously recommend it to the civilians of our own country. It is one of the most important publications, that have reached us for many years from the continent. The Napoleon Code commenced, it should be recollected, during the consulate of Bonaparte, and in its settlement and the discussions here communicated, he often took a share. Being for the most part upon abstract questions, a very considerable liberty of speech appears to have been indulged, and the First Consul was often out-voted—occasionally, indeed, when he appears to have had the best of the argument, and to have been guided by motives of genuine liberality and humanity. This legislative code is unquestionably a work of high merit: the arrangement is perspicuous, the divisions and subdivisions easy and natural, and the language, plain, nervous, and unaffected.

"Essay sur l'Organization de l'Arme de l'Atillerie, &c." "Essay on the Organization of Artillery Force, by Gen. Lespinasse, Member of the Conservative Senate, &c. 8vo. Paris." This essay is divided into three parts—the mechanical instruments of artillery--artillery corps —and elementary tactics. The writer supposes the armies of France in time of war to amount collectively to 360,000 men, exclusively of the artillery and engineers. This statement, however, appears to be considerably too low, if auxiliary

liary forces, or those of dependent countries, form a part of it. In the time of Louis XIV. it averaged collectively 500,000; and at present is unquestionably above this number. The performance, however, is well entitled to the attentive perusal of military men, and especially those who make the science of engineering their chief study.

"*Exposicion de las Praticas, &c.*" "Exposition of the Practices and Machinations which led to the Usurpation of the Crown of Spain, and the means adopted by the emperor of the French to carry it into execution, by Don Pedro Cavallos, first Secretary of State, &c. Madrid, 18mo." We notice this publication as one of the most interesting documents that have ever appeared in the political world; that will be refered to as a record of authority by ensuing generations, and that tends more than any other publication that has hitherto been submitted to the world, to develope the lawless ambition of the tyrant whose iron rod is felt from one end of the continent to the other, and who proves himself to be equally destitute of public principle aud secret compunction; who despises public opinion, and is resolved to have no will but his own. The translation and universal circulation of this most curious archive in our own tongue, renders it unnecessary for us to dwell upon it at greater length.

From the German press we have received M.Bergman's "Historische Schrifften, &c." "Historic Memoirs on the History of Livonia," published in two octavo volumes, at Leipsic—a publication that gives an interesting and general account of this eventful country. We have also to notice the following from the same quarter.

"Meine Reise durch England, &c." "My Travels in England, by D. Collenbach, 8vo. Gotha." The writer is an intelligent man, and his work contains many remarks that may afford entertainment to our own countrymen, and advantage to those of Germany. His object in visiting us, however, was merely that of obtaining a knowledge of the practical state of English arts and manufactures, and to these subjects the work is confined almost exclusively. M. Collenbach, with true German appetite, appears to be fond of good eating and drinking--but discovers a very indifferent taste for polite literature.

"Statistic der Europaeschen Staaten." "Statistics of the States of Europe, by Conrad Mannert, 8vo. Bamberg." This volume appears to have be compiled with great caution and examination. We recommend it to the chartists and geographical writers of our own country, as it will be found to correct a multitude of very common, and at the same time very important errors, to be met with in our chorographies of foreign states.

"Untersuchungen ueber Gebustsadel und die Möglictheit seiner fort dauer im neunzehnten Jahrhundert, &c." "Inquiry into hereditary Nobility, and the possibility of its continuance in the nineteenth century, by the author of the New Leviathan, Berlin, 8vo." The anonymous writer of this work has acquired no small degree of reputation by his New Leviathan; and in this, as in that, we perceive much able reasoning, often, however, too abstractly conducted, and not unfrequently too largely blended with fancy and idle speculation. It does not appear decided as to the best form of political government, and is equally hostile to monarchies and to republics; yet with strange inconsistency he prefers

prefers the present government of France, which is almost purely monarchical, to that of England, which unites the principles of republicanism and pure monarchy.

"Versuch über eine Allgemeine anwendbare Minisk, &c." "Inquiry respecting an universally practicable System of Symbols for the use and instruction of the deafly-dumb: by J. M. Weinburger, Vienna, 4to." This indefatigable and able teacher, to whom we have, on several occasions, antecedently begged leave to pay our respects, is well known to have been for many years chief director of the institution for instructing the deafly-dumb at Vienna, under the patronage of the Emperor and his family. In the work before us, the author introduces a hand-alphabet, which, in effect, constitutes the system of symbols he refers to, and by means of which, or in other words, by varying the positions of the fingers of a single hand, on which variation the letters of the alphabet are made to depend, his scholars are capable of holding an easy communication of ideas.

The only work of real value in the department before us, which has reached us from the American States, is entitled "Propositions for amending the Constitution of the United States of America, submitted by Mr. Hillhouse, to the Senate of the United States, on the 12th day of April, 1808. With his explanatory remarks, 12mo. Washington and NewYork." The perpetual irritation which is kept alive by the present mode of electing the chief executive officer, the Senate and House of Representatives of the Union, calls aloud at all times for some change or other; but more especially at the existing period, in which the general state of Europe, and the system of politics exhibited by the President for the time being, and perhaps to be exhibited by his successor, add fuel to the prveious fire, and exacerbate the public feeling in a tenfold degree. Mr. Hillhouse effectually succeeds in pointing out the cause of this intestine commotion, but we have many doubts whether the plan he proposes would actually serve as a remedy: we mean that of choosing the chief magistrate *annually* from the Senate *by lot*; of reducing his salary from 25,000 to 15,000 dollars per annum, and of restricting his power of appointment to offices; in conjunction with which he proposes also that the House of Representatives, instead of being elected as at present, for two years, shall be only elected for one; and that the term of service in the Senate shall be reduced from six years to three. The Senate, however, has decreed this communication of sufficient consequence, to order it, on its express authority, to be printed and circulated for the general information of the country.

CHAPTER IV.

LITERATURE AND POLITE ARTS.

Comprising the chief productions of France, Germany, Italy, Portugal, and America.

"MEMOIRES de l'Institut National, &c." "Memoirs of the French National Institute for the year 1806." The events of war, which in a considerable degree cut off our communication with the continent, prove in no small measure, unfriendly to the actual productions of continental writers whether single or in the aggregate. The transactions of this celebrated society, are on this account considerably in arrear in point of publication; while of those actually published we have not hitherto received any regular series later than to the year 1807, containing the memoirs of the year 1806. These transactions are introduced by an admirable report of M. Cuvier, on the general state and progress of science for the year to which they refer. In medicine it chiefly notices the advance of vaccination; in arts and manufactures, M. Vauquelin's valuable observations on the use and application of metals as colouring substances; in mineralogy other remarks of the same excellent naturalist, as well as observations of other excellent oryctologists on the best modes of rendering the native iron of France malleable and of general use. In the division of chemistry the names of Seguin, Menard, and Count Rumford, are mentioned with high approbation, yet various experiments are adverted to in disproof of the theory of this last philosopher relative to the production of heat by mere vibrations in the particles of the heated body, instead of by the access of a positive matter of heat, hitherto known by the name of caloric. In the department of history the reporter has but little to offer of high distinction; the name of M. Mongez is mentioned, however, with respect in the subdivision of paleology: and in the department of mineralogy we are chiefly informed, from the observations of M. Dupont de Hemouss, that almost all attempts to predict the phænomena of changes of weather, from the state of the atmosphere, must be futile, since nothing can exceed the variability of the action of heat upon the atmospheric regions. The report upon the general state of mathematics for the period included, is drawn up by M. Delambre, M. Cuvier's colleague in the Secretaryship to the Institute. It relates chiefly to experiments for ascertaining the declination and inclination of the compass, together with the intensity of the magnetic power; and to the best modes of constructing thermometers and barometers. We prefer giving a sketch of this general summary to a mere catalogue (which is all we could give) of the papers actually read and printed. We shall only further observe, that amongst these M. La Place's Memoir on the apparent attraction and repulsion of small bodies swimming on the surface of fluids, appears to be one of the most valuable in the collection.

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Of the biographical productions for the year the following are the principal.

" Histoire de Fenelon, &c." " History of Fenelon, composed from original Manuscripts; by M. L. F. De Bausset, late Bishop of Alais, &c." 3 vols. 8vo. Paris." We hope these volumes will be translated. Genuine biography is always interesting, and peculiarly so when directed to unfold the moral worth, the high intellectual talents, the inappreciable services, and unmerited sufferings of a character so pre-eminently distinguished as that before us. It is justly observed by the present writer, that the memory of Fenelon is as dear to foreign nations as to France herself; that his principal works have been translated into all languages: and that unanimous consent has pronounced them to be the most proper for fixing the attention of young persons, and inspiring them with a love of virtue. They also serve, which has been also as extensively conceded, beyond all others, to embellish the fancy, to purify the taste, to fructify the reason of mature age, and to diffuse a charm and interest over the closing scenes of life. Much of the information communicated in these biographic pages is original, and drawn from manuscrips which preceding biographers have never had an opportunity of consulting. Of the authenticity of these records there appears to be no doubt; and they uniformly represent the archbishop in the same amiable light in which we have been accustomed to contemplate him.

" Memoires et Correspondences Litteraires, Dramatique, et Anecdotiques, de C. S. Favart, &c." " Memoirs, Correspondence, and Anecdotes, literary and dramatic, of C. S. Favart, drawn up from authentic and original documents, by H. S. Dumolard, 3 vols. 8vo. Paris." Favart was one of the greatest wits, and the best dramatist of his age: but his life, like that of many other celebrated wits, was peculiarly diversified and eventful. He was haunted by jealousy, persecuted by envy, plundered by flatterers and specious adventurers, and too often a prey to penury and disease. The correspondence between himself and Count Durazzo, of Vienna, which occupies by far too large a space in the volumes before us, is not peculiarly interesting; but with this exception, they overflow with spirit, and intranslatable humour and pleasantries. To the French reader they open a fund of entertainment, but they are ill calculated for transfusion into a foreign tongue; the essence they contain would be found to fly off in the transfer.

" Eloge de Corneille." " Elogy of Corneille." This biographic picture is published anonymously; it was intended to have been admitted into a competition for the prize lately offered by the French National Institute for the best elogy on the character to which it is devoted; but was rejected for reasons that have no connection with its literary merits. Corneille may be regarded as the father of the French drama; and the chief object of the present writer is to trace him critically through his various pretensions to this character. He first treats of the importance of the tragic drama, and the direction given to it by Corneille; he proceeds to admeasure the degree of merit due to the works of Corneille, and the peculiarities by which they are distinguished. He then touches upon the dramatist's general design or object in his dramatic writings; he next advances to a consideration of

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his style; and concludes with various remarks upon the various advantages which the French language owes to his exertions. The general result is, that the dramas of Corneille ought not to be decided by their defects but by their beauties; and in this judicial dictum we completely coincide.

"*Retratos e Bustos dos Varoes e Donas que illustraram a naçao Portugueza*, &c." "Lives and Portraits of Heroes and Heroines who have done honour to the Portuguese nation by their virtues, learning, or talents. Inscribed to the Portuguese people, by a Society of Patriots, No. 1.—12. Lisbon, 1807, 1808." We have already introduced this Portuguese biography to our readers, and are glad to have an opportunity, and especially under the circumstances of the present times, of recording a continuance of it. The lives, however, are given for the most part in too summary a manner; yet there is more vivacity in the narrative than usually appertains to epitomes: and a vivacity, indeed, that makes us the more lament that the general history is so cruelly curtailed. The annexed portraits are for the most part well executed: the drawings are by Cunha, a Portuguese painter of some celebrity, and are said to be copied in every instance from originals, but of this we can form no judgment; for the engravings we are indebted to Parisian artists.

"Archæographie, &c." "Archæography; or an Introduction to the knowledge of the Monuments of Antiquity: by J. J. Oberlin, Strasburgh." This book deserves to be consulted by every antiquary; and the sound learning and judgment it displays, cannot fail of adding to Professor Oberlin's reputation, extensive as it is at present. Monuments, he observes, may be distinguished into five classes; those of edifices; those of sculpture and painting; inscriptions and manuscripts; medals; vases and instruments. Those of architecture, whether yet standing or in ruins, serve to exhibit the taste, and instruct us in the customs of ancient nations. The works of sculpture present us with the images of the divinities they worshipped, and of the illustrious men they revered. Paintings, whether in fresco, or water-colours, are more explicit still upon national history and national religion; and how considerably has the number of these been augmented since the discovery of Herculaneum. Writings and inscriptions are of equal value—nor have they hitherto been studied with the attention they deserve. The ruins of Persepolis contain Persian inscriptions which no scholar has hitherto deciphered: and the same observation will apply to most of the Etruscan and Phœnician monuments. The medals of ancient nations in high preservation are innumerable; and medals, vases, and instruments of all kinds, whether sacred or profane, whether in metal, marble, glass, or earth, all merit examination, and cannot fail to repay the indefatigable antiquary for his labour.

"Voyage sur le Scene de Six derniers Livres de l'Eneide, &c." "Tour over the Scene of the Six last Books of the Eneid, accompanied with some observations relative to modern Latium: by C. Victor de Bonstetten, Member of the Royal Academy of Sciences of Copenhagen, &c." The writer of this tour affirms, that he has been chiefly induced to publish its result from observing that almost all his predecessors have copied from each other, and that almost all of them are erroneous in their descriptions. To decide

decide whether Virgil described from actual survey, he took him in his hand, and had the good fortune to perceive that, with an allowance for a few differences naturally and necessarily resulting from local changes, the chart of Virgil is the exact face of the country in its present state: he pretends to point out the very spot in which the Trojan chief must have fixed his encampment, and which he determines to have been near the present town of Ostian, distant about three miles from the ancient port of the same name, constituting an angle formed by the confluence of the Tiber and an adjoining lake.

At Berlin, the Abbé Denina has published, under the title of "La Clef des Langues," an extensive work of considerable importance to the philosophy of languages. It extends to three volumes octavo; and includes not only a disquisition on the elementary sounds and other principles of universal grammar, but a copious explanation of the differences and correspondences existing in the modern European tongues, with a theory to account for them, and to ascertain the stocks whence they originated.

Whilst our lucubrations are extending themselves to this part of the European continent, we will make an excursion somewhat more northerly still, to notice that that excellent northern archæologist M. Frederic David Grater finds sufficient inducement to persevere in his "Bragur," or Periodical Disquisitions on Scandinavian Paleosophy, of which the 8th volume is now published at Leipsic. It is a valuable and a various repository of original researches, glossologic explanations, bibliographic notices, and agreeable poems and tales. The Swedish Macpherson, Biorner, had already set examples of this method of remodelling scanty antique ballads into romantic histories; and of celebrating the northern champions in a manner consistent with the costume of the ancient, and the amusement of the modern world. Grater excels his predecessor Biorner, in the picturesque character of his descriptions, and the mythologic erudition of his allusions.

"Leontine de Blondheim, &c." "Leontine de Blondheim: by Augustus Von Kotzebue: translated (into French) from the German, with notes, by H. L. C. 3 vols. 12mo." The usual extravagance and deviation from good taste to be found in the antecedent writings of M. Kotzebue, tincture and define the present production. Yet, in spite of these defects it is highly interesting and attractive. The fable is clearly founded on the well known novel of Claire d' Albe of Madame de Cotin, but is better conducted, and terminates happily.

From Italy we have received little in the department to which we are now limited, that is entitled to attention. In a volume of anonymous Anacreontics, entitled, "L'Irenide, Odi Anacreontiche di Silvio Ireneo," we have met with several happy and classic effusions. It exhibits, in regular order, an allegorical picture of the progress of the passions, especially that of love. The first interview, the advice, the departure, the return, spring, summer, autumn, remonstrance, jealously, revenge, despair, &c. furnish so many titles to the respective pieces, which at the same time form a whole: the measure is that of Savioli in his Amori, and of Imperiali in his Faonide; and the plan is conducted with felicity and effect. Whilst upon this subject, we will just notice that M. Matthias, to whom Italy

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and England are equally indebted for his labours in the pleasant vineyard of polite criticism, has just published in three volumes 12mo. a very neat and well selected supplement to his late collection of the most eminent lyric poets of Italy, under the title of "Agguinta ai Componimenti Lirici de piu illustri Poeti d' Italia."

In the lighter department of French literature, we perceive that M. P. Daru, under the title of "Oeuvres d' Horace, &c." has given a general translation of this poet into French verse, in 4 vols. 8vo." He has admirably succeeded; and produced a work of which his country may well boast. "Les Amours Epiques, &c." "Epic Loves: a poem in six cantos, containing a translation of the Episodes on Love, composed by the best epic poets: by F. A. Parceval Grandmaison." Homer and Virgil, Tasso and Ariosto, Milton and Camoens, are here brought together, to chaunt alternately, as the Arcadian swains were formerly made to chaunt by Virgil; while the audience consists of all the heroes and damsels who have acquired celebrity, and of all the poets of inferior fame.

The tales and novels of the year proceed chiefly from the pens of Madame de Genlis, Madame de Cotin, Madame de Charrière, and Madame de Montolieu. The first is the largest contributor, and has furnished not less than five distinct novels in the course of the year. The two best are, the "Claire d' Albe" of Madame de Cotin, to which we have already alluded, and "La Princesse de Wolfenbuttle" of Madame de Montolieu, well known as the author of Caroline of Litchfield.

The polite literature of the Americans is very meagre indeed. Mr. Noah Webster has published a Compendious Dictionary of the English Language: several of our own Cyclopædias are re-publishing at Philadelphia and New York: and M. J. H. Smith has given a romantic account of the death of Major André.

FINIS.

T. Gillet, Printer, Crown-Court, Fleet-street.